LECTURES AND REPLIES

BY

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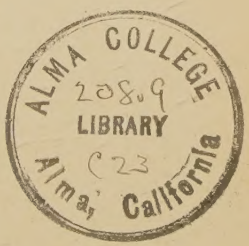
Archbishop of Melbourne.

THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE.
PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.
PRIMACY FURTHER CONSIDERED.
ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.
CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.



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Archbishop of Melbourne
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PREFATORY.

THE task of editing The Archbishop of Melbourne's works has been entrusted to a Committee of the Australian Catholic Truth Society, who, while accepting it as a duty of love, are conscious of labouring under one great disadvantage in bringing the works before the public. Owing to extreme pressure of the other duties of his office, the Archbishop has not been able to give us the assistance of his own keen theological skill and wide reading in Church history in the work of supervision. Failing this, we have endeavoured, in the editing, to make the lectures more popular in form by dividing into chapters and sections, as well as by adding an exhaustive index to the book, which will increase its usefulness as a work of reference.

No substantial change has been made in the matter. Here and there the text has been accommodated to book form by such modifications as were believed to be in accordance with His Grace's wishes, and by subordinating, as far as possible, the personal and ephemeral element, in the controversies which provoked these lectures, to the more general and abiding interests of Catholic Truth.

With regard to changes in the form and order of the lectures, we have fewer misgivings. We have every reason to hope that readers will find their way more easily through the book, and will be considerably helped by the manner in which it has been turned out by the publishers.

Offices of the Australian Catholic Truth Society,
312 Lonsdale Street, Melbourne,
Feast of the Immaculate Conception, 1907.

INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the many tributes of admiration and respect offered to our revered Archbishop on the occasion of his Jubilee, not the least graceful was the presentation of the "Lectures and Replies" of His Grace in defence of Catholic Truth. When the Catholics of the diocese of Melbourne determined to give tangible proof of their affection for their Father in God by raising eight thousand pounds to free the Cathedral Hall of debt, the Bishops of the Province of Victoria expressed their desire to co-operate with the clergy and laity in honouring their esteemed Metropolitan. As a token of their esteem, their Lordships conceived the happy idea of presenting His Grace with a Jubilee Edition of his own works. No other token of respect could be more fitting on the part of their Lordships, who, in conjunction with His Grace, are by Divine Commission the Guardians of the Faith. For it is a recognition, on the part of those on whom rests the responsibility of the pastoral office, of the signal services of His Grace in defence of the Catholic Church.

From his own devoted flock any work of their Archbishop is sure of a heartfelt welcome.

Experience has taught his people to rely on his unerring judgment and unswerving devotion to his high charge. Again and again for the past twenty years, whenever the interests of Faith or Morals or Christian Education were imperilled, they have looked to their leader with serene confidence. And their confidence has never been misplaced. By voice and by pen *he* has never failed to champion the cause so dear to their hearts. And in the hour of danger, when ravening wolves threatened the fold, *they* have ever rallied round their leader. Never were Pastor and flock more perfectly united. The Archbishop of Melbourne knows that he can always count on the proved loyalty of his people. And, after twenty years' experience of his leadership, his people have implicit trust in their chief. During those years of struggle for the Catholic cause, our Catholic people have been called on again and again for self-sacrifice, and they have never failed to respond. Marvellous results have been accomplished because there has been perfect union, and union is strength. Nor need we fear for the future, if we have to maintain the struggle. Under such a leader, and with such devotion in his followers, we shall, with God's help, triumph over greater difficulties and produce more brilliant results.

Surely, then, when rendering an account of his stewardship to the Vicar of Christ, the Good Shepherd of the Church of Melbourne may say with honest pride, "I know mine and mine know me." Nor is it merely from his own flock that he has won such respect, but from every member of the community whose opinion is worth considering. This was made abundantly evident by the number of non-Catholics who subscribed to the Archbishop's Jubilee Testimonial, and joined with us in expressing their appreciation of his broad-minded charity and kindly consideration for the feelings of those who differ from him in religion. It is a matter for congratulation, in our English-speaking communities, that any Catholic, be he cleric or layman, who sacrifices himself to the cause of God and humanity by upholding the standard of Faith and Morals, is sure, in the long run, to win the esteem of his fellow citizens. *Magna est veritas et prævalebit.*

Hence, we believe we may augur as eager a welcome from the public for the Archbishop's apologetic works in book form, as was accorded to his lectures in days gone by. The great truths of Christianity never lose their charm. They are ever ancient, ever new. We can confidently count on the thousands who thronged to hear, and the tens of thousands who read in the newspapers, in brief outline, a triumphant defence of their Faith and the historic claims of their Church. For, besides the intrinsic merits of the lectures themselves, no other works can have such personal interest for Australian Catholics. They are racy of the soil—a purely Australian product to meet Australian needs. And the needs of Australian Catholics are substantially the same to-day as they were twelve years ago. The objections brought against Catholic doctrines are as old as the Catholic Church. The attacks, whether fitful or periodic, are always recurrent. Difficulties answered in the 16th century are started afresh, in a new form, in the twentieth. And controversies that seemed closed a few months ago in England and America may be opened again to-morrow in Melbourne or Sydney. It is bound to be so. And it is well for Australian Catholics to have at hand a book in which most of the periodic attacks on our religion are so fully and so forcibly answered. It will prove a consolation to themselves, and often a help to honest seekers after truth. We dare not hide the light of the true faith under a bushel. But we can enlighten only those who are willing to be enlightened.

The object of the Catholic Truth Society in republishing these works is by no means controversial. The old Protestant controversy of the last three hundred years is at an end. The scalpel of historical criticism has killed it. It is no longer the outposts that are attacked. Instead of light skirmishing against individual popes or entrenching themselves behind isolated texts of individual Fathers of the early centuries, the "Higher Critics" have transferred their batteries to

closer quarters, and made a frontal attack on the citadel of historical Christianity—the Supernatural. They endeavour to explain Christianity by a human Christ. They recognize no divine authority, whether in Church or in Bible. But, while denying the supernatural, they admit that Catholicism can trace its origin back to the Apostles without breach of continuity; that it has grown out of the religion of Christ and His Apostles by the natural and inevitable processes of evolution. M. Sabatier can see in Catholicism "a deep and beautiful religion, a sap of Christian life, a source of mystic soarings and of heroic devotedness"; and Harnack tells us that "in all ages it has produced Saints, so far as men can be so called, and it still produces them to day"; and Renan speaks in the same strain. But, are we to attribute all this, and a thousand times more, to a delusion or a lie? Was the whole moral and social influence by which Christianity revolutionized human ideals nothing but "such stuff as dreams are made of"? And are we to believe that what no genuine impulse could ever accomplish was accomplished by a delusion or a lie? Similarly Mr. Lecky writes of the Papal Government: "No human pen can write its epitaph, for no imagination can adequatedly conceive its glories." Judged "by the influence which it has exercised over mankind, the Papal Government has had no rival, and can have no successor." He has not told us whether "the influence" was merely human or Divine.

Briefly, then, the issue may, according to human evidence, be stated thus. The Rationalist critics jealously exclude all supernatural intervention, but condescend to admit our historical claim. Protestants, for the most part, admit the supernatural, but challenge our historical claim. The Catholic Church has ever proclaimed, still proclaims, and shall proclaim to the end, that the historical Christ was God, and that He founded on earth a supernatural religion invested with Divine authority. Thus the religion of Christ is both a Religion of the Spirit and a Religion of Authority. And Catholicism is *the* religion into which the religion of Christ and His Apostles and the first Christian communities has grown. This was the claim of the Catholic Church fifteen hundred years before Protestantism was conceived, and eighteen centuries before modern Rationalism was born. And even if Protestantism were to deny the supernatural, and Rationalism to disclaim its own historical findings, we should still make the same claim—the claim to be the historical and supernatural religion of Christ. The tiny mustard seed sown by Jesus Christ in Palestine has grown into a living organism that covers the whole earth, and men complain that they cannot recognize the identity. But, surely, it is a very shallow view of historical development to argue a breach of continuity between the Catholic Church of to-day and the Church of the first century, because, forsooth, the Church has outgrown the narrow limits of Judaistic Christianity and developed into a complex organism to minister

to the needs of our complex civilization. The Danube is but a tiny rivulet near its source in the Black Forest, and yet what a mighty mass of waters it pours into the Black Sea! The mighty England of to-day is identical with the insignificant England of King Alfred. The boy is father to the man; and even after a chequered career how vividly conscious the octogenarian is of being one with the boy of seven!

LINE OF ARGUMENT—HISTORICAL.

It may be well to inform the reader, who may not have heard or read the subject matter of this volume, of the nature of the intellectual treat we provide for him. Catholic Truth he will naturally expect us to cater for, and his expectations will not be disappointed. But it may surprise him to learn that it will be, for the most part, provided from non-Catholic sources. The requirements of controversy demanded a constant appeal to non-Catholic writers. This is a serious disadvantage for a Catholic controversialist—whose Church and doctrine are in possession—thus to assume the burden of proof which he might have shifted on to his adversary's shoulders. But such were the conditions and limitations the Archbishop imposed on himself at the start—and even thus handicapped he won. The result of this method of carrying on the controversy, is a book in which the reader will find the Catholic claims asserted and defended in a manner peculiarly suited to the English-speaking world. For, not only does it present a brilliant theological exposition of fundamentals, but what our ordinary hand-books usually lack, a historical treatment of the Catholic position in the light of modern research, which will enable one who is not a trained theologian to get a thorough grasp of many of the most vital points of our religion. In no other book of the kind shall we find such a scholarly and exhaustive treatment of our historical position, and that almost entirely from Protestant and Rationalist authorities. We take as an example the views of Grotius and Leibnitz on the "Roman Primacy" (see page 178, etc.) These are Protestant writers of the first rank. Their opinions are quoted at considerable length, and they enable the unbiassed reader to form his own views on a question of fundamental importance. Still more interesting are the admissions of such modern scholars as Lightfoot, Salmon, Gore, Schaff, Harnack, Renan, with regard to the "tone of authority" and the "natural assumption" of a right to decide controversies in the letter of Pope St. Clement (95 A.D.). Pope Clement, in laying down the law for the Church of Corinth, is "urgent and almost imperious," because he speaks with Divine authority.

Perhaps we may best describe this book as a historical and patristic treatment of theological subjects. The Catholic position, so long

assailed and so persistently misrepresented for three and a half centuries, is defended and explained chiefly from the writings of non-Catholics, who certainly cannot be accused of any bias in our favour.

"To be deep in history," says Newman, "is to cease to be a Protestant." But history, as we have hitherto had it in our manuals, has been drawn from poisoned sources. To the reader, whose scraps of historical information have been derived from such manuals, it will be knowledge indeed to learn that much of what he accepted as fact is absolutely false, and that the old traditional standpoint is generally the true one.

Modern historians have endeavoured to write history without pandering to preconceived prejudices. It is no longer the vogue among writers of repute to determine the great religious question of the 16th century by the old cant phrases, "the glorious reformation," "the dark times of popish superstition." No one now-a-days would accept honest Dr. Johnson's definition of the Reformation: "The change of religion from Popery to the original state." Nor would any sane member even of an Orange lodge—except, perhaps, under the exhilaration of 12th of July oratory, venture to inform us, in the language of the "Book of Homilies," that "God put it into the heart of His faithful and true minister, Henry VIII.," to found a new religion. Historians, at any rate, would rather subscribe to the view of Macaulay, that the Reformation in England sprang from "brutal passion," and was "nurtured by selfish policy"; that Henry's change was inspired by no religious motive, but was begotten of lust of woman, lust of lucre, lust of power; that perhaps Ridley alone among the reformers "did not consider it a mere political job." If anyone thinks this language of Macaulay too highly coloured, let him remember Dr. Littledale's brief character sketch of most of the English reformers—a finished historical portrait in three words—"utterly unredeemed villains."

Under the searching analysis of critical history, the "Protestant Tradition" has proved to be little short of a huge national lie, and the "glorious reformation," for the first hundred years of its existence, "a religion of opprobrious epithets." The misrepresentations of three centuries, crystallised in such Shibboleths as "Bluff King Hal," "Bloody Mary," "Good Queen Bess, the Virgin Queen," are no longer treated as convincing arguments. "Old times are changed, old manners gone." And the change—whatever we may think of it—from bigotry to indifference in religion, is not in favour of the fathers of the great "Protestant Tradition." They have come out of the crucible of critical history shorn of their glory—the halo of sanctity, nay, even the bold assumption of righteousness has been ruthlessly denied them. There is nothing of the Christ-like which we expect to find in those whom God chooses as His instruments for reforming

His Church. Take as an example Foxe, the Martyrologist, the founder of the "Protestant Tradition," whose book ranked next to Holy Writ in the palmy days of anti-popery. Brewer, who is recognized by Professor Freeman as the greatest authority on the Reformation, says of him, "Had he (Foxe) been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents." Gairdner, the other great authority on the period, is no less scathing. After analysing the characters of some of Foxe's martyrs, he remarks, "Various, indeed, were the *human* materials out of which Foxe *manufactured* martyrs."

Even the name of Luther—*magnum et venerabile nomen*—has not escaped the general desecration. He has been relegated to a place among the Philistines, but he remains, to use the piquant phrase of Matthew Arnold, a "Philistine of genius."

These few remarks on the Archbishop's "Lectures and Replies," may help to awaken the reader's interest, and lead him on to a careful perusal of a volume that throws such light on so many of the supposed historical difficulties of the Catholic position. A glance at the alphbetical index at the end of the book will convince him of the fact that the original authorities have been not only consulted but quoted at considerable length and references given to the books used.

No account has been taken of the order in which the different sets of lectures were delivered. The pamphlets have been arranged in the order of theological sequence as follows:—

I. THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE.—"There are no lies that die so hard as lies that have a controversial importance. The whole history of the 'Blessed Reformation,' from whatever side it is told, is a conspicuous illustration of this."—*Sat. Rev.*, 25th July, 1874.

Hitherto, only one side of the question has been heard. It will be a relief, therefore, to many Catholics to learn, not from writers of their own creed, but from such Protestant authorities as Dean Maitland, Collier, Blunt, and a host of others (cited in this treatise), that the Catholic Church has ever been not only the guardian and interpreter of the Bible, but that she brought it thoroughly home to the hearts of the faithful. Nor was it merely by preaching and teaching, by MSS. versions, and, later on, by means of the printing press, that she spread the knowledge of God's written word. The Cathedrals of Europe are living witnesses that, under her inspiration, it was carved in stone and painted on canvas and sculptured in marble. The literature of Europe bears testimony that its was illustrated in the drama.

Would that the spirit of the Bible were as well known to-day and played as important a part in our daily lives!

Everyone has read, and some may still survive who believe, the story of Luther's discovery of the "rare unknown book" in 1507. But how few have heard, at least from Protestant writers, the refutation of this "popular lie"! In Chapter VIII. ("Luther and the Bible") of this treatise, he will learn from the German Rationalist, Reuss, that "no book was so frequently published, immediately after the invention of printing, as the Latin Bible; *more than one hundred editions* of it being struck off before the year 1500." Now, to Luther, Latin was as natural as German. But lest Latin might prove a stumbling block, there were thirteen editions of a translation of the Vulgate into German. The Catholic reader will further remember that if Luther had read daily the office of the Church—an obligation imposed on him as monk and priest under pain of sin—he would have perused the greater part of the Bible in the course of a year. But for such interesting discussions we must refer the reader to the "Church and the Bible."*

II. THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.—In this treatise and the controversy that ensued ("The Primacy further Considered"), the arguments are derived chiefly from Sacred Scripture and the Fathers of the Church. Accordingly it is addressed primarily to Christians, *i.e.*, to those who believe in the historic fact of the Incarnation of the Son of God, the Divinity of Christ, and the Inspiration of Scripture. But, as the line of argument is historical, it appeals to unprejudiced outsiders as well. And there are many who still cling to the name of Christian and to some vague form of supernatural religion, but who, having gradually lost their bearings, have ceased to be professing members of any Christian sect. To many minds of this class, it has long seemed indisputable that the Catholic Church alone can meet the difficulties of the age and defend supernatural religion. Even while regarding her as a human institution that has outlived all the revolutions of the centuries, they see in her marvellous organization and her efficacious claim of Divine authority the only possible barrier against indifferentism and moral decay. If such seekers after truth be once convinced that the authoritative claims made to-day by Pius X. can be traced back *historically* to Pope Clement in the first century, they are already on the road to recover their Christian inheritance. And experience has long since taught us that, if they pursue their quest after truth, they never find a home in any form of Protestantism. They invariably, whether they be English or German or American, either make for the haven of peace and rest, the

* We may add that Abbot Gasquet still holds to the view of the Wycliffite Bible which he puts forward in "The Old English Bible and Other Essays," and which has been adopted in Chapter VI. of this volume.

Mother of Christendom, or stifle "the wish to believe" altogether, and rest satisfied with soul-starving agnosticism. No intellectual man in our day dreams of finding a "lasting city" in the half-way house, Protestantism. "He must be wilfully blind to the course of history," says Mr. Lecky, "who does not perceive that during the last hundred years the rationalistic schools have completely superseded the dogmatic forms of Protestantism as the efficient antagonist of the Church of Rome. It is difficult to name three men of real eminence and unquestionable sincerity who have abandoned Catholicism for Protestant sects. Protestant churches have made no advance, and have exercised no perceptible influence." Fortunately or unfortunately, the line of cleavage is very clearly drawn—Catholicism or practical agnosticism is the issue. The relentless logic of the French mind has long since reached this stage. Happily the Anglo-Saxon processes of thought are slower and more reverent. Men are more loth to break with the past and more ready to compromise. They have been so long satisfied with the shadows that they do not feel the want of the substantial realities of Christianity. And whatever we may think of the logic of this position, should we not rejoice that so many still cling tenaciously to the Christian name even when they have no clear grasp of the Incarnation and but a vague realization of the supernatural?

To such men the historical presentation of Christian dogma, and Christian dogma in its most authoritative form, often serves as a compelling guide to deeper inquiry and inner spiritual searchings. And granted a reverential fear of God and even a vague yearning after the higher life of the spirit, men who are dimly groping for some principle of authority must be influenced by the force of the historical claims of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Surely there is no problem in history more worthy of study. It is the key to the development of European civilization along Christian lines. The man who attempts a philosophy of history or a science of sociology without including the Roman Primacy in his synthesis is convicted of ignoring the prime determining factor, the constant quantity without which every deduction he makes is invalid.

III. THE PRIMACY FURTHER CONSIDERED.—A deeper and more thorough grasp of a truth is generally gained by answering the difficulties brought against it. For, just as a mountain scene or a Gothic Cathedral is seen to advantage in the alternation of light and shade, so the Divine beauties of the Temple of Catholic truth are brought out into bold relief by the play of the light and shade of Catholic dogma and heretical doubts and denials. In fact, it was the growth of heresy within the Christian fold that provoked the exact definition in human language of the living tradition of Christ's oral

teaching. And now, even as in the first centuries, the Church gives fuller expression to the Divine message when challenged by the vagaries of false teachers. To the Church alone was given the Divine commission "teaching them to observe *all* things." She alone has the right to interpret the scope of *all things* according to her Master's limitation, "Whatsoever *I* have commanded *you*." And she alone can impose the sanction, "He that believeth not shall be condemned," even though he be another Paul or "an angel from heaven" who preaches "another Gospel."

The controversy which followed the lectures on the "Primacy of the Roman Pontiff" supplements and further elucidates that dogma by answering the many Scriptural and historical objections brought against it. And the reader who may have found the "Roman Primacy" too serious a theological study, will be encouraged by concrete facts of history, and stimulated by the opposition of heretical teachers, to get a sound knowledge of our Catholic position.

IV. THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.—Catholic students and teachers of history who cannot consult modern critical works are forced to glean their information on the great religious questions, that occur in the course of their reading, from manuals of English History, which still maintain the traditional Protestant views. Even when they know or suspect that such views have long since been relegated to the limbo of history, written with a purpose and derived from poisoned sources, they do not know, or cannot procure, modern critical histories. In "The Origin of the Church of England," such readers will find the views, not only of the recognized Catholic historians, Lingard and Gasquet, but, in much greater detail, the unbiassed opinions of the standard Protestant writers on these periods. On burning questions like the Reformation, the reader will find the corrective of the old traditional view quoted at considerable length from the two writers Gairdner and Brewer, who, as editors of the Calendar of State Papers, were in possession of all the documents. And as the references to these writers, as well as to Freeman, Gasquet, Froude, and Green are given, readers will be in a position to read such questions almost at first hand in any public library.

V. THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.—This is the title we have given to the controversy that followed the lectures on the "Origin of the Church of England." In these chapters the old discussions on Anglican Orders, the Breach of Continuity, and the Edwardine and Elizabethan settlements are transferred from the arena of theological strife to the calmer regions of impartial history. The beliefs and Church policy of the first English

reformers and the maturer views of the Elizabethan theologians are given, as far as possible, in their own words.

We are now in a position, owing to the publication of the State Papers, to form a critical estimate of their intentions and their work. But we have much of the criticism supplied and the conclusions already drawn out for us by modern non-Catholic historians.

The question of "Anglican Orders" is now a "closed question" as far as Catholics are concerned. But the historic problem of how a great and thoroughly Catholic nation was politically robbed of Faith and Sacraments and Sacrifice and Priesthood will never cease to have interest for the student of English History. Cardinal Wolsey is represented by Shakespeare as attributing his fall to Anne Boleyn. "All my glories in that one woman I have lost for ever." It was because of "that one woman" that England lost the glory of the Catholic Faith, that Henry VIII. "was transubstantiated into Pope," and Thomas Cromwell, a layman, into his Vicar-General.

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THE CHURCH

AND

THE BIBLE

BY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE.

PREFACE.

THE substance of these pages was originally given as a lecture in reply to offensive and erroneous statements regarding the relation of the Catholic Church to the Bible, made by the Anglican Bishop of Melbourne in an address to the Victorian Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. At first it was intended to publish the lecture with some slight additions. But owing to the superabundant testimony in favour of the Church, from exclusively Protestant authorities, the pamphlet has grown to its present dimensions. The difficulty was not to find Protestant witnesses, but to select the most representative, and to compress their evidence within reasonable limits. Considering the immense array of witnesses in favour of the Church's action, it is marvellous that men who claim to be conversant with ecclesiastical literature should go on repeating silly and worn out calumnies. Amongst Protestant writers on Church history no names stand higher than those of Collier, Wilkins, Dibdin, Maitland, Blunt, Hook, Brewer, Gairdner, and Dixon, and these are the chief witnesses whose evidence I have cited. They vindicate the Catholic Church from odious accusations, and testify to the persevering zeal with which she multiplied copies of the Sacred Scriptures in the vernacular, as well as in the learned languages, both before and after the invention of printing.

Dr. Goe has asserted that the Catholic Church burned all the copies of the Scriptures she could find in the sixteenth century; but as she caused hundreds of thousands

of Bibles to be printed in the same century, the reckless absurdity of the statement is at once apparent. No doubt the Church, as the divinely appointed guardian of the Inspired Writings has, in the course of centuries, ordered some versions to be destroyed. A well informed Low Church Protestant, however, would be studiously reticent on this subject. He would know that, for the complete vindication of the Church's action, the Catholic has only to point out the grievous and wilful mistranslations of such versions, whilst on the other hand, he would feel that not all the water in the ocean could wash away the stain from the memory of the first English Reformers who, with Cranmer at their head, consigned to the flames the very version of which they, at different times, approved.

I have treated the subject of the Wycliffite Scriptures at considerable length. A few Catholic writers, amongst whom Dom. Gasquet stands pre-eminent, have thrown much light upon it. Availing myself of their learned labours, I have given, I believe, strong proofs in favour of the theory that the extant copies of the Sacred Writings claimed to be Wycliffe's are, in reality, the old English Catholic version.[1]

[1] This brilliant theory, supported by arguments seemingly incontrovertible was "in possession" and unchallenged when the following lectures were delivered. We are aware that after some years it was attacked in the *Church Quarterly* (October, 1900, and January, 1901) by arguments which to a large class of readers seemed to carry conviction. But pending the issue of the controversy, between the specialists on this historical problem (which twelve years ago seemed already a *res judicata*), we consider ourselves justified in printing the lecture in its original form. Whatever the issue of the controversy, the chapters on Wycliffe contain a mass of useful information for students of history. Chapter VII, "The religious and social errors of the Wycliffites" is, in any case, independent of the matter in dispute. It may not be amiss to add that Gairdner considers a careful estimate of the Wycliffite movement to be still a desideratum. For the full controversy see:—*(a) The Old English Bible and other Essays*, by Dr. Gasquet (Nimmo, London); *(b) The Church Quarterly*, October, 1900, and January, 1901. *(c) History of the English Bible*, by Westcott (1905), p. 20, Note 1. "The Wycliffite origin of the translation of the

Having already far exceeded the limits I had proposed to myself I regret that I could not deal more fully with the question of Protestant indebtedness to Catholic scholarship, and especially to that scholarship as it is to be found in the centre of the Catholic world.

We have been told at meetings of the Bible Society that one would rarely see a copy of the Sacred Scriptures in Rome. Catholics are not surprised that the majority of the Society's orators, clerical and lay, should speak

Bible was never seriously questioned till, in an article on the Pre-Reformation English Bible in the *Dublin Review* for July, 1894, Father (now Abbot) Gasquet propounded the theory that the so-called Wycliffite version was in reality the Orthodox version mentioned by Sir Thomas More and others, which was sanctioned by the Church, and the use of which was conditionally permitted. This view was subjected to criticism by Mr. F. D. Mathew in the *English Historical Review*, January, 1895; by Dr. F. G. Kenyon in *Our Bible and the ancient MSS.*, 1895; and by a writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* for October, 1900, and January, 1901, with the result that the Wycliffite origin of the translations which came into existence in the fourteenth century has been re-established. Abbot Gasquet has no doubt brought into greater prominence the fact that the version was found where it could hardly have been except by the express permission of the Church; but it is remarkable that notwithstanding such permission it was never allowed to be printed. Perhaps this may have been because some taint of Wycliffite heresy was believed to be attached to it. In Germany, France, Italy, and Spain, translations from the Vulgate into the vernacular languages of those countries existed many years before the Reformation." *(d) Dictionary of the Bible*, edited by J. Hastings, D.D. (1904), article "Versions (English)," by J. H. Lupton, p. 241. "This being the case, one is perplexed to know on what ground Sir Thomas More should inveigh so bitterly against Wycliffe's translation:—'In which translation he purposely corrupted the holy text, maliciously placing therein such words as might in the reader's ears serve to the proof of such heresies as he went about to sow; which he not only set forth with his own translation of the Bible, but also with certain prologues and glosses which he made thereupon.'* Such prologues and glosses as we have do not answer this description. 'The ecclesiastical authorities in England' at the time, writes an unexceptionable witness, 'most certainly approved of various copies of the actual versions known as Wycliffite.' Some of these extant copies are shown, by the autograph and inscriptions they bear, to have belonged to high personages in Church and State. What

* *A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight*, 1530, f. cviii. (The spelling has been modernised.)

thus, for nothing better could be expected from them considering the strength of their prejudices and the meagreness of their knowledge on all things which concern the Church. But occasionally at these meetings there have been speakers, with a reputation for scholarship, and one would think that common gratitude should have inspired a respectful reference to that city to which, in our own day, as in past ages, the biblical scholar is so deeply indebted. The late Pius the Ninth was admittedly an ideal Pontiff. In his character were blended the various

is the explanation? A very daring one has been started by Father Gasquet. He endeavours to prove that the versions of which we have been speaking, those we call the Wycliffite, are not Wycliffite at all, that we have been under a delusion all these years, that the heretical translation of the Bible due to Wycliffe and his followers, if it ever existed, has completely disappeared, and that what we possess under that name, is neither more nor less than an authorized Catholic translation of the Bible. The existence of such orthodox versions is attested by the evidence of Sir Thomas More, who declares 'that the whole Bible was long before his (Wycliffe's) days by virtuous and well-learned men translated into the English tongue, and by good and godly people with devotion and soberness well and reverently read.' In another well-known passage he speaks of having seen 'Bibles fair and old.' It is to be observed that More speaks of such orthodox versions as were made *long* before Wycliffe's days. The Bibles he has seen are *old*. That no authorized version was made at or after Wycliffe's time, follows plainly, it would seem, from another passage a little later on in the same Dialogue, 'And surely how it hath happed that in all this while God hath either not suffered or not provided that any good virtuous man hath had the mind in faithful wise to translate it, and thereupon either the clergy, or at the least wise some one bishop to approve it, this can I nothing tell.'

If, then, the orthodox English versions seen by More were old ones, if, as he implies, no fresh ones were made by authority from Wycliffe's day to his own, how is the fact to be explained, that the Bible now suddenly claimed as Catholic, while found wholly or in part in nearly 200 MSS., should be found nowhere but in MSS. written in or soon after Wycliffe's time? Why should the style in every instance, fix the composition to the last quarter of the fourteenth century? What can have caused this sudden and prolific growth of orthodox Bibles just then, when no link is visible to connect them with an earlier stage?

Father Gasquet's paradox is a bold one, and, it need not be said, ingeniously and forcibly defended. But if it is proved untenable, the resorting to it will be one more testimony to the candour and good faith of the Wycliffite translation."

elements which Protestants look for and recognise as the special portion of one occupying such an exalted position. But though he was, indeed, every inch a Pope, all biblical scholars must ever revere his memory, for to him we owe the greatest contribution to Scriptural literature in our time. Besides the very many editions of Bibles in various vernaculars which were printed at the Propaganda press, we have the *facsimile* edition of the Greek text known as the Vatican Bible, of which the learned Protestant professors, the Rev. Dr. Milligan and the Rev. Dr. Roberts, in their work, "The Words of the New Testament," write thus:

"This edition seems to leave nothing more to be desired. The ideal aimed at in Pio Nono's edition, as this one may be called, was nothing less than to reproduce the very form, lines, letters, strokes, marks of the manuscript itself. This high standard appears to have been scrupulously adhered to throughout. The editors were two priests, eminent Biblical scholars, and they seem to have done all that human care and erudition could effect to present to the world a faithful reproduction of the famous Vatican manuscript. It will not be among the least of the glories of Pio Nono's pontificate, that under his auspices a *facsimile* edition of this precious document has at length been presented to the world. It was right that the honour of giving it to the world should belong to the Papal Court. We hail with gratitude the boon conferred on textual criticism."

The Bishop of Melbourne has more than once given expression to his wish that the history of the sixteenth century should be carefully studied. With all my heart I re-echo this sentiment. A Catholic must earnestly desire the spread of historical truth, for it will best vindicate the action of the Church in her guardianship of the Holy Scriptures.

The true History of the English Reformers of the sixteenth century is being now written for the first time, and principally by Protestants. If this pure historical fountain were more availed of, and less dependence placed on such broken cisterns as Foxe, Strype, and Burnett, unreasoning prejudice against the Catholic Church would

gradually die away, and the bonds of charity would be daily strengthened. Brewer and Gairdner are Protestant writers whom every impartial student of Tudor History must consult, and to these great authorities I would add the names of three well-known Catholic writers—Dom. Gasquet, Father Bridgett, and Father Stevenson—whose works will bear the most searching examination, and will be found to be most trustworthy.

✠ THOMAS J. CARR,

Archbishop of Melbourne.

ST. PATRICK'S CATHEDRAL,

November 4th, 1895.

THE CHURCH AND THE BIBLE.

CHAPTER I.

THE BIBLE CONTAINS NEITHER THE CANON OF SCRIPTURE NOR THE SOLE RULE OF FAITH.

A SIMPLE statement of the position which the Bible holds in the system of Catholic teaching will not be without some special interest at the present moment.

The subject is suggested by the report of a recent meeting of the Victorian Auxiliary of the British and Foreign Bible Society. The speakers at that meeting took full credit to themselves for the large amount of money and zeal devoted, during the past year, to the circulation of Bibles in Christian as well as in pagan lands. But, as is usual on such occasions, they were not content with publishing their own good deeds. Filled with a lofty pity for the poor publican who stood afar off, they thanked God that they were not like other men, enemies of the Bible, indifferent to its circulation, and insensible to the treasures of faith and heavenly wisdom which it contains.

At first sight it does seem strange that accusations against the Catholic Church should enter so largely and so persistently into the proceedings of Bible Societies. But we have high Anglican testimony for the assertion that it is opposition to the Catholic Church that gives them an element of unity.

"We may add," says the Rev. E. L. Blenkinsopp,[1] "that to all appearance, the only bond of unity which exists among Protestants is antagonism to the Church, or to some truth in the Church. It is this, probably, more than anything else, that holds together such a heterogeneous body as the 'Bible Society,' and enables its members to keep the peace one toward another. We firmly believe that the idea that the dissemination of the Bible in various languages is the great power to meet the claims of the Catholic Church, and to overcome them, goes a long way in preserving amity among the members of that Society, and in preventing them from disagreeing among themselves."

It is sometimes put forward, as indeed it was at the recent meeting, that one of the advantages of the Society is that Christians of all denominations may take a warm interest in its efforts and in its success. But the Anglican writer whom I have quoted reminds us that such a union of various Christian denominations involves a glaring contradiction. The Society is based on the principle that the Bible is the sole Rule of Faith. But, he argues, "if Episcopalians and Presbyterians, Anabaptists and Pædobaptists, Trinitarians and Socinians, Methodists and Quakers, all alike find authority for their peculiar tenets in the Bible, what Rule of Faith can it contain? What articles of faith can it teach? What creed can it be said to enunciate? What diverse, what contradictory utterances of the Spirit supposed to dwell in its pages, must flow from its printed letters!"

These, however, are considerations not for us, but for the members and supporters of the Bible Societies. What does concern us is that when they come together at their annual meetings, they are not satisfied with advertising their own proceedings, but they almost invariably represent the Catholic Church as the enemy of the Bible, as withholding it from the faithful, and as being conscious that it is opposed to her claims.

When a Catholic reads or hears such statements, he is sometimes at a loss to know what line of defence he should adopt. The statements are so utterly untrue in

[1] *Studies in Modern Problems—Catholic and Protestant*, p. 5.

themselves, yet so confidently and offensively repeated, that he is naturally inclined to act on the defensive, to indignantly deny the allegations, and to explain the true relation of the Catholic Church to the Bible. This is the first and the natural impulse. But to act on the defensive involves one grievous disadvantage. It seems to recognise the adversaries' position. It grants that he has a right to interrogate, and that he is entitled to an answer to what is really an impertinent question.

Catholics have too long submitted to occupy this disadvantageous position.

When asked such questions as: Why we do not admit the Bible to be the sole rule of faith; or, why we do not claim the blessed privilege of reading it without note or comment; or, why we do not interpret it for ourselves under the guidance of the Holy Spirit; or, why we do not co-operate in putting it into the hands of all, young and old, learned and unlearned, wise and foolish, clean and unclean; the answer should be, at least in the first instance, neither explanatory nor apologetic, but after this fashion: You interrogate me about the Bible! Pray, sir, what is the Bible? Where have you got it, how do you know that the book you call by that name is the Bible at all? You tell me that the Bible is a collection of sacred books containing the inspired word of God. But by whom were those sacred books collected and preserved through the ages? How can you prove the inspiration of the Bible? Is it from the Bible itself, or from an external living authority? You cannot prove it from the Bible itself, without first presupposing its inspiration, and thus incurring a fallacy in your reasoning. If you undertake to prove it from an external living authority, then you must recognise the infallible Catholic Church which has been constituted by Christ as the legitimate custodian and interpreter of the Bible. You must also remember what St. Augustine said: "I would not believe the Gospel did not the authority

of the Church move me thereto." Even Luther, the father of the Reformation, in his contest with Zuinglius, admitted that it was from the Catholic Church the Reformers received the Bible:

"Deny the Scripture also," he said, "for we have received it too from the Pope. . . . We must acknowledge that there are great mysteries of faith in the Papacy,—yea, all truth that we have inherited; for it is in Popery that we found *the true Scriptures*, true baptism, sacrament of the altar, the true keys which remit sin, true preaching, the true Catechism which contains the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments—that is the true Christianity."[1]

An effort is sometimes made to evade the difficulty of the situation by retorting that Catholics prove the inspiration of the Bible by the infallibility of the Church, and again the infallibility of the Church from the inspired Bible. This reasoning is said to involve the same fallacy. Such, however, is not the case. Catholics do not use the *inspiration* of the Bible in proving the infallibility of the Church. As far as the Scriptures are at all used in the proof Catholics appeal to them merely as an authentic record of the words of Christ, in which the promise of infallibility is clearly contained.

What has been said regarding the inspiration of the Bible applies with equal force to the

CANON OF SCRIPTURE.

It, too, can be proved only by the authority of the Church, and as Protestants reject the authority of the Church, they are not in a position to prove either the canon or the inspiration of Scripture. Here, then, we might consistently take our stand until these preliminary questions are answered by Protestants on Protestant principles.

If we go further it is not from any controversial necessity, but, as waiving our right, *ex abundantia juris*, as logicians say, and for the purpose (1) of justifying the *doctrine* of the Catholic Church regarding the Rule of Faith and

[1] *Op. Lutheri. Jenæ.*, fol. 408-9.

her consequent *practice* regarding the reading of the Bible; and (2) of showing that she has ever been the jealous guardian and the faithful interpreter, the authoritative witness and the untiring dispenser of God's Word. Under these two heads, then, the remaining matter will be arranged.

In regard to the first head of our enquiry let me state at once, and unreservedly, that the doctrine and practice of the Catholic and Protestant Churches are unmistakeably at variance with each other, nay, the substitution of the Bible instead of the authority of the Church, as the sole Rule of Faith, and its indiscriminate circulation, constitute the very corner-stones of Protestant doctrine and practice.

"We may well assert," says Herbert Marsh, "that the rejection of tradition as a rule of faith was the *vital principle of the Reformation.*"[1]

"What I have always conceived to be the great leading principle of Protestantism is," writes Shuttleworth, "the entire sufficiency of Scripture, independently of tradition, as a rule of faith and doctrine."[2]

"With the doctrine of the supremacy of the Holy Scriptures to the consciences of individuals, and the right of private judgment in contradistinction to the authority of the Church, she (the Reformed Church of England) stands or falls."[3]

"The great and fundamental distinction between the Roman Catholic and the Protestant religion," says Gayer, "consists in this very point, that while Protestants maintain that a full and perfect rule of faith is contained in the Scriptures, and that, consequently, these furnish *in and by themselves* a sufficient basis for all doctrines necessary to salvation, the Church of Rome holds, &c."[4]

The Catholic and Protestant Churches differ fundamentally regarding both the *remote* and the *proximate* Rule of Faith. By the *remote* Rule of Faith is meant the depository in which the body of revealed doctrine is contained. By the *proximate* Rule of Faith is meant the *means* given by Christ for ascertaining the genuine *sense* of the revealed truths which are contained in the remote Rule of Faith.

1 *Comparative View of the Churches of England and Rome*, p. 83.

2 *Not Tradition but Scripture*, p. 21-2.

3 Goode, *Regula Fidei Divinæ*, Vol. i. præf. p. xliii.

4 *Catholic Layman*, Vol. i., p. 61.

In regard to the *remote* Rule of Faith, Protestants hold that the whole body of revealed truth is contained in Holy Scripture, that is, in the *written* word of God. The Catholic Church on the other hand holds that the Apostles, in addition to the doctrine which they committed to *writing* to meet the necessities of particular churches, also communicated *orally* to the faithful a considerable part of the body of revealed doctrine, which has been handed down without interruption, and which is to be received with the same pious reverence and affection as is due to what is contained in Scripture.[1]

With reference to the *proximate* Rule of Faith, Protestants hold that the Bible interpreted by the *private judgment* of each one is the *means* established by Christ for ascertaining the sense of revealed doctrine. Catholics on the other hand believe that the Bible is the *depository* and not the *organ* of revealed truth, and that the infallible authority of the Church is the divinely appointed *means* of securely interpreting God's revelation to man. We are now to confine our attention to the *proximate* Rule of Faith, and to the revealed truths contained in the New Testament.

Because we cannot accept the Bible as the sole Rule of Faith, or because we cannot approve, therefore, of its promiscuous circulation without note or comment or proper safeguard, do we then yield to Protestants in our veneration of it? No, we look on the Bible, as an eloquent Catholic writer has said, as the holy, the sublime, the awful Word of God, over which saints have meditated in cells for years of ineffable sweetness, yet of solemn reverence; round which scholars, pale with watching, have wreathed the flowers they have woven or culled into

[1] Before any part of the New Testament was written, the Church had begun her mission by oral teaching. That mission she continued for at least sixty years before the New Testament was completed. Her authority, therefore, does not rest on the New Testament.

variegated commentaries; which the silver voice of virgins, or the deep tones of holy monks have chanted in breathless midnight, that no earthly sound might disturb the depth of their meditation; as a communication of the one Spirit of God, revealing His will in sundry ways through prophets and apostles; as a treasure of spiritual honey, drawn from a thousand flowers of various delicacy of perfume, but each preserving its own sweetness; as a gem of matchless price, reflecting in an infinite number of facets, the ever-varying yet constant image of God, in His might, in His sweetness, in His anger, in His love, in His Unity, in His Trinity, in His heavens, on His earth, on Sinai and on Calvary; the noblest, greatest, divinest of things unsacramental: and therefore it is that we do not put it indiscriminately, unceremoniously, into the hands of every one. We shrink through reverence for it, from making it the schoolboy's task-book, the convict's present, the drunkard's pawned pledge, the dotard's text-book, the irreverent jester's butt, the fanatic's justification for every vice, blasphemy, and profaneness which he commits. But great as is our veneration for the Bible, yet we cannot believe that God intended it as the sole Rule of Faith.

Amongst the many arguments which might be adduced in support of this belief I shall confine myself to a few of the least technical and most popular.

In the first place, if God intended the Bible to be the sole Rule of Faith—as Faith is necessary for salvation and as God "wishes all men to be saved, and to come to the knowledge of truth"—His divine Providence should have secured:

1st. That every man could become possessed of *a* Bible.

2nd. That every man could know that his was a copy of *the* Bible.

3rd. That each one could be certain that he rightly interpreted his Bible.

4th. That the adoption of the Bible, as the sole Rule of Faith, should conduce to unity of Faith, purity of morals, and the promotion of Divine Worship.

But as the Providence of God has not secured any of these results, we legitimately conclude that the Bible is not the Sole Rule of Faith, for (1) all men could not become possessed of *a* Bible.

We are reminded by a vigorous writer, that twelve years had passed since the full body of revelation was given to the Apostles, and yet not a line was written intended to be permanent. The first Gospel then appears, but fifty more years elapse before the fourth is given to the world. St. John allowed more than sixty to intervene between the death of his divine Master and his own record of His life. Who does not see that if his Gospel, certainly the most beautiful and instructive, had formed a part of a plan essential to salvation, St. John would not have deferred the duty of writing it. He would not have waited till he should become a very aged man, nor trusted to his being delivered alive from the boiling oil into which he was cast by Domitian, nor to his not having to drink as fully as his brother James of the cup of martyrdom to which Our Lord had equally pledged them both. It was, in fact, a new heresy that prompted him to write; had it come a few years later, or had not St. John's life passed the apostolic average, we might have been deprived of his heavenly Gospel.

Where in the whole New Testament, the same writer asks, are we told that our Lord gave His apostles a precept to write, or delivered to them a code to be written, or prescribed a single *written* formula, liturgy, or prayer? Is it not clear from all that we can gather from the sacred writers, that their Divine Master left all this to the transient impulse of the moment, to the sway of circumstances, to the demands of friendship, to the claims of local charity,

to suggest the occasion, and the form and the amount, and the very substance of what each would deliver to particular churches, or to families, or to individuals, of the immense and still unexhausted stores that were entrusted to them? And is all this compatible with the idea of an essential requisite of His religion, nay, the only essential requisite, being the compilation of the New Testament? He allowed the very flower and beauty of His Church to pass away, before a word was written; the one-hearted and one-souled Church of Jerusalem had drooped and withered; the chair of Antioch, where Christianity first found a name, had migrated to Rome, leaving only a glorious foot-hold of the primacy impressed, in thankfulness, on that privileged city; the Church's cradle had been sprinkled with blood before the first reed was dipped in ink, under the Holy Spirit's guidance, to write the first words of the new inspiration.

Holy men had gone to their reward; St. Stephen was stoned; St. James was martyred; nay, the Mother of our Redeemer died, without ever enjoying what is alleged to be the prerogative of every Christian—the possession of a complete copy of the Bible. Moreover, Apostles themselves were wandering in Scythia, and Armenia, and India, and founding churches, unconscious perhaps of what their brethren had written, unable certainly to communicate it to their neophytes; yet their work stood firm on its basis, and cemented to the great universal Church. The eunuch had gone rejoicing from the road of Gaza to Queen Candace, and had borne Christianity to the depths of the African desert; but Philip had no New Testament to give him as a parting gift, or as a safe record of what he had to preach. His only Gospel was Isaias and the short commentary on it which Philip had given him in his chariot. And so Saint Irenæus tells us that many nations possessed Christianity "without ink or paper." Are we then to believe that these Saints, these Apostles, these Churches,

were, in that privileged season of God's mercy, deprived of what alone was to be the solace, the stay, the foundation, the bulwark, the lode-star, the helm, the salvation of every Christian? From the death of the Apostles to the invention of printing the Written Word was accessible to very few. Fourteen hundred years had elapsed before the printing press made any large circulation of the Bible possible. Before that time the cost of transcription put it beyond the reach of the majority of mankind. It is computed that even at the present day a copy of the Bible, written on parchment, would cost over £200. And nowadays, when Bibles can be purchased at a small cost, they cannot be utilized by the vast numbers who are unable to read.

(2). Supposing that from the very beginning of Christianity every man was possessed of *a* Bible which he could read, he should be certain, before using it as his sole Rule of Faith, that it was a true copy of *the* Bible. But a Protestant, acting on his own principles, can, as we have already seen in dealing with the inspiration of Scripture, have no such assurance. Again, nearly nineteen hundred years have passed since Christ delivered His message to men, and since the New Testament was written. But during the greater part of that time the Bible was exclusively in the custody of the Catholic Church.

Now, if the Catholic Church, as Protestants assert, has erred in doctrine, has corrupted the primitive revelation, and if for eight hundred years and more, as the second book of Homilies declares, "laity and clergy, learned and unlearned, all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom, have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry," what assurance can a Protestant have that the Bible contains in all its parts the genuine revelation of Christ?

But (3), suppose for a moment, that each man, woman, and child was supplied with a true copy of *the* Bible, still

it could not serve as the sole Rule of Faith. Because its meaning can never be ascertained with the certainty of faith by private interpretation. For,

WHAT IS THE BIBLE?

One of the best answers to this question is that given by the great Edmund Burke:

"The Scripture," he says, "is no one summary of doctrines regularly digested, in which a man could not mistake his way: it is a most venerable, but multifarious, collection of the records of the Divine economy: a collection of an infinite variety of cosmogony, theology, history, prophecy, psalmody, morality, apologue, allegory, legislation, ethics, carried through different books by different authors, at different ages, for different ends and purposes. It is necessary to sort out what is intended: for example, what only is narrative; what to be understood literally, what figuratively; where one precept is to be controlled and modified by another; what is used directly, and what only as an argument *ad hominem;* what is temporary, and what of perpetual obligation; what appropriate to one state and to one set of men, and what to the general duty of Christians."

Considering the variety of authorship, of matter, and of style, the profundity of the doctrine, the obscurity of the prophecy, and the figurativeness of the language, we readily borrow the expression of one who has eloquently written that, though God could have given us a Bible as easy to read as a child's primer, a Bible in words of two syllables, He has, on the contrary, chosen to give us a work more difficult to understand than any other perhaps in existence.

No Greek classic, no Arabic or Persian Poet, no Hindoo Mystic is more obscure. It is mere cant and rhapsody to assert the contrary. What can a peasant who is told to read through his Bible make out of . . . the minute regulations for sacrifices, uncleannesses, diseases, and expiations in Leviticus; of the wars, the exterminations, the merciless dealings of Josue, Samuel, and Kings? What meaning will he draw from the poetry of the prophets; from the woes of Isaias against the Moabites, Ethiopians, Babylonians, and Syrians; from the obscure parabolic visions of Ezechiel, from the locusts of Joel; the unclean

marriages of Osee; the murmurings of Jonas; the dark adumbrations of Habaccuc? And the Psalms, and Job, and Ecclestiastes, so deep, so obscure, so full of danger to a single false step in misapplication, who can conceive what nonsense or even blasphemy, an untutored mind may elaborate from them, reading them, and certainly not understanding them, with the proud assurance that it is just as privileged as the most learned doctor's, to comprehend, and to explain, and to apply whatever they contain? And last of all take the "Canticle of Canticles." What delicacy of mind and feeling, what a knowledge of the existence, and principles of a mystical application, what a power of abstracting from apparent sensuality of thought and phrase, and of dwelling only on its chastest antithesis—love divine—does not the most mysterious, most perplexing and most bewildering gift of divine inspiration, demand for its profitable, or even its safe perusal?

But considered as a practical book, from which the reader has to distil his own code of morals, and his own articles of faith, and including the New as well as the Old Testament, it becomes a thousand times more difficult, not to say more dangerous.

It is no wonder then that even Luther, who had adopted the Bible as the sole Rule of Faith, was forced, when others used it against himself, to cry out at the end of his days: "Dear Lord God! we cannot understand Holy Scripture so easily, though we study it with all diligence." (*Tischreden* ii., c. 5, p. 46.) If Luther, with all his natural genius and deep study, found so much difficulty in the interpretation of Scripture, aided, as his ardent admirers believe, by extraordinary natural and supernatural assistance, what is to be said of the unlearned, the simple, and the unstable, except that they are apt to misunderstand it, and "wrest it to their own destruction?"

(4). If the Bible were given by God as the sole Rule of Faith, its adoption should conduce to unity of doctrine,

purity of morals, and the promotion of divine worship. Unity is one of the notes or marks of the Church of Christ. It is, according to the efficacious prayer of her Divine Founder, the law of her existence, the evidence of her truth, the proof of her divine origin. But we have overwhelming proof that the adoption of the Bible as the sole Rule of Faith resulted and still results in ever increasing disunion and disintegration.

Before the close of the sixteenth century two hundred and seventy Protestant sects were enumerated by Staphylus and Cardinal Hosius. Indeed, we have the distinct confession of the leading Reformers themselves to the same effect. In his last speech in Parliament, Henry VIII. declared:

"I am extremely sorry to find how much the Word of God is abused; how people squabble about the sense; how it is turned into wretched rhymes, sung and jangled in every ale-house and tavern; and all this in a false construction, and counter-meaning to the inspired writers. I am sorry to perceive the readers of the Bible discover so little of it in their practice; for I am sure, charity was never in a more languishing condition, virtue never at a lower ebb, nor God Himself never less honoured and worse served in Christendom."[1]

Luther speaking of the Bible Christians developed under his own system says:

"This one will not hear of baptism, that one denies the Sacrament, another puts a world between this and the last day; some teach that Christ is not God, some say this, some say that; there are about as many sects and creeds, as there are heads. No bumpkin is so rude, but when he has dreams and fancies, he thinks himself inspired by the Holy Ghost and must be a prophet."[2]

And such was the utter confusion of doctrine, that he is compelled to declare:

"If the world endureth much longer, we shall be forced, by reason of the contrary interpretations of the Bible which now prevail, to adopt again, and take refuge in, the decrees of the councils, if we have a mind to maintain unity of faith."[3]

Calvin very unwillingly confesses the same sad truth. Writing to Melancthon, he says:

"It is of great importance that the divisions which subsist among us should not be known in future ages! for, nothing can

1 Collier's *Eccl. Hist.* Part ii., B. iii., Vol. v., p. 208. Ed. Lond., 1852.

2 De Wette, iii. 61.

3 II. cont. Zuinglium.

be more ridiculous than that we who have been compelled to make a separation from the whole world, should have agreed so ill amongst ourselves from the beginning of the Reformation."[1]

Beza is even more emphatic:

"Our people," he says, "are carried way by every wind of doctrine. If you know what their religion is to-day, you cannot tell what it may be to-morrow. In what single point are those Churches, which declared war against the Pope, united amongst themselves? There is not one point which is not held by some of them as an article of faith, and by others rejected as an impiety."[2]

Melancthon was if possible still more impressed with the disintegrating effects of the new Rule of Faith:

"The Elbe," he says, "with all its waters, could not furnish tears enough to weep over the miseries of the distracted Reformation."[3]

These opinions of the early Reformers have been re-echoed by reflecting Protestants, who looked at the situation dispassionately. Jenaer says:

"How insecure the Bible is, as a foundation for a system of religion, may be learned from the fact, that all the advocates of the Bible have formed their peculiar and contradictory creeds from the same volume, and anathematized and persecuted each other on the same plea."[4]

Dr. Honinghaus, in his work on the Protestant evidences of Catholicity, gives the views of the most eminent non-Catholic German writers on this subject, and there is an extraordinary consensus of opinion that the new doctrine as to the Bible *being the sole Rule of Faith*, is eating into the very vitals of religion in Germany:

"Can any man deny, that there are but few passages in the New Testament from which all readers deduce the same meaning? Now which of these is the right? Which should be adopted? Who is to decide?—who *can* decide?"[5]

"Were Luther to rise again from the grave, he could not possibly recognise as his own, or as members of the society which he founded, those teachers who in our Church, would fain, now-a-days, be considered as his successors. He founded his Church in Saxony. We come together to thank God for its foundation; but alas, it is no more," is the mournful complaint of Reinhard.[6]

1 *Calvin to Melancthon*, Epist. 141.

2 Theod. Beza, *Epist. ad Aud. Dudit.*

3 *Epist.* lib. ii., Ep. 202.

4 *Allgem. Literatur-Zeitung*, No. 48, 1821.

5 Lessing, *Beiträge zur Gesch. der Literat.*, B. vi, s. 58.

6 *über die Kirchen*, Verbesserung, 1800.

"*According to genuine Protestant principles, it is impossible* that the *internal dissensions of the Church can be cured, except superficially;* they cannot be stopped by the power of the Church, *but must bleed on internally.*[1]

"Within the compass of a square mile, you may hear four, five, six, different gospels. The people, believe me, mark it well; they speak most contemptuously of their teachers, whom they hold either for blockheads or knaves, in teaching these opposite doctrines; because, in their simplicity they believe that *truth is but one*, and cannot conceive how each of these gentlemen can have a separate one of his own." [2]

The injury to public morality is a branch of the subject I approach with repugnance and it is one on which I do not desire to dwell. Luther will tell us what promiscuous reading of the Bible did for Germany. With all his partiality for the work of his own hands, he is forced to admit that it were no wonder if his beloved Germany

"Were sunk in the earth or utterly overthrown by the Turks and Tartars, by reason of the hellish and damnable forgetfulness and contempt of God's grace which people manifest; nay, that the wonder is, that the earth does not refuse to bear them and the sun to shine upon them any longer."[3]

"Everything is reversed," he laments, "the world grows everyday the worse for this teaching; and the misery of it is, that men *are now-a-days more covetous, more hard-hearted, more corrupt, more licentious, and more wicked, than of old under the papacy.*"[4]

"Our evangelicals," he declares, "are now sevenfold more wicked than they were before. In proportion as we hear the Gospel, we steal, lie, cheat, gorge, and commit every crime. If one devil has been driven out of us, seven worse ones have taken their place, to judge from the conduct of princes, lords, nobles, burgesses, and peasants, their utterly shameless acts, and their disregard of God and His menaces."[5]

Luther, of course, could not be expected to admit that this universal depravity was the result of his own teaching, but he cannot conceal that such, at any rate, was the popular opinion, and he sorrowfully avows that men:

"Loudly and complainingly *attributed it all to the gospel, or, as they call it, the new learning.*"[6*]

1 Schleiermacher, *Reformations-alman.*, 1819.

2 Fischer, *Einleitung in die Dogm. der Evang. Kirche.*

3 Quoted in Döllinger's *Die Reformation*, Vol. i., p. 312.

4 *Ibid.* p. 297. 5 *Ibid.* p. 285. 6 *Ibid.* p. 289.

* Modern historians have obscured the distinction which existed at the beginning of the 16th century between (1) the new religious teaching "made in Germany," and called, as here, The New Learning, and (2) the revival of secular learning called "Renaissance Culture," or "Humanism." Churchmen in England, as we know from Erasmus and More, while opposed to the former, were ardent patrons of the latter.

And even in the last days of his life so bitterly did he feel the immorality of the city which he had made the seat and centre of his doctrines, that he considered residence in it no longer endurable.

"Let us but fly from this Sodom!" he wrote to his wife, "I will wander through the world, and beg my bread from door to door, rather than embitter and disturb my poor old last days by this spectacle of the disorder of Wittenberg, and the fruitlessness of my bitter dear toil in its service."

But it may be said that this is but the exaggerated language to which Luther's vehement temperament led him. Well, "the mild Melancthon," as his admirers call him, was not given to the use of strong words. Yet this is his statement:

"In these latter times the world has taken to itself a boundless license; that very many are so unbridled as *to throw off every bond of discipline, though at the same time they pretend that they have faith,* that they invoke God with the true fervour of heart, and that they are lively and elect members of the Church."[1]

"The morals of the people," he declares, "all that they do, and all that they neglect to do, are becoming every day worse. Gluttony, debauchery, licentiousness, wantonness, are gaining the upper hand more and more, among the people, and in one word, every one does just as he pleases."[2]

Nor did these disastrous results cease at any later period. Of Germany, the *Edinburgh Review* of Oct., 1880, remarked:

"The land which was the cradle of the Reformation has become the grave of the Reformed faith. . . . All comparatively recent works on Germany, as well as all personal observation, tell the same tale. Denial of every tenet of the Protestant faith among the thinking classes, and indifference in the masses, are positive and negative agencies *beneath which the Church of Luther and Melancthon has succumbed.* . . . In contiguous parishes of Catholic and Protestant populations, one invariable distinction has long been patent to all ages and conclusions. *The path to the Catholic Church is trodden bare, that to the Protestant Church is rank with grasses and weeds to the very door.*" (pp. 530, 539.)

Even in England, the home of the "open Bible" and the source of its promiscuous circulation, the same unhappy condition of things seems to be steadily advancing. At the Plymouth Church Congress in 1876, Canon Money did not hesitate to tell his audience:

[1] Quoted in Döllinger's *Die Reformation*, Vol. i., p. 403. [2] *Ibid.* p. 385.

"However the sections of the working class might differ in intelligence, in sobriety, in honesty, they nearly all agreed in this—*They were alienated from Christianity. Barely five per cent. attended public worship.*"

And in a paper read at the Leicester Church Congress in 1880, he added:

"It is well that we should think of Heathenism abroad, but we do not need to be constantly reminded of that Heathenism at home, which threatens to submerge this dear land of ours beneath a flood of ungodliness, vice, and intemperance."

We might adduce additional Protestant testimonies almost without number, to prove that not only faith, but morals also, suffered grievously from the rejection of authority and from the substitution of private judgment as the Rule of Faith; but enough has been said to show that the Bible was never intended by God to be the sole Rule of Faith, as well as to vindicate the Catholic Church from the taunt of not joining in the indiscriminate circulation of the Scriptures.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHURCH THE GUARDIAN AND THE INTERPRETER OF THE BIBLE.

We have now to prove that the Church has been in every age the jealous guardian, the faithful witness, the authoritative interpreter, and the prudent dispenser of Holy Scripture. And this we purpose to prove by showing —1st, how she collected the sacred writings into one volume, and how largely the Bible enters into her Missals, her Breviaries, her Rituals, and her daily devotions; 2nd, her success in issuing a standard version of the Latin Vulgate; 3rd, her care in multiplying, at the cost of great labour and expense, as many copies as possible in MS.; 4th, her zeal in consecrating the first fruits of the printing press by the issue of correct versions of the Bible and in publishing versions in vernacular languages; 5th, the repeated encouragement given to the study and reading of the Bible by Popes and Bishops. Finally, I hope to vindicate her action when, from local and temporary causes, she found it necessary, in defence of the Bible and in the interests of the faithful, to prohibit the reading of corrupt versions.

If, as we are so repeatedly told, the Reformers in the sixteenth century gave the Scriptures to the people in the vernacular, the Scriptures must have been in existence in some language or other at that time. But more than fifteen hundred years had elapsed between the period of the Reformation and the translating of the sacred books, and where were they during all those eventful centuries when the art of printing was unknown, or how were they

preserved? A written document of any importance requires the attestation of witnesses, and are not the Holy Scriptures written documents? The Bible did not come to us as a bound book such as we have it to-day. Let us take the New Testament. There were no fewer than twenty-one gospels current among the faithful at the beginning. There was an epistle of St. Barnabas, which is still extant, there was an epistle of St. Clement, Bishop of Rome, the third Pope in succession from St. Peter, but also a contemporary of his (Philip. iv.3), for the sword of the persecutor caused a very rapid succession of Popes in the first ages of the Church. This, too, has come down to us. There was, besides, a work called the "Shepherd," by St. Hermas, who was one of St. Paul's friends.[1] And these were read in many churches in those early times. On the other hand, again, the epistle to the Hebrews, the two epistles of St. Peter, the epistle of St. James, that of St. Jude, the two last of St. John, the Book of the Apocalypse, and single chapters or portions of chapters in three out of the four Gospels, were questioned. But the Church is older than the New Testament, and she alone can say what writing is, and what is not, inspired of God. She had guarded her sacred treasure from pagan profanation and heretical corruption; her children had gladly gone to martyrdom rather than betray the holy writings into profane keeping.[2] To surrender the Scriptures into pagan hands was the most infamous of crimes; and to those guilty of this crime was first applied the name of *traitor*, shameful in all after ages.

Tertullian, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, appeal to her authority to prove that there are but four genuine Gospels, and that the others scattered about are not to be received. She sent forth her canon of Scripture, and in

[1] Rom. xvi. 14.

[2] See, amongst others, the acts of St. Felix, Bishop of Tiburia (4th October), and of St. Euplius (12th August).

the first Council of Toledo, speaking with an authoritative voice, in which there was not a single note of uncertainty, she threatened to cut off from her communion *any one who would say or believe that other Scriptures besides those which the Catholic Church receives are to be held in authority or to be venerated.*[1]

And Protestants, though they do not admit the fact, yet pay daily tribute to the Church for her jealous guardianship of the sacred volume, all the while that they jauntily accuse her of being the enemy of the Bible. The Sixth Article admits as canonical only those books of the Old and New Testament the authority of which was never doubted. But as we have seen there are several portions of the New Testament that were doubted, and yet, following the authority of the Catholic Church against the express teaching of their own, they receive these portions as the inspired Word of God.

The Church has enshrined the Holy Scriptures in her liturgy and devotions. The Mass is her supreme act of divine worship, and the Mass is largely made up of the Scriptures.[2] The Office which her priests are bound to recite daily is almost entirely composed of the Scriptures; her prescribed prayers and her approved books of devotions are filled with Scripture language and thoughts.

The Church, knowing the wondrous power of mental vision, and what an agency it is for good or evil, employed it from the beginning to enrich her children's minds with

1 "Si quis dixerit vel crediderit alias scripturas, præter quas Ecclesia Catholica recipit, in auctoritate habendas, vel esse venerandas, Anathema sit." (*Labbe*, Vol. ii. Col. 1476.)

2 Of the Gospel of St. Matthew, 701 verses; St. Mark, 189; St. Luke, 1521; St. John, 1124; Of the Acts, 184; Of the epistle to the Romans, 82; 1 Corinthians, 130; 2 Corinthians, 83; Galatians, 59; Ephesians, 49; Phillipians, 34; Colossians, 14; 1 Thessalonians, 36; 2 Thessalonians, 8; 1 Timothy, 29; 2 Timothy, 14; Titus, 15; Hebrews, 59; Epistle of St. James, 29; 1 Epistle of St. John, 16; 1 Epistle of St. Peter, 62; making a total of 4,438 verses from the Gospels and Epistles only: besides the Introits, Offertories, and other parts of the service, which are almost wholly taken from Scripture; nor have we cited the large extracts from the Old Testament contained in the Missal alone. Some passages are repeated in different Masses.

the treasures of the Scriptures. When book-learning was little known and could be little used, when persecution raged fiercest, the early Christians could read the glad story of Redemption in their bibles on stone or canvas.

"Even in the gloom of the Catacombs there was shown the subtile and strong æsthetic tendency, combined with a consecrating spiritual conviction, which afterwards broke into light more splendidly in the dexterous carvings and capitals of Ravenna, or its superb and shining mosaics; in the rude bronze gates of the Veronese Church of San Zenone—anticipating those more famous at Florence; in many features and ornaments of churches which have not ceased to attract and charm the eyes of travellers."[1]

What are her material temples, with their touching stories on wall or niche or window, but so many Bibles that the sculptor's chisel and painter's pencil have faithfully copied? This is the thought that Ruskin has so beautifully expressed, that I cannot forbear quoting it:

". . . And this thought may surely dispose the reader to look with some change of temper upon the gorgeous building and wild blazonry of that shrine of St. Mark's. He now perceives that it was in the hearts of the old Venetian people far more than a place of worship. It was at once a type of the Redeemed Church of God, and a scroll for the written word of God. It was to be to them, both an image of the Bride, all glorious within, her clothing of wrought gold; and the actual Table of the Law and the Testimony, written within and without. And whether honoured as the Church or as the Bible, was it not fitting that neither the gold nor the crystal should be spared in the adornment of it; that, as the symbol of the Bride, the building of the wall thereof should be of jasper (Rev. xxi. 18), and the foundations of it garnished with all manner of precious stones; and that, as the channel of the Word, that triumphant utterance of the Psalmist should be true of it,—'I have rejoiced in the way of thy testimonies as much as in all riches.'"

"And shall we not look with changed temper down the long perspective of St. Mark's Place towards the sevenfold gates and glowing domes of its temple, when we know with what solemn purpose the shafts of it were lifted above the pavement of the populous square? Men met there from all countries of the earth, for traffic or for pleasure; but, above the crowd swaying for ever to and fro in the restlessness of avarice or thirst of delight, was seen perpetually the glory of the temple, attesting to them, whether they would bear or whether they would forbear, that there was one treasure which the merchantman might buy without a price, and one delight better than all others, in the word and the statutes of God. Not in the wantonness of wealth, not in vain ministry to the desire of the eyes or the pride of life, were those marbles hewn into transparent strength, and those arches

[1] Storr's *Divine Origin of Christianity*, p. 233.

arrayed in the colours of the iris. There is a message written in the dyes of them, that once was written in blood; and a sound in the echoes of their vaults, that one day shall fill the vault of heaven—'He shall return, to do judgment and justice.' The strength of Venice was given her, so long as she remembered this; her destruction found her when she had forgotten this; and it found her irrevocably, because she forgot it without excuse. Never had a city a more glorious Bible. Among the nations of the North, a rude and shadowy sculpture filled their temples with confused and hardly legible imagery; but for her, the skill and treasures of the East had gilded every letter and illumined every page, till the Book-temple shone from afar off, like the star of the Magi."[1]

With the people of the pre-Reformation times, reverence for the inspired writings was a part of their very being. It permeated every relation of life, and in England, it was the web and the woof of the very Constitution itself. "*The Scriptures are the common law upon which all other laws are founded,*"[2] was the declaration of Chief Justice Prisot many a long year before the Tudor settlement in religion was ever dreamt of. When men speak of the Church's hostility to the Bible we have but to remind them of the recognised law of England when that country was thoroughly Catholic from Land's End to John o' Groat's house.

"Offences immediately against God are indictable as . . . *all profane scoffing at the Holy Scriptures, or exposing any part thereof to contempt or ridicule.*"[3]

England has got rid of the Pope, and much of its literature, subversive of all religion and printed with impunity, is a melancholy proof that the nation has got rid of the Bible too, so far, at least, as profane scoffing at it is an offence against the common law.

It would fill many volumes to write anything like an adequate account of the zeal of the Popes in urging the reading of the Scriptures by the faithful. I may give but a few illustrations. We have seen that it was Pope St.

[1] Ruskin, *The Stones of Venice*, Vol. ii., pp. 115-116.
[2] Blackstone's *Commentaries*, Vol. iv. p. 59.
[3] Hawkin's *Pleas of the Crown*, p. 359.

Damasus who appointed St. Jerome to the work of translating the Bible into Latin, and right nobly did he and his successors encourage the indefatigable scholar. To the great Pope, St. Gregory, England is indebted for the Christian faith, and of St. Gregory's love for the sacred writings, and his efforts to propagate them, his extant works are the best witness. His words have come down to us, and they enable us to realise in what mould the popes of the Middle Ages were set, for Gregory is regarded as the founder of Mediæval Papacy. In his fifth Homily on Ezekiel he writes:

"Be very careful, I beseech you, my dear brethren, to meditate on the Word of God. Do not neglect the *Divine Writings*, which are as letters sent to us from our Creator. We receive a very great advantage by them; for, by reading these writings our hearts are warmed, and our love is kept from being quenched, or growing cold from iniquity."

"The greater any man's friendship is, the more free and bold he is in declaring his thoughts to his friend. I have a complaint to make to the sweet and amiable heart of my son Theodorus, that having received from God the talent of ingenuity, the talent of prudence, the talent of mercy and charity towards the poor, yet he is so taken up with the affairs of this world, and satisfying those that come continually to him, that he neglects to read every day some of the Words of his Redeemer. For what is the Holy Scripture but a letter which Almighty God has vouchsafed to send to his creatures? And surely, whatever place you were in if you received a letter from an Emperor, at any time whatsoever, you would not defer the reading of it; you would give yourself no rest or sleep before you knew what was his Imperial Majesty's pleasure. And yet the King of Heaven, the Lord of men and angels, has sent you letters concerning your own happiness; and you neglect, my dear and excellent son, to read these divine letters, when you ought rather to be impatient to know what they contain. I beseech you therefore, to apply yourself to them hereafter with a particular affection, and meditate every day on the words of your Creator. Learn out of the Word of God the greatness of His love towards you, that you may be excited to long more earnestly for eternal happiness, and your heart inflamed with more ardent desires after Heaven."

Again, writing to Leander, Archbishop of Seville, to whom he sends his comments on the Book of Job, this great Pope teaches us:

"As the Word of God contains mysteries capable of exercising the most discerning minds, so it includes plain truths fit to nourish the most simple and ignorant. It carries on its

surface wherewithal to suckle its children, and keeps in its recesses that which may wrap up in admiration the most exalted minds: being like a river whose water is so shallow in some places that a lamb may wade in it, and in others so deep that an elephant may swim in it."

To promote the study of the Sacred Scriptures, Pope Clement V. at the Council of Vienne, in 1311, decreed that professorships of Hebrew, Greek, and Eastern languages should be established in all ecclesiastical colleges. It was by the command of Pope Gregory XIII. the Bible was translated from the Latin into the Polish language, and was published at Cracow, in 1599, with the approbation of Clement VIII. This is the version now generally read in Poland. The names of Popes Pius IV., Pius V., Sixtus V., and Gregory XIV., are inseparably linked with the history of the revised, or as it is called, the Sixtine Edition of the Vulgate, so earnestly did they strive to make that work as free as could be from imperfection.

The great Pontiff, Pius VI., writes, April, 1778, to Martini, Archbishop of Florence, to congratulate him on his new Italian translation of the Bible, and to recommend to the Universal Church the reading of the inspired volume.

"At a time," he states, "that a vast number of bad books, which most grossly attack the Catholic Religion, are circulated among the unlearned, to the great destruction of souls, you judge exceedingly well, that the faithful should be excited to the reading of the Holy Scriptures. For these are the most abundant sources which ought to be left open to everyone, to draw from them purity of morals and of doctrine, to eradicate the errors which are so widely disseminated in these corrupt times. This you have seasonably effected, as you declare, by publishing the Sacred Writings in the language of your country, suitable to every one's capacity; especially when you show and set forth that you have added explanatory notes, which, being extracted from the holy fathers, preclude every possible danger of abuse."

The same holy Pontiff strongly commended Father Scio's Spanish version of the Scriptures, the first portion of which was printed in 1793. Pius VII., in a Rescript, dated 18th April, 1820, and addressed to the Vicars Apostolic of England, earnestly exhorts the Catholics of

that country to read with loving reverence approved vernacular versions of the sacred Scriptures. Alliol's German version received the special sanction of the Holy See. It was issued from 1830 to 1837, and each volume bore the approbation of Gregory XVI. It is the translation now used in Germany. Pius IX., after a special examination of Glaires' French version of the Bible, gave it his heartiest approbation. The same revered Pontiff warmly encouraged the circulation of a Latin and Italian Bible, with Dorè's illustrations, which was then being published in penny numbers. He blessed, in fact, all the subscribers to the work. And the great Pontiff who now rules over God's Church, in his luminous Encyclical Letter, 18th November, 1893, urges "that in seminaries and academical institutions the study of Holy Scripture be placed on such a footing as its importance and the circumstances of the time demand. With this view, the first thing which requires attention is the wise choice of professors. Teachers of sacred Scripture are not to be appointed at hap-hazard out of the crowd; but they must be men whose character and fitness are proved by their love of, and their long familiarity with, the Bible, and by suitable learning and study." And in the very introductory words of the same Letter he tells us how the solicitude of the Apostolic office naturally urges and even compels him "not only to desire that this grand source of Catholic revelation should be made safely and abundantly accessible to the flock of Jesus Christ, but also not to suffer any attempt to defile or corrupt it, either on the part of those who impiously and openly assail the Scriptures, or of those who are led astray into fallacious and imprudent novelties."

But I am not writing the biographies of the Popes. If I were I could easily prove that, in devotion to the sacred writings nearly every one of the august line of Pontiffs was a counterpart of a Damasus or a Gregory.

One has only to glance at the history of the Church to see with what holy enthusiasm the most prominent ecclesiastics gave themselves to biblical studies, and to the work of propagating the Scriptures. St. Dunstan is sometimes reproachfully called the founder of the mediæval English monasticism and according to Maitland[1] this is the manner in which that great bishop occupied his time:

"He used to spend such leisure as he could retrieve from public affairs in religious exercises, and among other things in reading the divine writings *(divinas scripturas)* and correcting the copies of them."

Around the name of Cardinal Langton are clustered the glories of Magna Charta, and such was his profound knowledge of Holy Scripture that many historians attribute to him the division of the Bible into chapters.[2] To Cardinal de St. Cher, as Mosheim testifies, are we indebted for the concordance of the Bible which is so necessary for the student of biblical literature.

And here I may remark that the Church was the generous patron and enthusiastic promoter of printing. This will sound strange to those who have been always told that the Reformation and enlightenment are twin terms. But history is the witness to the truth, and history tells us that it was in abbeys and monasteries that printing presses were first set up. Jackson in his work on Wood-Engraving writes:

"Although it has been asserted that the monks regarded with jealousy the progress of printing as if it were likely to make knowledge too cheap, and to interfere with a part of their business as transcribers of books, such does not appear to have been the fact. *In every country in Europe* we find them to have been the first to encourage and promote the new art, and the annals of typography most clearly show that the greater part of the books printed within the thirty years, from the time of Gutenberg and Fust's partnership, were chiefly for the use of the monks and the secular clergy." Again, he tells us that, "Melchior de Stampain, Abbot of St. Ulric and St. Afra at Augsburg, who had established a printing press in that monastery in 1472, had to use great interest with the municipal authorities of the city to permit printing presses to be set up by some of the exiled Mainz printers, as they thought it would interfere with the privileges of the craft of the wood-engravers."

[1] *Dark Ages*, p. 496. [2] Churton and Lingard amongst others.

Stowe tells us[1] that Caxton first practised his art in the Abbey at Westminster, and that afterwards there were printing presses in St. Augustine's Abbey at Canterbury, in St. Alban's Abbey, and in other monasteries of England. How grudgingly this fact is admitted by English writers is shown in the following extract from Merryweather. He cannot get rid of the fact that printing owes everything to the calumniated monasteries, so he must add his own not very logical comments. At any rate he has to admit that the monks were passionately devoted to the promotion of knowledge. He writes:

"We must not forget that the monks, with all their sloth and ignorance, were the foremost among the encouragers of the early printing press in England; the monotony of the dull cloisters of Westminster Abbey was broken by the clanking of Caxton's press; and the prayers of the monks of old St. Alban's mingled with the echoes of the pressman's labour. Little did those barefooted priests know what an opponent to their Romish rites they were fostering into life; *their love of learning and passion for books drove all fear away;* and the splendour of the new power so dazzled their eyes that they could not clearly see the nature of the refulgent light just bursting through the gloom of ages."

In their encouragement of printing the monks were following very high authority. We know that Pope Paul II. invited two printers from Mainz—Sweynheim and Pannartz—to his dominions where they established a printing press in the Benedictine Monastery of Subiaco. The librarian of the Vatican, Bishop John Andreas de Bussi, supplied them with the best manuscripts, and not only wrote prefaces and dedications for their works but actually corrected the proof-sheets. Soon after they removed their press to Rome to be more immediately under the encouraging influence of the Supreme Pontiff.

Returning from this short but necessary digression, to the subject of preaching, I may observe that what is true of preaching in the Middle Ages is equally true of the sermons in the centuries since the Reformation. I have a large list of preachers to select from, but I purposely take

[1] *Annals*, p. 440

St. Alphonsus Liguori, whose name, in the minds of many Protestants, is synonymous with all that is unscriptural and unspiritual. His volume of "Sermons for all the Sundays of the Year" lies before me, and I open at hazard. In the sermon on the Death of the Just, I find twenty-two quotations from Scripture; in that on the Conditions of Prayer, there are twenty-three; and in the discourse on the General Judgment there are twenty-seven quotations. Now, these sermons are short; they could each be preached, with the utmost deliberation, in about twenty minutes. Yet the Bible is the staple of their composition, for the quotations are taken from every part of the inspired volume. It would be interesting to know how many Protestant preachers there are who would make so wide and so appropriate a use of the sacred texts as St. Alphonsus does in his sermons.

Of our post-Reformation Catholic literature there are many books that are too little read. The sermons and spiritual treatises of the confessors and martyrs for the faith in the penal days should be more widely known. It is impossible to look even more cursorily through the volumes that have come down to us from those times, without feeling, beyond all manner of doubt, that the writers' minds were saturated with a knowledge of the sacred writings. It would seem that, in their hiding places,[1] those poor hunted felons had no library but the Bible. Bishop Gallagher may be fairly taken as a representative of this period, and Holy Scripture, in language as well as in thought, is the texture of his Irish sermons.

With the advent of a brighter day, we find the printing presses of Ireland and England turning out edition after

[1] There is a pathetic interest attaching to the literature of the penal times. The pastorals and other official letters of the Irish bishops in those days bore, each one of them, this heart-touching address, "*E loco Recessus Nostri*," *i.e.*, "*From our Hiding Place.*" There was danger that the documents might possibly fall into unfriendly hands, so the particular place of hiding was not mentioned.

edition of the Sacred Scriptures. As soon as more tolerant laws permitted Catholic publishers in those countries to follow their business without risking their liberty or fortune, there was, what every unprejudiced mind will consider, a marvellous issue of Catholic versions of the sacred writings. Indeed, I do not know a more convincing illustration of the Church's efforts to circulate the Bible than that which the history of Ireland gives us. That history is too largely stained with blood and tears. To destroy the Catholic faith in that land was the fixed resolve of its rulers for more than two centuries after the Reformation. Extermination of the whole Irish race was, according to the Protestant historian, Mr. Lecky, the object of the English Government, and when they could not exterminate the race, they would brutalise it. It was penal for a Catholic to learn even the alphabet; so, if he remained in his own land, he had to grow up in ignorance. In 1795 there came a gleam through the cloud. From the establishment of the great College of Maynooth may be dated the legal recognition of the Catholic religion in Ireland, and from that period to 1854—a term of sixty years—what was the circulation of the Scriptures amongst the Catholics of Ireland? From the printing presses of Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Newry, and Tuam, were issued forty separate editions of the New Testament, twenty-four editions of the Bible, and many reissues of some of these editions, several of which were stereotyped. Archdeacon Cotton in a work intended to prove the hostility of Rome to the Bible[1] is my authority for these figures. I know, as a matter of fact, that he does not give a complete list of editions, as, indeed, he does not profess to give, but his statements, in view of the sad history of the country, are more than enough to disprove the charge against the church. Each of these Irish editions is prefaced by the

1 The Douay and Rhemish Versions.

letter of Pius VI. to Archbishop Martini, or by a letter from the ordinary of the diocese in which it is published, earnestly recommending the faithful to reverentially study the sacred writings. And of the actual circulation of the Douay Bible in Ireland we may form some idea from the returns of a single Belfast firm. Within thirty years it had sold 308,000 copies of the Scriptures.[1] Archdeacon Cotton gives a number of editions of the Old and New Testaments during the same period, from Catholic publishers in London, Liverpool, Derby, Edinburgh, and Glasgow, so that the copies printed in Ireland are not an index to the actual circulation amongst the Irish people. Several of these English and Scotch editions sold largely in Ireland.

In 1836 the Irish Hierarchy declared:

"The Catholics of Ireland, of mature years, are permitted to read authentic and approved translations of the Holy Scriptures with explanatory notes; and are exhorted to use them in the spirit of piety, humility, and obedience. The clergy of the Catholic Church are bound to the daily recital of a canonical office which comprises, in the course of a year, almost the entire of the sacred volume; and her pastors are required on Sundays and on festivals to expound to the faithful, in the vernacular tongue, the epistle or gospel of the day, or some other portion of the divine law."[2]

And in connection with the Bible in Ireland it may be remembered how Father Mathew, the great Apostle of Temperance, wrote an earnest letter to his disciples in 1847, urging each of them to provide their homes with a copy of the holy volume, and to reverently and often read the New Testament. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, the reports of the Irish Bible Societies are ever overflowing with sympathy for the poor benighted Irish Catholics who are utter strangers to Scriptural truth!

In 1836 the Vicars Apostolic of England published a declaration similar to that of the Irish Episcopacy:

"As to the translations of the Holy Scriptures into modern languages, the Catholic Church requires that none shall be put

[1] O'Hagan's *Defence of Father Petcherine.*

[2] Quoted in Killen's *Presbyt. Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, Vol. ii., p. 560, also in Cotton.

into the hands of the faithful but such as are acknowledged by ecclesiastical authority to be accurate, and conformable to the sense of the originals. There never was a general law of the Catholic Church prohibiting the reading of authorised translations of the Scriptures; but considering that many, by their ignorance and evil dispositions, have perverted the meaning of the Sacred Text, to their own destruction, the Church has thought it prudent to make a regulatoin that the faithful should be guided in this matter by the advice of their respective Pastors." After further remarks, and after citing the Rescript of Pope Pius VII., dated April 18, 1820, and addressed to the Vicars Apostolic in England, the Bishops add: "But when the reading and circulation of the Scriptures are urged and recommended as the entire Rule of Faith—as the sole means by which men are to be brought to the certain and specific knowledge of the doctrines, precepts, and institutions of Christ; and when the Scriptures so read and circulated are left to the interpretation and private judgment of each individual; then such reading, circulation, and interpretation are forbidden by the Catholic Church; because the Catholic Church knows that the circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by each one's private judgment, was not the means ordained by Christ for the communication of the true knowledge of His Law to all nations; she knows that Christianity was established in many countries before one book of the New Testament was written; that it was not by means of the Scriptures that the Apostles and their successors converted nations, or any one nation, to the unity of the Christian faith; that the unauthorised reading and circulation of the Scriptures, and the interpretation of them by private judgment, are calculated to lead men to contradictory doctrines on the primary articles of Christian belief,—to inconsistent forms of worship, which cannot all be constituent parts of the uniform and sublime system of Christianity, to errors and fanaticism in religion, and to seditions and the greatest disorders in states and kingdoms."

Nor was there anything new in these declarations. From the very beginning the Church has asserted and reasserted her claim to be the guide in the interpretation of the Sacred Scriptures. St. Irenæus brings us back to the Apostolic age, for he was the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was the disciple of St. John the Evangelist. And St. Irenæus is most explicit in maintaining the absolute right of the Church to expound the inspired writings. Mr. Cruttwell[1] makes this frank admission:

"The Church is regarded by him (Irenæus) as the authorised custodian and interpreter of the Christian faith, and if any doubt arises as to where the right of interpretation rests, he refers to the Apostolic Churches, and particularly to that of Rome, as the authentic repositories of the true traditions."

[1] *Lit. History of Early Christianity*, Vol. ii. p. 387.

St. Irenæus is admittedly a reliable witness for the second century when, as even the most extreme non-Catholics will admit, the Church was free from taint of error, and this is his testimony:

"There, where are the *charismata* of the Lord, it is necessary that we should learn the truth, amongst those with whom is that Church succession which is assuredly sound and blameless teaching. For they preserve our faith both in the one God who made all things . . . and *without danger* expound to us the Scripture."[1]

The illustrious Bishop of Hippo, St. Augustine, tells us that the faith of the fourth century was in perfect accord with the teaching of St. Irenæus. To the Church, which is the pillar and the ground of truth, and to her alone does St. Augustine go for the right interpretation of the sacred books.

"The Scriptural truth is retained by us in the matter when we do that which the whole Church approves, whom the authority of the same Scripture commends. So that inasmuch as Holy Scripture cannot deceive, let whosoever fears deception on the obscurity of this question consult the Church, which Holy Scripture, without any ambiguity, points out to him."[2]

"They are deceived by many and manifold obscurities and ambiguities who read rashly, mistaking one thing for another, and what they wrongly look for in certain places they find not, to such an extent do certain obscure sayings involve in deepest darkness."[3]

St. Jerome, too, the great biblical scholar, whose Latin translation of the Scriptures has been for centuries the admiration of the world, submits his judgment unreservedly to the judgment of the Church. He writes:

"The leaders of the Church enter into the gates of the mysteries of God, and, having the key of knowledge, understand the mysteries of Scripture, and open them to the people entrusted to them."[4]

Many Protestants, I know, admit that the Church's claim to be the interpreter of the Bible is in complete harmony with the history of Christianity though it is to be regretted that they, too often, gave but faltering utterance to their belief. To recognise fully this claim of the

[1] *Cont. Hær.* lib. iv. c. 26, n. 1, p. 262.
[2] *Contra Crescon.* lib. i. c. 33., n. 39.
[3] *De Doct. Christ.* Lib. ii. c. 6. [4] In Isai. t. iv., p. 236.

Church is, for a non-Catholic, to reach the parting of the ways, so that we must make large allowance for the timid character of their statements. Thus writes Bishop Ellicott:[1]

"We have been told that to interpret by the Nicene or Athanasian Creed is not only to mar the simplicity of Scripture, by bringing it in contact with what is artificial and technical, but consciously to involve ourselves in a plain and patent anachronism. The charge of anachronism may be readily disposed of by observing that, in thus interpreting Scripture, we are really interpreting it by what, in a certain sense, is anterior to it, viz., the principles of that faith of which Scripture is itself the exponent. *Ante mare fluctus.* There seems satisfactory evidence (comp. 1 Thes. v. 1; 2 Thes. ii. 5) that deeper things were communicated orally to the earliest Christian converts than were afterwards committed to writing. Most justly, then, has it been observed that, when we thus recur to the principles of the faith for our guidance in expounding Scripture difficulty, we are interpreting, not by "the result of three or four centuries of controversy," but by appeals to fixed principles of Christian doctrine, the greatest part of which were known, believed, and acted on in the very earliest age of the Gospel."

[1] *Essay IX.*, Aids to Faith.

CHAPTER III.

THE VULGATE THE STANDARD CATHOLIC BIBLE.

The Church closed the avenue to every danger of mistranslation by choosing a standard copy of the Bible, to which all other versions were to be conformable. St. Augustine tells us that, in the earliest times of the Faith:

"The Holy Scripture, diffused far and wide, through the various languages, was made known to the nations unto salvation."[1]

And although the Greek versions were very numerous they were far exceeded in number by the Latin translations, "which had multiplied beyond the possibility of enumeration."[2] Of these there is one called the *Vetus Itala*, dating back to the first century, which formed the basis of the version which St. Jerome, at the request of Pope Damasus, wrote in the fourth century and which is known as the Vulgate. For this very great work St. Jerome was peculiarly fitted. He was marvellously proficient in the Greek and Latin classics, and had been taught Hebrew by Jewish scholars. To make himself thoroughly master of the Scripture narrative, he travelled much through the Holy Land, and spent several years in a monastery at Bethlehem.

The Vulgate, as it has come down to us, is the work of St. Jerome to this extent that he corrected the New Testament of the *Vetus Itala*, or, as it is often called, the Old Vulgate; he translated from the Hebrew the proto-canonical books of the Old Testament; and, moreover,

1 "Ex quo factum est, ut etiam Scriptura divina, per varias interpretum linguas, *longe lateque diffusa*, innotesceret gentibus ad salutem." (*De Doctr. Christi.* lib. ii. c. 5.)

2 "Qui enim Scripturas ex Hebraicâ linguâ in Græcam verterunt numerari possunt; Latini autem interpretes nullo modo." (*Ibid.*, c. ii.)

corrected the deutero-canonical[1] books of the Old Testament, according to the best manuscripts of the Septuagint. This great work occupied St. Jerome from 383 A.D. to 403. But owing to the circumstances of the times, it came but gradually into use. Besides, too, the early Christians held the ancient Greek version of the Old Testament as well as the *Vetus Itala* in great reverence. The former had been translated from the Hebrew about 280 years before our Lord's birth. It is known as the Septuagint, and many of the citations from the ancient Scriptures ascribed in the New Testament to our Blessed Saviour are taken from it, and not from the old Hebrew Text. St. Jerome's text has been, however, the recognised version of the Western Church since the time of Pope St. Gregory the Great, and in 1546 the Council of Trent decreed that it should be adopted, as being the most ancient, the most used—as representing more correctly the state of the ancient copies of the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures than any other Latin version, or even probably than any other then or now existing Greek or Hebrew edition; and finally, as having been prepared ages before the modern disputes, and therefore unbiassed by them.[2] But it is well to

1 "'Every Scripture' is inspired, says S. Paul. But what is Scripture? The sacred volume itself gives no answer. The Canon of Scripture is an ecclesiastical dogma finally and authoritatively determined for Catholics by the Councils of Florence and Trent in accordance with the tradition of East and West. This Canon includes, as of equal authority and inspiration, the seven books which Protestants, following the old Hebrew Canon, style Deutero-canonical or Apocrypha. Of these latter books the Church of England in her 6th Article says:—'And the other books (as Hierome saith) the Church doth read, for example of life and instruction of manners: but yet it doth not apply them to establish any doctrine.' So Luther fixed his own canon. But by what authority? The Anglican 6th Article professes to fix the Canon by Tradition - and so fixes the New Testament Canon—but in practice follows the Synagogue rather than the Christian rule of Scripture for the Old Testament.

"The N. T. writers refer 350 times to the O. T., and of these references 300 are taken from the Greek Septuagint which, in Apostolic times, contained our so-called Deutero-canonical books. And in Gospels and Epistles implicit allusions to these books are found, though 7 books of the old Hebrew Canon are never quoted. The Church, and the Church alone, not the Bible itself, defined the Canon of Scripture."—See Dr. Barry's *Tradition of Scripture*, Chap. vi. (Longmans).

2 Waterworth, *Hist. Council of Trent.*

remember that the *authenticity* which the Council of Trent claims for the Vulgate means no more than that this copy of the Holy Scripture *is free from all error in faith or morals,* and that it fairly represents the original Scriptures in all important particulars. The Council never thought it practical to bring out an edition of the Scriptures that should be perfectly faultless.[1]

And Protestant scholars have borne clearest witness that the Vulgate is what the Council of Trent claims for it.

Grotius declares that he always "has a great esteem for the Vulgate, not only because it contains no unsound doctrine, but because it contains much erudition."[2] Michaelis affirms that "*this version* is the most perfect of all"; and he calls on his hearers, Protestant and Catholic, to bear witness to the authority he has always granted it.[3] In the judgment of Gerard the best and most ancient manuscripts decide in favour of the Vulgate; it is generally well done, faithful, and often renders the sense of Scripture better than the greater number of the modern versions.[4]

Schaff quotes approvingly of it that it is:

"As a monument of ancient linguistic power this translation of the Old Testament stands unrivalled and unique."[5]

Coppinger in his *Incunabula Biblica* also quotes, with approval, what Dr. Geddes wrote of St. Jerome's version:

"In his diction and phraseology," he wrote, "there is a peculiar grace and noble simplicity which it is not easy to imitate, and which no other Latin version, except that of Houbigant, in any degree possesses."[6]

And the same most competent authority bears his own testimony to the fidelity of St. Jerome's version to the original:

1 See Dixon, *Introd. to Script.*

2 *Præf. Annot. in V. Test.* Amst. 1679, t. i.

3 *Supplem. ad Lex. Hebraic.* pt. iii., p. 992; and *Biblioth. Orient.*, vol. xxi., no. 311

4 *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, § iv., nn. 269, 270.

5 *Religious Encycl.*, Art. Bible versions. 6 p. 224.

"There is another reason," he tells us, "tending to increase the value of the Vulgate, and that is, that being made before those controversies arose which are the foundation of most of the sects now subsisting, there could have been no bias from party zeal to either side of the question . . There is a wide-spread impression arising from ignorance amongst Protestants that the Vulgate is a version formed with the object of supporting what they consider the peculiar tenets of the Church of Rome; and possibly this may have arisen in consequence of the declaration of authenticity of the Vulgate solemnly pronounced by the Council of Trent. But who not blinded by ignorance, or prejudiced by party bigotry, can regard less favourably a version, universally esteemed for centuries previously, by reason of a declaration made in its favour in the sixteenth century? The allegation usually is that the Vulgate is calculated to support Roman errors and corruptions; but how could a version in current use in the Church for ages before the period when these errors and corruptions are alleged to have crept in, form the basis on which they are raised?"[1]

Scrivener writes:

"In justice it must be observed, that no case of wilful perversion has ever been brought home to the Vulgate."

The Rev. Mr. Horne cites the authority of Richard Simon, the learned Oratorian, to show:

"That the more ancient the Greek manuscripts and other versions are, the more closely do they agree with the Vulgate, which has, in consequence, been more justly appreciated."

He himself unequivocally asserts that:

"The Latin Vulgate preserves many true readings, where the modern Hebrew copies are corrupt."[2]

Dr. Campbell thoroughly agrees with the reasons given by the Council of Trent in the selection of the Vulgate version. He says:

"It must be taken into consideration that even the last part of this translation [the Vulgate] has been finished for about fourteen centuries." . . . "There are in this circumstance two things which should recommend the work in question to the serious examination of the critic. The first is, that this version having been made from manuscripts more ancient than the greater part, or even than the whole, of those which remain to us, it occupies to a certain extent the place of these manuscripts, and furnishes us with a probable means for discovering what were the lessons which Jerome found in the copies which he had collected with so much care. The second is, that having been completed long before the rise of those controversies which are the foundation of most of the sects at present existing, it is, we may rest assured, exempt from all party influence."[3]

[1] *Religious Encycl.*, Art. Bible Versions, p. 226.

[2] *Introd. Crit. Study of Scriptures*, Vol. ii., p. 239.

[3] *Dissert.* x, p. 394; cf. also *The Tradition of Scripture*, by W. Barry, D.D. Sec. I., Chap. I.

CHAPTER IV.

THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE BIBLE.

I have incidentally referred to the money value of Bibles in the days when the printing press was unknown. Undoubtedly Bibles were scarce in those days. But as Dr. Maitland very justly reminds us:

"We are not hastily to conclude that wherever there existed no single book called a Bible, the contents of the Bible were unknown. The canon of Scripture was settled, indeed, as it is now; but the several parts of which the Bible consists were considered more in the light of separate and independent books than they are by us. To copy *all* these books was a great undertaking; and even when there was no affectation of caligraphy or costly ornament, and when we reduce the exaggerated statements about the price of materials to something reasonable, it was not only a laborious but a very expensive matter. Of course, writing and printing are very different things. I do not pretend to speak with accuracy (for it would require more trouble than the thing is worth), but I am inclined to suppose that at this day a copy of our English Bible, paid for at the rate at which law-stationers pay their writers for common fair-copy on paper, would cost between sixty and seventy pounds for writing only; and farther, that the scribe must be both expert and industrious to perform the task in much less than ten months. It must be remembered, however, that the monasteries contained (most of them some, and many a considerable number of) men who were not to be paid by their work or their time, but who were officially devoted to the business. Of this, however, I hope to say more hereafter, and to show that there was a considerable power of multiplication at work. In the meantime, I mention these circumstances merely as reasons why we should not expect to meet with frequent mention of *whole* Bibles in the Dark Ages. Indeed, a scribe must have had some confidence in his own powers and perseverance who should have undertaken to make a transcript of the whole Bible; and that (except under particular circumstances) without any adequate motive, supposing him to have practised his art as a means of subsistence. For those who were likely to need and to reward his labours either already possessed some part of the Scriptures, and therefore did not require a transcript of the whole, or, if it was their first attempt to possess any portion, there were but few whose means or patience would render it likely that they should think of acquiring the whole at once."[1]

[1] *Dark Ages*, pp. 232-3.

Considering the difficulties that beset the student's path on every side when books existed only in manuscripts and those manuscripts so rare and costly, it is significant what an extensive knowledge of Holy Scripture the Church demanded from aspirants to the priesthood.

I select one out of many proofs at hand. Wilkins tells us that the Canons of Aelfric, about 950, decree that:

"Every priest before he is ordained must have the arms belonging to his spiritual work, that is, the holy books, namely, the Psalter, the Book of Epistles, and the Book of Gospels, the Missal, the Book of Hymns, the Manual, the Calendar, the Passional, the Penitential, and the Lectionary; for these books a priest requires, and cannot do without, if he would properly fulfil his office, and desire to teach the law to the people under his care; and let him carefully see that they are well written."[1]

Learned Anglican writers fully testify that this and other similar enactments of the Church obtained most dutiful fulfilments amongst the clergy.

Dr. Maitland writes thus:

"The writings of the Dark Ages, are, if I may use the expression, *made of the Scriptures*. I do not merely mean that the writers constantly quoted the Scriptures, and appealed to them as authorities on all occasions, as other writers have done since their day; though they did this, and it is a strong proof of their familiarity with them: but I mean that they thought and spoke and wrote the thoughts and words and phrases of the Bible, and that they did this constantly and habitually as the natural mode of expressing themselves. They did it, too, not exclusively in theological or ecclesiastical matters, but in histories, biographies, familiar letters, legal instruments, and documents of every description. I do not know that I can fully express my meaning, but perhaps I may render it more clear if I repeat that I do not so much refer to direct quotations of Scripture, as to the fact, that their ideas seem to have fallen so naturally into the words of Scripture, that they were constantly referring to them in a way of passing allusion which is now very puzzling to those who are unacquainted with the phraseology of the Vulgate, and forms one of the greatest impediments in the way of many who wish to read their works. It is a difficulty which no dictionary or glossary will reach. What the reader wants, and the only thing that will help him, is a Concordance of the Vulgate, in which to look out such words as seem to be used in a strange and unintelligible way. Without seeing them in their original context, there is little chance of discovering their meaning: but then is it not clear that the passage was present in the mind of the writer, and that he expected it to be so to those of his readers? How could it be otherwise?"[2]

[1] *Consilia*, Vol. i., p. 252. [2] *Dark Ages*, p. 507.

And the Rev. Mr. Blunt repeats Dr. Maitland's testimony:

"There has been much wild and foolish writing," says this author, "about the scarcity of the Bible in the ages preceding the Reformation. It has been taken for granted that the Holy Scripture was almost a sealed book until it was printed in English by Tyndale and Coverdale, and that the only real source of knowledge respecting it before then was the translation made by Wycliffe. The facts are that the clergy and monks were daily reading large portions of the Bible, and had them stored up in their memory by constant recitation; that they made very free use of Holy Scripture in preaching, so that even a modern Bible reader is astonished at the number of quotations and references contained in mediæval sermons; that countless copies of the Bible were written out by the surprising industry of cloistered scribes; that many glosses or commentaries were written which are still to be seen full of pious and wise thoughts; and that all laymen who could read were, as a rule, provided with their gospels, their psalter, or other devotional portions of the Bible. Men did, in fact, take a vast amount of personal trouble with respect to the productions of the Holy Scriptures; and accomplished by head, hand, and heart, what is now chiefly done by paid workmen and machinery. The clergy studied the Word of God and made it known to the laity; and those few among the laity who could read had abundant opportunity of reading the Bible, either in Latin or in English, up to the Reformation period."[1]

The above statements are re-echoed by the Rev. E. Cutts, who, writing for the Society for promoting Christian knowledge, declares:

"There is a good deal of popular misapprehension about the way in which the Bible was regarded in the Middle Ages. Some people think that it was very little read even by the clergy, whereas the fact is that the sermons of the mediæval preachers are more full of Scripture quotations and allusions than any sermons in these days; and the writers on other subjects are so full of Scriptural allusion that it is evident their minds were saturated with Scriptural diction. . . . Another common error is that the clergy were unwilling that the laity should read the Bible for themselves, and carefully kept it an unknown tongue, that the people might not be able to read it. The truth is that most people who could read at all could read Latin, and would certainly prefer to read the authorised Vulgate to any vernacular version. But it is also true that translations into the vernacular were made."[2]

Mr. Merryweather is an author who too often dips his pen in vinegar when he has anything to write about the Catholic Church. But the facts about the Bible in the Middle Ages are too stubborn for him and this is what he

[1] *Reformation, Church of England*, Vol. i. pp. 501-2.

[2] *Turning Points of English History*, pp. 201-202.

feels compelled to declare as to the reading of the sacred Scriptures in those grossly calumniated ages:[1]

"The Bible, it is true, was an expensive book, but can scarcely be regarded as a rare one; the monastery was indeed poor that had it not, and when once obtained the monks took care to speedily transcribe it. Sometimes they only possessed detached portions, but when this was the case they generally borrowed of some neighbouring and more fortunate monastery the missing parts to transcribe, and so complete their own copies. But all this did not make the Bible less loved among them, or less anxiously and ardently studied; they devoted their days and the long hours of their nights, to the perusal of those pages of the inspired truth, and it is a calumny, without a shadow of foundation, to declare, that the monks were careless of Scripture reading."

Professor Westwood was not a Catholic, and yet he has left on record that in publishing his magnificent volumes,

"His object was to show that in all ages versions of the Scripture have been made into the mother tongue of almost every nation."

If we take any history of the Middle Ages, when the Catholic Church knew no rival, we shall find continuous references to the Bible. All through the records of that time we come across such donations as these:

"In the year 780, King Offa gave to the Church at Worcester among other things a great Bible."[2]

"Leo III. in the beginning of the ninth century gave a copy of the Gospels . . . Benedict gave one to the church of St. Callistus."[3]

"Leo IV. gave a copy of the Gospels (Cunum Evangeliorum)."[4]

"Radolphus, a Norman Bishop, in 1108, gave the monks several copies of the Gospels, beautifully adorned . . . Earnulphus, in 1115, bestowed upon them a copy of the Gospels . . . Ascelin, Bishop of Rochester, in 1142, gave them a psalter, and the epistles of St. Paul."[5]

"The Emperor Henry II. of Bavaria, in the early part of the eleventh century, presented a richly decorated copy of the Gospels to the church of Mersburg. Paul, Abbot of St. Albans, gave to his church two copies of the Gospels adorned with gold and silver and gems. Duke Hugh of Burgundy, in endowing, in 1077, the Monastery of Clugni, gave at the same time three copies of the Gospels."[6]

1 *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, pp. 24-5.
2 Maitland, *Dark Ages*, p. 223. 3 *Ibid.* p. 97. 4 *Ibid.* p. 237.
5 Merryweather, *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages*, p. 61.
6 Buckingham, *The Bible in the Middle Ages*, pp. 7-8.

Most undoubtedly the Holy Scriptures were a favourite gift in the Ages of Faith, and a large volume could be filled with quotations similar to those just given, and which may be culled at random from authentic histories of the ages that are falsely called "dark."

Nor were these versions of the Holy Scriptures, as Palgrave[1] tells us, written for the mere luxury of possessing them.

"The rubrics prefixed to the Anglo-Saxon version of the gospels leave no reason to doubt but that they were regularly read to the churches on Sundays and festivals. Large portions of the Scripture were also introduced in the Anglo-Saxon homilies, or sermons; and the study of the Holy Scripture was most earnestly recommended both to clergy and laity as the ground-work of their faith."

The writings of the Middle Ages, we have been told, by Maitland and other authorities, are made up of the Scriptures. And I am glad to meet with still further recognition of the scriptural character of the mediæval preachers, especially as I find it in a most unexpected quarter. *The Christian Remembrancer*, with all its High-Church tendencies, could be often most unjust and offensive to the Catholic Church, and its admissions are, therefore, of the greater value. A writer in that Review, for July, 1854, comparing the number of Scripture references to be found in a mediæval Catholic sermon with those which occur in a modern Protestant sermon, distinctly states that "ten to one is by no means an exaggerated estimate of their relative proportions." The writer views the subject from every standpoint. He is willing that the sermons of distinguished Protestant preachers be placed alongside those of obscure, common-place mediæval monks, and the difference will be as marked. He lays special emphasis, too, on this fact. The old Catholic preachers drew their citations from all parts of Scripture alike; they were equally imbued with the spirit of all the sacred books,

[1] *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 173. [2] Quoted pp. 47-48.

whilst those, he tells us, *who now pique themselves on their knowledge of the Bible*, take their quotations only from particular books or chapters. If men want to know how to preach scripturally, spiritually, and practically, this reviewer says, that they must read the mediæval sermons. And it is necessary to remark that these sermons, so made up of Bible truths, were very largely the food on which the souls of the laity were fed.

If I were not confining myself almost exclusively to Protestant testimony, I should quote very liberally from Catholic authorities such as Digby's *Mores Catholici*, and especially from the *Bollandist Lives of the Saints*. They supply innumerable illustrations of the deep knowledge of Holy Scripture possessed by the laity, men and women, in the Ages of Faith.

But the Church was not satisfied with the mere circulation of the Bible. From the printing presses of Catholic Europe there soon came the works of the Fathers to elucidate the sacred writings. Every Latin Father, without an exception, and nearly every Greek Father must reckon Catholics as their first publishers. And to the early Catholic publishers we are indebted for one thing more, the recollection of which should shame Bible Society orators into at least respectful silence regarding the Catholic Church. Without a perfect mastery of the Greek and Latin classics, no one should attempt a translation of the Sacred Scriptures, and to *Catholic Europe* do we owe every extant Latin classic, from the offices of Cicero in 1465 to the Phædrus of 1596, as well as nearly all the Greek authors beginning with the Florentine Homer of 1488. Learning had fallen to so low a degree in Protestant England that when James I. ascended the throne in 1603, Dr. Thorpe, Hebrew Professor of Oxford, could not find Hebrew type to express his congratulations. "Sed enim typographo deerant characteres" was his apology. And

this, be it remembered, in the *first* Protestant Kingdom and university of Europe,[1] nearly a century after the Hebrew Bible had been printed in Spain, and one hundred and fifteen years after its publication in Italy.[2]

It were too long a story to tell of the labours of Catholic commentators whose names alone would fill many pages. To those great scholars Protestant learning is deeply indebted, though the obligation is very seldom acknowledged. Indeed, if one takes up a list of biblical writers given by any standard Protestant authority such, for instance, as Horne's *Introduction to the Study of the Holy Scriptures*, he must infer that the number of Catholic commentators is very small indeed. Yet Protestantism, with all its noise about biblical lore, has contributed very little to the elucidation of the sacred writings, and has really given us no names comparable with Catholic writers

1 There is no charge so repeatedly made against the Catholic Church as that she owes her existence to the continued ignorance of her members. This is a strange accusation against her to whom the world is indebted for the preservation of ancient and mediæval literature. To the Church the world is literally indebted for what knowledge it possesses from those times. Did she not found the most of the existing universities of Europe and all the great schools of the first and mediæval ages. Historians give various dates for the foundations of these universities, according as they trace them from their first and often obscure beginnings or from their later developments. But the following dates will be found in substantial agreement with most authorities. In ITALY—The University of Vicenza was founded in 1204; of Padua, in 1222; Naples, 1224; Vercelli, 1228; Piacenza, 1246; Treviso, 1260; Ferara, 1264; Perugia, 1276; Rome, 1303; Pisa, 1343; Pavia, 1361; Palermo, 1394; Turin, 1405; Cremona, 1413; Florence, 1438; Catanea, 1415. In FRANCE—Montpellier, 1180; Toulouse, 1228; Lyons, 1300; Cahors, 1332; Avignon, 1340; Angers, 1366; Aix, 1400; Bordeaux, 1441; Caen, 1450; Valence, 1453; Nantes, 1463; Bourges, 1465. In SPAIN and PORTUGAL—Salamanca, 1240; Lisbon and Coimbra, 1290; Valladolid, 1346; Huesca, 1354; Valencia, 1419; Siguenza, 1471; Saragossa, 1474; Avila, 1482; Alcala, 1592; Seville, 1504. In ENGLAND—Oxford, 1249; Cambridge, 1224. In IRELAND—The Schools of Lismore, Clonard, Bangor, Clonmacnoise, Moville, Durrow. In SCOTLAND—St. Andrew's, 1412; Glasgow, 1454; Aberdeen, 1477. In GERMANY itself—Vienna, 1365; Heidelberg, 1387; Cologne, 1388; Erfurt, 1392; Ingoldstadt, 1401; Wurzburg, 1403; Leipsig, 1409; Rostock, 1419; Greifswalde, 1456; Freiburg, 1457; Basle, 1460; Trier, 1472; Tübingen, 1477; Mayence, 1477; Wittenberg, 1502; Frankfurt, 1506 In BOHEMIA—Prague, 1347. In POLAND—Cracow, 1347. In DENMARK—Copenhagen, 1479. In SWEDEN—Upsal, 1477. In HUNGARY—Fünfkirchen, 1367; Ofen, 1435; Pressburg, 1467.

2 *Bibl. Spenc.* Vol. i. p. 75.

in this connection. What Protestant exegetists ever rose to the high level of the Jesuit Fathers—A'Lapide, Maldonatus, and Menochius—three only out of a long bead-roll which their Order has given to the scientific exposition of the Scriptures? Of the Benedictine, Calmet, Dr. Adam Clarke is forced to acknowledge that his work "is, without exception, the best commentary on the sacred writings, ever published, either by Catholics or Protestants." If we include Catholic treatises on dogmatic theology, which is almost entirely concerned with the interpretation of Scripture texts, then we can take other Jesuit names, and without the least misgiving, assert that it would require almost a legion of the most eminent of non-Catholic writers on Holy Scripture to rival with the immortal three—Suarez, De Lugo, and Bellarmine. I select the Jesuit Order, not only for the conspicuous ability of its writers, but because, according to the Protestant fable, a Jesuit is the embodiment of all that is unscriptural and unholy.

CHAPTER V.

THE BIBLE IN THE VERNACULAR.

It is not possible to give anything approaching a complete list of the manuscript versions of the whole, or parts of the Bible, written in the vernacular languages of Europe before the art of printing was known. Those manuscripts embraced versions in Latin, Greek, Syriac, Egyptian, Abyssinian, Arabic, Persian, Armenian, Gothic, Sclavonic, German, French, Flemish, Spanish, Anglo-Saxon, English, Irish, Italian, Icelandic, Bulgarian, Hungarian, Polish, Swedish, Bohemian, Portuguese, Moldavian, Tartar, and Chinese. Copies of some of those versions are still extant, but the ravages of time and the destructive hand of man, have not left us a single page of others. Those who have sufficient leisure to make a detailed list of manuscript copies of the Scriptures will find ample material in the works of Maitland,[1] Hall,[2] Buckingham,[3] Martene,[4] Mabillon,[5] Le Long,[6] and Ebert.[7] It may not be uninteresting, however, if I mention a few of the best known of the ancient German and English translations. It will help to show the utter injustice of the charge against the Church that she caused the Bible to be a sealed book to her children.

In Germany—It has been shown beyond the possibility of doubt that there existed in the Middle Ages some seventy-two partial versions of the vernacular Scriptures, and fifty complete translations, all emanating from Catholic sources. The Bible was translated in the fourth

[1] *Dark Ages.* [2] *Who Translated the Bible?* [3] *Bible in the Middle Ages.*
[4] *Voyage Litteraire.* [5] *Various Itinera.* [6] *Bibliographia Sacra.*
[7] *Allgemeines Bibliographisches Lexicon.*

century,[1] by Ulphilas, into the dialect of Wallachia, from which the modern German has sprung. We have a version in the Teutonic made by order of Charlemagne in the eighth century; a Harmony of the four Gospels by Rhaban Maur, same period; a version of the Gospels in the Theotisc by order of Louis le Debonnaire, the son of Charlemagne. The Rev. Dr. Dibdin refers to a German version of the fourteenth century. The late Duke of Sussex had a manuscript German version of the Book of Revelations, which, according to Mr. Pettigrew, must be ascribed to the fourteenth century. Professor Westwood of Oxford tells us that "the researches of recent philologists in Germany have brought to light fragments of MSS., written in the vulgar tongue of the period, supposed to be previous to the reign of Charlemagne . . . the Cathedral of Wurzburg possesses manuscripts written in the Saxon Teutonic minuscule older than the reign of Pepin the Short (A.D. 752-768)."

In England—The number of English manuscripts hardly fell short of the number of those in German. I give a brief list that I find in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.[2] The writer tells us that as far back as the English language can be followed, there are traces of the work of the English translators of the Scriptures. St. Aidan, Bishop of Lindisfarne (died 651), is said to have translated some books of Scripture. Cædmon,[3] a lay monk of Whitby (died 680), composed a metrical version of several parts of the Old and New Testaments; Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (died 721), translated most of the books of the Bible; as did also the Venerable Bede (died 735), Alcuin (died 804), and King Alfred (died 901.)

1 Horne, *Intr. Study of Scriptures*, Vol. ii. pp. 240-5.

2 Art. English Bibles.

3 "It is a very singular, and as yet unexplained, coincidence, that his narrative of the fall of man contains passages so closely resembling Milton, that they might be literally translated into English by a canto of verses from *Paradise Lost*, taking line for line."—Sir F. Palgrave.

The English Psalter of St. Aldhelm (died 709) is still extant, and is preserved in the National Library, Paris. Next in date is the volume known as the Lindisfarne or St. Cuthbert's Evangelistarium, written in Latin by Eadfrith about 680, with an interlinear English translation added by Ealdred (about the middle of the tenth century). This manuscript is in the British Museum. The Rushworth Gospels, written in Latin by an Irish monk named MacRegol, about 820, with an interlinear English version added about eighty or one hundred years afterwards by a scribe named Owen and a priest of Harewood named Faerman. This is preserved in the Bodleian Library. We have most of the books of the Bible translated by Aelfric, Archbishop of Canterbury (994-1005). These manuscripts are to be found in the British Museum, in the Bodleian Library, and in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

In addition to the above there are also many copies of the Anglo-Saxon Psalter, and of the Gospels, in the British Museum, in the libraries of Oxford and of Cambridge, and elsewhere. Such manuscripts are found of a date as late as the twelfth century, showing that the more ancient form of the English language was in use long after the Norman Conquest. There are, moreover, two Psalters, one by William de Scoreham, who was vicar of Chart Sutton, in Kent, in 1320, and another by Richard Rolle, a chantry priest and hermit of Hampole, who died in 1349. And of the same date we have many abstracts and metrical paraphrases of particular books of the Bible, translations of the Epistles and Gospels used in Divine Service, paraphrases of Gospel-lessons, narratives of the Passion and Resurrection of our Lord, and other means for familiarising the people with Holy Scripture.

The testimony of Sir Francis Palgrave is specially valuable, as it proves how very numerous must have been

the pre-Reformation manuscript Bibles, and copies of the Old and New Testaments in whole or in part, when so many of them escaped from the spoilers' hands. It tells us, too, what value Protestant scholarship put upon the sacred writings which were allowed "to be mouldering on their shelves." We can fancy how Bible Society platforms would ring with denunciations of Rome's hostility to the holy volume, if the guardians of the Vatican Library were guilty of such neglect as this distinguished writer charges the librarians of Oxford University with. This is what Sir Francis Palgrave asserts:[1]

"That translations were multiplied; that several versions of the New Testament are still extant in manuscript; and that from the Anglo-Saxon age down to Wycliffe we in England can show such a succession of Biblical versions, in metre and in prose, as are not to be equalled in any other nation of Europe. But we have not yet produced our stores. Nay, though the greater part of the manuscripts of these versions are in the libraries of the University of Oxford, I regret to say that they remain to this hour utterly neglected and mouldering on their shelves."

Fortunately we have, yet surviving, abundant documentary evidence of the Church's teaching and practice in those ages. Manuscript Bibles, scattered through the public and private libraries of Europe, attest the loving care with which she guarded her sacred treasure, and the persevering zeal with which she propagated the truths of Holy Writ amongst her children. And in these old manuscripts Irishmen may well glory, for, silent witnesses of the past, these old parchments tell of a time when simplest faith, and purest love, and deepest knowledge, had their peaceful home in the Island of the Holy and the Learned.

Here is what Mr. Westwood, a great authority on illuminated manuscripts, writes:

"Ireland may be justly proud of the Book of Kells. This copy of the Gospels, traditionally said to have belonged to St. Columba, is unquestionably the most elaborately executed manuscript of early art now in existence."

"The art of ornamenting manuscripts had attained a perfection almost miraculous in Ireland."

1 *Anglo-Saxons*, p. 175.

"Another circumstance, equally deserving of notice is the extreme delicacy and wonderful precision, united with an extraordinary minuteness of detail, with which many of these ancient manuscripts are ornamented. I have examined with a magnifying glass the pages of the Gospels of Lindisfarne and the Book of Kells, without detecting a false line or irregular interlacement; and when it is considered that many of these details consist of spiral lines, and are so minute as to have been impossible to have been executed by a pair of compasses, it really seems a problem, not only with what eyes, but also with what instruments, they could have been executed. One instance of the minuteness of these details will suffice. I have counted in a small space, scarcely three quarters of an inch in length by less than half an inch in width, in the Book of Armagh, no fewer than 158 interlacements of a slender ribbon pattern, formed of white lines edged with black ones."

And what Westwood says, is repeated by a host of eminent writers on this subject. I quote one whose statement is above suspicion for no one has ever yet charged Giraldus Cambrensis with friendly feelings for Ireland:

"Amongst all the miraculous things of Kildare, nothing surprised me so much as that wonderful book said to have been written from the dictation of an angel in St. Brigid's own time. This book contains the four gospels, according to Jerome's version, and is adorned with almost as many richly illuminated figures as it has pages. Here you see the majesty of the Divine Countenance, there the mystic shapes of the Evangelists, furnished with six, four, or two wings; here was the eagle, there the calf; in another part the face of a man or of a lion together with other figures without number, which, if not carefully surveyed, seemed rather blots than intertwined ornaments, and appeared to be simple where there was in truth nothing but intricacy. But, on close examination the secrets of the art were evident; and so delicate and subtle, so laboured and minute, intertwined and knotted, so intricately and brilliantly coloured did you perceive them, that you were ready to say that they were the work of an angel, and not of a man; the more intently I examined them, the more was I filled with fresh wonder and amazement. Neither could Apelles do the like; indeed mortal hand seemed incapable of forming or painting them."

Of these ancient Irish manuscript copies of the Scriptures there are three that, for their great antiquity and remarkable history, deserve a passing notice. The *Domhnach Airgid* is a Latin transcript of the Four Gospels which there is the best reason for believing was the identical copy used by St. Patrick in his hours of devotion. The great Irish scholar Eugene O'Curry believed so. The Gospels of SS. Mark, Luke, and John, are perfectly preserved, but that of St. Matthew has been considerably

injured, and two of its leaves have been detached. The manuscript is enshrined in an oblong case, nine inches by seven, and five inches in height. The case is composed of three distinct covers of which the inner one is of wood, the second of copper plated with silver, and the third or outer one, which is of silver plated with gold, has a large figure of our Saviour in *alto relievo* in the centre, and eleven figures of saints in *basso relievo*, on each side, in four oblong compartments. The rim of the reliquary is ornamented with various devices, and the angles are enriched with pearls and precious jewels. The several inscriptions prove that this beautiful and most interesting specimen of early art was of purely Irish manufacture. The learned Dr. Petrie makes the first covering coeval with the manuscript itself; the interlaced ornament of the second indicates a period later than the sixth century, and the character of the embellishment in the outer covering points to the fourteenth century. This national relic—manuscript and shrine—is now in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy.[1]

The *Cathach*, or *Book of the Battle*, is a copy of the Latin Psalter transcribed by St. Columcille. It is written in a neat and quick hand, and is said to be the veritable transcript of St. Finian's copy, furtively made by the illustrious Irish saint, and which is so famed in song and story. St. Finian had just brought from Rome a copy of the Vulgate. He treasured it greatly, for it was a version then exceedingly rare in Ireland. As we have already seen, it did not become the *current* or *authorised* version until a considerable period after St. Columb's school days. The *Cathach* in its present state of preservation, contains the Psalter from the 31st to the 106th psalm. It is a most accurate transcript of St. Jerome's version, containing even the asterisks and obelisks of the Saint's correction. It is preserved in a brass casket, the top of which is covered

[1] *MSS. Materials*, p. 322.

with a silver plate, richly gilt, and adorned with marvellously wrought figures of St. Columcille, the Crucifixion, and other sacred objects. The corners were set in precious stones, but few of these remain. This precious relic, like St. Patrick's Gospel, is exhibited in the Royal Irish Academy.[1]

There is an old manuscript Bible preserved for centuries in the Diocese of Derry. The late Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Reeves, whose antiquarian researches are so well known, made a most minute examination of it, and he concluded that it *could not belong* to a later period than the seventh or eighth century. Unfortunately its history is, to a large extent, lost. Some hold that it is the Gospel of St. Martin to which there is reference in Reeve's edition of Adamnan's *Life of St. Columcille*. But when we remember the fierce and long-continued persecution to which the Catholics of that diocese were subjected, and the fact that no Catholic Bishop was allowed to live in the City of Derry for nearly two hundred years, the marvel is, not that its history has got confused, but that the book has been preserved at all. I am indebted to its present custodian, the Most Rev. Dr. O'Doherty, Bishop of Derry, for photographs of some of its pages, and for the following description of the volume:

"This manuscript is very perfect and beautiful. It contains the whole Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments in Latin, with part of St. Jerome's prefaces at the beginning, and a table of all the places from which quotations are taken, at the end. Every section begins with an illuminated letter, and the illuminations are fresh and undimmed. The text is so small that it requires very powerful sight or the aid of glasses to read it, and it abounds in contractions. But the letters are faultless. The whole volume is not larger than a pocket Breviary, measuring only 5½ in. by 3½ in."

Before leaving the manuscript versions of the Bible may I ask, is there any Protestant, laying claim to a knowledge of mediæval literature, who is not acquainted

[1] *MSS. Materials*, p. 327.

with the works of Dibdin, or of other learned co-religionists who have written on bibliographical subjects? The writer just mentioned refers to numerous manuscript versions that are scattered throughout the great libraries of Europe. But the mediæval copies of the sacred writings are not confined to the libraries; they are to be found also in the book-shops of Europe. A Catholic hardly knows how to stigmatise the presumption of educated men who assert that the Church is the enemy of the Bible. We can readily excuse the ravings of the ignorant who know no better, and who accept without misgiving, what is taught them from pulpit, press, and platform. But we cannot make such allowance for men of collegiate training or university distinction. They should know better and will have to answer for their false witness. A head of a college affiliated to a university is presumed to have at least some official knowledge of current book catalogues. Taking up a catalogue for 1893 of a well-known book collector in London,[1] and, for the present, excluding printed books, I find no fewer than eighteen manuscript copies of the Bible, in whole or in part, covering the centuries from 970 to 1420. Nor is there anything very extraordinary in such a collection, as the prices of the volumes prove. They range from £800 to £5, and the greater number of these manuscripts are marked under £100 each. A manuscript copy of Petrarch has fetched two thousand pounds, and there can be no clearer proof of the abundance of manuscript Bibles in the Middle Ages than that they should be so easily procurable after the lapse of centuries, and after so many attempts to destroy every token of those grievously calumniated ages.

The testimonies I have already quoted are surely sufficient proof of the Church's efforts to spread the knowledge of the Scriptures amongst her children. But

[1] Mr. Quaritch, Piccadilly.

Dr. Maitland, knowing that prejudice dies hard, gives another stunning blow to the popular Protestant notion. Having devoted years of study to the history of the so-called Dark Ages, he witnesses thus to those much libelled times:

"I have *not* found anything about the arts and engines of hostility, the blind hatred of half-barbarian kings, the fanatical fury of their subjects, or the reckless antipathy of the Popes. I do not recollect any instance in which it is recorded that the Scriptures, or any part of them, were treated with indignity, or with less than profound respect. I know of no case in which they were intentionally defaced or destroyed (except, as I have just stated, for their rich covers), though I have met with and hope to produce several instances, in some of which they were the only, and in others almost the only, books which were preserved through the revolutions of the monasteries to which they belonged, and all the ravages of fire, pillage, carelessness, or whatever else had swept away all the others. I know (and in saying this I do not mean anything but to profess my ignorance, for did I suppress such knowledge, I might well be charged with gross dishonesty) of nothing which should lead me to suppose that any human craft or power was exercised to prevent the reading, the multiplication, the diffusion of the Word of God."[1]

We have seen how it fared with the inspired volume in the times that our enlightened century calls *dark*. In the Ages of Faith men deemed no shrine too costly or too elaborate in which to preserve God's communications to His people. They employed the most skilled handicraft of man, and from the metals in the mine, and the pearls in the sea, and the rarest and costliest wood in the forest, were formed those reliquaries of which the few that survive are the marvel and the envy of this proud century of ours. We shall now learn from most pronounced Protestant writers

WHAT KIND OF REVERENCE WAS SHOWN IT,

and the writings illustrating it, when the light of the blessed Reformation had broken on the world.

The Protestant bishop, Collier,[2] exclaims:

"How many admirable MSS. of the Fathers, Schoolmen, and commentators were destroyed by this means! What numbers of

[1] *Dark Ages*, p. 252. [2] *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. v., p. 31.

historians of all ages and countries! *The Holy Scriptures, themselves,* much as these Gospellers pretended to regard them, *underwent the fate of the rest.*"

Fuller thus testifies to the vandalism:[1]

"What beautiful Bibles, rare fathers, subtle schoolmen, useful historians (ancient, middle, modern)! what precious comments were here amongst them! what monuments of mathematics! all massacred together, seeing every book, with a cross, was condemned for popish; with circles, for conjuring. Yea, I may say that then holy divinity was profaned, physic itself hurt, and a trespass, yea, a riot committed on the law itself, and more particularly the history of former times then and there received a dangerous wound, whereof it halts at this day, and without hope of a perfect cure, must go a cripple to the grave. . . . Yea, which is worse, many an ancient manuscript Bible cut in pieces to cover filthy pamphlets."

So wholesale was the destruction of the nation's literary treasures that even Bale, the Protestant Bishop of Ossory, the most virulent among the enemies of the ancient Church, felt constrained to record his feelings of shame and indignation:

"A great number of them which purchased these superstitious mansions, reserved of those library books, some to scour their candlesticks, and some to rub their boots; some they sold to their grocers and soap sellers, and some they sent over the sea to the book binders, not in small numbers, but at times whole ships full, to the wondering of foreign nations. Yea, the universities of this realm are not all clear in this detestable fact. I know a merchant man, who at this time shall be nameless, that bought the contents of two noble libraries at forty shillings price; a shame it is to be spoken. . . . I judge this to be a truth and utter it with heaviness that neither the Britons and Saxons, nor yet the English people under the Danes and Normans, had ever such damage of their learned monuments as we have seen in our time. Our posterity may well curse this wicked fact of our age, this unreasonable spoil of England's most noble antiquities."[2]

Regarding the destruction of the libraries with all their invaluable Scripture commentaries, I can give pages of Protestant testimony, but I shall quote just one more. A writer in the *Letters of Eminent Persons* from the Bodleian says:

"Whole libraries were destroyed, or made waste paper of. The splendid Abbey of Malmesbury, which possessed some of the finest MSS. in the world, was ransacked, and its treasures either

[1] Vol. iii., pp. 434-432.

[2] *Declaration in Lelland's Journal*, 1549; Fuller, *Ibid.*

burnt or sold to serve the commonest purposes of life. An antiquary who travelled through that town many years after the dissolution, relates that he saw broken windows patched up with remnants of the most valuable MSS. on vellum, and that the bakers had not then consumed the stores they had accumulated in heating their ovens."[1]

Mr. Merryweather,[2] referring to what he designates "the barbarous desecration" of the Book of Durham, says that "it will make the blood run cold to look on that fair manuscript" which was once "the pride and glory" of the monastic library. Of a truth, the Bible was more respected in pre-Reformation England!

If the Catholic Church was so loyal in her guardianship of the Scriptures in the days when the money value of a Bible was reckoned a small fortune, we should not expect her to be less zealous when greater facilities were given for the circulation of the holy volume.

[1] Vol. i., p. 278. [2] *Bibliomania*, p. 87.

CHAPTER VI.

WYCLIFFE AND THE ENGLISH MS. BIBLE.

We do not deny that the Church at various times in her history suppressed one or other particular version of the Scriptures. She would have betrayed her trust as the appointed guardian of the Holy Book had she done otherwise. But what we do deny is that she suppressed these versions for any other cause than that they were not truly God's deliverance to man, or that men were wresting them to their own evil designs. And Protestant authorities will be our witnesses. Who has not heard the story of Wycliffe and of all his endurance for the Bible's sake? Wycliffe's Bible seems to be a safe refuge for Protestant controversialists. No theological dissertation appears complete without some reference to *the first English translation of the Bible,* and to Rome's treatment of the fearless Reformer who was the first to give the Scriptures to the English people in the vernacular. Let us see what truth there is in this stock-in-trade argument. "The first English translation of the Bible," is a phrase that is very catching, and like many popular captions, is very apt to deceive. No doubt the great majority of Protestants understand by it the first translation of the Scriptures that was ever made for the English people. It may be well then to bear in mind that prior to Wycliffe's time the language spoken in England had been constantly undergoing modification. Dr. Johnson[1] even goes the length of saying that Sir John Gower (1320-1402) was the first who can properly be said to have written English. But we have already seen that

[1] Hist. Eng. Lang, prefixed to *Eng. Dict.*

there were versions of the Holy Scripture in the earlier languages of England.

Historical students know that French was the language of the English Court, and of the educated classes generally till past the middle of the fourteenth century. In 1363 the sitting of Parliament was, for the first time, opened by an English speech, and not till 1362 was it enacted that the pleadings in the law courts might be in English instead of in French which had hitherto been the legal language of England. But the record of the proceedings was still to be in Latin. French, however, continued for nearly a century later to be the language of the upper classes, and in it were written the rolls of Parliament, and such wills and deeds as were not in Latin. Even so late as the time of Elizabeth and of James I. we find many legal documents made up of Norman French and Latin, with hardly an admixture of English. The so-called Wycliffite Bible appeared in 1382 and before that time all of those who were able to read could read French, and nearly all could read Latin, and the Bible was easily accessible in the innumerable Latin copies, or in such French versions as existed in England. Venerable Bede tells us that the knowledge of Latin was widely diffused throughout England:

> "This Island at present," he wrote in the eighth century, "in the languages of five nations, examines and confesses one and the same science of the sublimest truth and true sublimity, viz., in those of the Angles, Britons, Scots, and Picts, *and Latins;* and this last by the study of the Scriptures, has become common to all the rest."[1]

Besides we have it on record that the Anglo-Saxon version of the Gospels was copied as late as the twelfth century.[2]

I propose to discuss briefly the questions, did Wycliffe translate the Bible? or, was his translation the *first English version*[3] of the Sacred Scriptures? Blunt, in his *Plain Account of the English Bible*,[4] says:

[1] *Hist.*, i. 1.

[2] E. M. Thompson, *Wycliffe Exhib. British Museum*, p. xvii.

[3] cf. Preface, note 1.

[4] p. 17.

"The name of John Wycliffe has been used as a peg to hang many a work upon with which the owner of the name had nothing whatever to do."

Professor Shirley warns us:[1]

"Half the English religious tracts of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been assigned to him in the *absence of all external, and in defiance of all internal evidence.*"

And Mr. Thompson, chief librarian of the British Museum, re-echoes this warning. He tells us, that to Wycliffe "much has been ascribed which is due to writers whose names have died." Of this tendency to credit Wycliffe with another man's labours we have an illustration in the commentary on the Apocalypse, and those on the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Luke, and John, which were all believed to be his writings. But Mr. Thompson assures us that[2] "Recent criticism has rejected his claim to the authorship," and as to Wycliffe's concern with the English Bible we have the testimony of the same high authority that the New Testament portion alone can be said to be even "probably" due "to the hand of Wycliffe." Indeed, the Gospels are as much as is claimed for him by the learned editors[3] in their introduction to the Wycliffite Scriptures.

"There is scarcely any contemporary evidence except that of his bitterest opponent," says Blunt, "that Wycliffe was really the author of this translation, but there can be no doubt that tradition is to be believed when it associates his name with it. . . . The popular idea of Wycliffe sitting alone in his study at Lutterworth, and making a complete new translation of the whole Bible with his own hands, is one of those many popular ideals which will not stand the test of historical inquiry."[4]

If we except the testimony of John Hus,[5] which is admittedly founded on hearsay, and a general statement by Knyghton, Canon of Leicester, as also a complaint by Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury and his suffragans,

1 *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, Introd. p. xiii.

2 *Wycliffe Exhib. B. Museum*, p. xvii.

3 Forshall and Madden. 4 *Ibid.*, pp. 17-19.

5 "It is related among the English," says Hus, "that he (Wycliffe) translated the whole *Bible* from Latin into English." (*Hist. et Monum.* ed. 1558, p. cvii.)

there is, practically, no evidence that Wycliffe translated the Bible. On the other hand, Wycliffe, in none of his undoubted writings, at least as far as I have been able to learn, advocates the reading of the Scriptures in the vernacular. No doubt he teaches that the Bible is the sole guide in faith and morals. And it is a very noteworthy fact that in Wycliffe's sermons, which seem to have been written towards the close of his life, the Scripture quotations are not made in a single instance from the version that is now asserted to be his. It may, no doubt, be said that a preacher often turns his Latin text into English whilst he is speaking. But we are dealing with the formal and carefully prepared sermons of Wycliffe, and if he translated the Scriptures, we should surely expect him to do his best to popularise his own version. The same thing is to be said about every work he wrote. Not even once does he quote from his own reputed copy. But, how are we to explain away the silence of his contemporaries, for with the exceptions already noticed, not one refers to his translation of the English Bible? His other books are freely noticed, and his errors unsparingly spoken of. But not a single word is to be found, either of praise or of blame, as to his connection with the English Bible.

It is not denied that some of his immediate followers had a share in translating the Scriptures. Mr. Thompson writes:

"In this (*i.e.*, the translation of the Old Testament into English), which was probably the work of Nicholas Hereford, one of Wycliffe's most ardent followers at Oxford, the Latin was rendered too literally, to the disadvantage of the English translations. Two MSS. of the Old Testament which are preserved in the Bodleian Library are of the greatest value for the history of the Wycliffite version. For one of these is the original MS. of the translator; and the other, which is transcribed from it, has a note at the end assigning the work to Hereford. It is remarkable that both MSS. break off abruptly in Baruch iii. 20. Hence it may be inferred that the translator was interrupted in his work and never resumed it. When we remember that Hereford was summoned before the Synod in 1382, and that soon after he left England to appeal to Rome, we may fairly conjecture that it was at that date that he suddenly ceased from his labours.

The remaining portion of the Old Testament may have been finished by Wycliffe himself. The whole portion of the Bible, therefore, was probably completed by the end of the year 1382."

That Wycliffe could have translated and transcribed the remaining portion of the Old Testament in so short a time, without even considering his restless disposition, is, to say the least, very doubtful. But Hereford, admittedly, had a chief part in the translation, and who was Hereford? He was a Doctor of Divinity of the Queen's College, Oxford. In the beginning he took sides with Wycliffe, and was excommunicated. He appealed, however, to the Pope, and his orthodoxy having been clearly established, he was in time promoted to the office of Chancellor of the Diocese of Hereford, and was subsequently made Treasurer. Some years after he had received these dignities he became a Carthusian monk in the Coventry Charterhouse. The manifest difference of style between the Old and New Testaments suggested the need of a revised version. Mr. Thompson says[1] that:

"Wycliffe may have commenced the work of revision. It was carried to a successful issue by John Purvey, his disciple and the friend of his last days."

Purvey, it may be remarked, made a full recantation of his opinions at St. Paul's, London, in 1400, and was subsequently promoted to offices of trust. His name appears as that of a former owner on a copy of this revised version. There is one most noteworthy fact about this revised copy. The preface and the text are beyond question in the same hand. Now it is an indisputable fact that there were earlier translations of the Scriptures before Wycliffe was born. Usher, the Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, for instance, mentions an English version of the New Testament written in 1290,[2] and other writers speak of at least two more English versions, in the same century. Lewis, the admiring biographer of Wycliffe, in his *History of the English Translations of the Bible*,[3] gives an

[1] P. xix. [2] *De Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis*, p. 155. [3] P. 12, ed. 1739.

account of "several attempts which were made to translate into the English then spoken, the Psalter, the Hymns of the Church, and the rest of the Holy Scriptures." But, it is tolerably certain that the writer of the preface to this revised Bible, reputedly Wycliffite, had no knowledge of previous translations. He does not even mention the fact of their existence. Such ignorance is inconsistent with the idea that it was the work of Purvey whom Walden, Wycliffe's great opponent, calls "an illustrious doctor of great authority." The preface, too, is utterly inconsistent for a follower of Wycliffe, for it professes a scrupulous care to give the interpretation of approved "doctors and common glosses." Is not this exactly what we find Catholic translators or editors of the Bible doing in our own day? Moreover, the preface is free from attacks on Catholic doctrine.

But fortunately we have independent witnesses. We have the evidence of Blessed Thomas More that there was a version long before Wycliffe's time. He could not possibly have given his testimony in a clearer or less ambiguous manner. We are to remember that he lived little more than a century after Wycliffe, and that he vouches his own personal witness to having seen copies of the pre-Wycliffite versions of the Scriptures. In English History there is no name that appeals more directly to the affections of the people as the very synonym of all that is purest and best in heart and mind, than does that of Blessed Thomas More. The illustrious martyr records some facts that are of the utmost importance for the right understanding of the action of the Old English Church in relation to Wycliffe and his followers. He states distinctly that long before Wycliffe's time there was an English translation of the Bible in general use amongst the people; that he had seen copies of it; that there was no legislation of the Church against the reading of the Scriptures till Wycliffe's translation appeared; that the

Church's prohibition only regarded corrupt translations; that the version which was known as Wycliffe's favoured several heresies, and that its preface contained most offensive teaching concerning the Blessed Eucharist. Many Protestant writers have tried to explain away his words, but in face of the evidence I adduce I am confident that their efforts will be regarded as labour lost.

I shall quote Blessed More's testimony in dealing with the several phases of the Wycliffite controversy. This is his evidence as to the existence of pre-Wycliffite Bibles, the spelling of the words being modernised.

"As for old translations before Wycliffe's time they remain lawful and be in some folk's hands. *Myself have seen and can show you, Bibles, fair and old, in English which have been known and seen by the Bishop of the Diocese and left in laymens hands and womans.*"

Now we have not here a mere chance statement of Blessed More. He repeats it at different times, as we shall see, and points to the actual existence of pre-Wycliffite Bibles in his own day. And he lived when the old manuscript copies of the Scriptures were still held in reverence amongst the people, so that the truth of his statement could have been easily tested. The very repetition of the statement by a man of More's mental and moral qualities is sufficient proof of its trustworthiness. Still, the evidence of the holy martyr may be objected to, as Blessed More went to the block in defence of the Pope's Supremacy, and so I produce testimony that should satisfy the most ardent Bible Society orator. Archbishop Cranmer testifies in the most unambiguous terms to the free circulation of the Scripture in the pre-Reformation English Church. The *custom* of that Church is his argument in support of the Bible in the vernacular.

"If the matter should be tried by custom," he says, "we might also allege custom for the reading of the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and prescribe the more ancient custom.

"For it is not much above one hundred years ago, since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the Vulgar tongue within this realm: and many hundred years before that, it

was translated and read in the Saxon tongue, which at that time was our mother tongue: whereof there remain yet divers copies found lately in old abbeys, of such antique manner of writing and speaking, that few men now be able to read and understand them. And when this language waxed old and out of common usage, because folk should not lack the fruit of reading, it was again translated into the newer language whereof yet also many copies remain and be daily found."[1]

Cranmer in specifying "not much above one hundred years ago" as the limit of the anti-vernacular epoch, has evidently before his mind the decree of the synod of Oxford which was held in 1408, under the presidency of Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, and with which we shall deal a little further on. But meanwhile it is well to note his emphatic confirmation of Blessed More's statement. Cranmer, too, refers his readers to the actually existing copies of the Bibles in the "newer language" that were in daily use, that is to say, to the Bibles that were translated into English before the decree of the Council of Oxford.

Foxe, the martyrologist, it is needless to say, had no "Romanizing" tendencies. His name is a very household word for everything that is unscrupulously hostile to the ancient Church of England, yet, so notorious was the fact of the existence of an English Bible before Wycliffe's time, that he writes thus in his dedication to Archbishop Parker of his edition of the Saxon Gospels:

"If histories be well examined we shall find both before the Conquest and after, as well before John Wycliffe was born as since, the whole body of the Scriptures was by sundry men translated into our country tongue."

Against these distinct assertions we find as yet no convincing arguments. The non-existence of a pre-Wycliffite English Bible is seriously argued from the alleged fact that no copies of it are now extant. And if copies be not now procurable, would not their disappearance be easily accounted for by the wholesale destruction

[1] Extract from a prologue or preface made by Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the Holy Bible.

of the pre-Reformation libraries of England? A writer in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* thus answers this attempt at argument:

"The 'many copies' which remained when Cranmer wrote in 1540 have doubtless disappeared in the vast and ruthless destruction of libraries which took place within a few years after that date."[1]

And Blunt disposes of it in the same conclusive manner. He writes:

"More, Cranmer, and Foxe were acute men, not likely to be deceived into mistaking Bibles of a recent for those of an ancient date. More, particularly, who doubtless thought 'Wycliffe's Bible' 'naught' was a critic of much literary excellence. While Cranmer speaks of early English Bibles, in 1540, being in old abbeys, in just the same way as a writer of the fourteenth century said in 1398 that *they were there.* That they have not come down to us, is, doubtless, owing to the fact that in Edward VI.'s reign all old libraries were ruthlessly destroyed. The University Library of Oxford, the Library of Merton College, that of Guildhall, London, and those of the dissolved monasteries, were packed off as waste paper to anyone who would buy them, and the very shelves and benches of the first-named library were sold for firewood. *The earlier the English in which old books were written, the less intelligible and the more pernicious they would seem to the silly vandals who wrought such destruction.*"[2]

Bible Society orators would be well advised if they applied the pruning knife more frequently to their rhetoric about Rome's treatment of the Sacred Scriptures. Catholics need only go to Protestant historians of the Reformation period for their facts, and they will be able to fill a large volume with such details of Protestant profanation of God's Word as would put to shame the lawless hordes of Attila. No library, whether it consisted of sacred or profane works, was spared.

"With great resentment let it be spoken," says A. Wood, "divers of them which smelled of superstition, or that treated of school divinity, or of geometry, or of astronomy, were taken away in that ignorant time of Edward VI., wherein people, under pretence of reformation, pilfered, and made havoc of those things which posterity hath since much desired to see."[3]

The Protestant Bishop Collier tells how the libraries at Westminster and Oxford were "purged":

[1] Art. Eng. Bible.

[2] *Plain Account of English Bible*, note, p. 28.

[3] *Hist. et Antiq. Oxf.*, Ed. Gutch, p. 89, 4to.

"To give some instances," he says, "Merton College had almost a cart load of manuscripts carried off and thrown away to the most scandalous uses.[1] . . . Baliol, Exeter, Queen's, and Lincoln were purged of a great part of the Fathers and Schoolmen; and to show the discretion of some people was of a par with their justice, and what an antipathy they had to the memory of learned men, *great heaps of these books were set on fire in the market place*. . . . The public library, made up in a great measure of the books given by Angerville, Bishop of Durham, Cobham, Bishop of Worcester, and Humphrey, the good Duke of Gloucester, underwent the same fate."

Collier distinctly states that the gold and silver with which these books were plated was the superstition that destroyed them. And as the manuscripts of the sacred writings were set in the most precious binding it is clear that they fared worse than other volumes did. But despite this general destruction of the libraries, some copies of the old English version have survived. As a matter of fact Catholic scholars contend that the very version edited by Forshall and Madden, and claimed to be Wycliffite is in reality the old Catholic version. And when we call to mind how, in the face of the clearest and most direct evidence to the contrary that could be possibly adduced, Protestant historians have kept reiterating the fable that Luther's version was the first German Bible ever printed, it will not surprise us if, on close examination, we find that the claim made on behalf of Wycliffe is similarly baseless.

That Wycliffe had some part in translating the Bible into English, or that he, with many friends, may have collected together some old English translation of portions of the sacred writings, I am not disposed to deny. I think, with Blunt, that tradition is to be believed when it associates his name with a translation of some portion of the Scriptures into English. But it is evident that his share in the work of translation is a very humble one.

As More's authority is quoted in proof that Wycliffe translated the Bible, I may point out that Sir Thomas

[1] *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. v., pp. 417-18.

seems to rely on the decree of the Council of Oxford for the truth of his statement. He quotes the Council as having condemned Wycliffe's translation, whereas, what the Council condemned was a translation of book, booklet, or tract of Scripture *made in Wycliffe's time.*

Besides the positive testimonies I have quoted we have, from various sources, indirect evidence of the existence of an English version of the Scriptures before Wycliffe's time. There is, for instance, the much abused decree of the Council of Oxford. Before the invention of printing it was easy for most serious errors to creep into the manuscript copies of the Scriptures. The transcriber as well as the translator might write his own particular doctrine into any and every page that passed through his hands, and the Church, as the appointed custodian of the sacred books, was always safe-guarding them from heretical interpolation. Her watchfulness did not cease when the printers' art made it possible to secure that every copy should be an accurate reproduction of her own standard text, but when her children had to depend upon the mere amanuensis for a faithful transcript of God's Word, she never wearied in her vigilance, and the decree of the Bishops at Oxford testifies to her persevering watchfulness. This is what it says:

"It is dangerous, as St. Jerome declares, to translate the text of Holy Scripture out of one idiom into another, since it is not easy in translations to preserve exactly the same meaning in all things. We therefore command and ordain that henceforth no one translate the text of Holy Scripture into English or any other language as a book, booklet, or tract, and that no one read any book, booklet, or tract of this kind lately made in the time of the said John Wycliffe or since, or that hereafter may be made either in part or wholly, either publicly or privately, under pain of excommunication *until such translation shall have been approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place, or* (if need be) *by the Provincial Council.* He who shall act otherwise let him be punished as an abettor of heresy and error."[1]

This decree, as is evident, does not prohibit the reading of the Scriptures in English; it distinctly excepts the trans-

[1] Wilkins, Vol. iii., p. 317.

lations before Wycliffe's time, so that such translations must have been in existence. That this is the obvious interpretation of the mind of the Council we have the distinct assurance of the great canonist and lawyer, Bishop Lyndewood. Writing about the year 1430, he argues thus:

"From the language employed, viz., noviter compositus (*i.e.*, recently translated), it is clear that the reading of books, booklets, or treatises in English or any other language that were previously translated from the Scriptures has not been prohibited."[1]

It is surely noteworthy that the Council *neither mentions a translation made by Wycliffe, nor a Bible translated into English in his time.* Book, booklet, or tract made in the time of the said John Wycliffe is all that the Council says. The inference is not far-fetched that there really was no complete translation of the Bible made by Wycliffe himself. Dr. Gasquet goes further and argues that the so-called Wycliffite Bible was not a product of the Wycliffite movement at all. However, from the decree it is clear that there were unauthorised books of Holy Scripture in use amongst the people, and that Wycliffe's name was associated with the translation of them. But whether this association of his name is due to his own actual translation or to that of his followers, is not so clear.

Lyndewood further emphasises the necessity of guarding against spurious versions of the sacred writings, and he gives a reason why recent translations should be most carefully examined.

"Although it be the plain text of Sacred Scripture," he says, "that is so translated, the translator may yet err in his translation, or if he compose a book, booklet, or tract, he may, as in fact frequently happens, intermingle false and erroneous teaching with the truth."

1 "Ex hoc quad dicitur 'noviter compositus;' apparet quod libros, libellos, vel tractatus in Anglicis vel alio idomate prius translatos de textu scripturæ legere non est prohibitum." (Quoted in Blunt's *Plain Account*, p. 29.)

Blessed Thomas More testifies that it was the deliberate mistranslations of the sacred writings by Wycliffe and his followers that called forth the decree of the English bishops assembled at Oxford. Of the so-called Wycliffite translation he writes thus:

"For as much," he writes, "as it is dangerous to translate the text of Scripture out of one tongue into another, as holy St. Jerome testifieth, for as much as in translation it is always hard to keep the same sentence (*i.e.*, sense) whole. It is, I say, for these causes at a Council holden at Oxford provided upon great pain, that no man should from henceforth translate into the English tongue, or any other language, of his own authority, by way of book, libellus, or treatise, nor no man, openly or secretly, read any such book, etc., newly made in the time of the said John Wycliffe or since, etc., until such should be approved. And this is a law that so many so long have spoken of, and so few have in all this while sought to seek (or find out) whether they say the truth or no. For I trow that in this law you see nothing unreasonable, for it neither forbiddeth the translations to be read *that were already well done of old before Wycliffe's days*, nor damneth his because it was new, but because it was naught; nor prohibiteth new to be made, but provideth that they shall not be read if they be made amiss, till they be by good examination, amended."

It is to be noted how frequently in his writings, Blessed More reiterates the assertion that there were versions of the Bible in English before Wycliffe was heard of.

This fact, in connection with the Council of Oxford, is noteworthy. Arundel, Archbishop of Canterbury, presided at it, and we have indisputable evidence that he approved of correct versions of the Holy Scriptures being read by the laity, and that such versions were actually read by them. The Protestant historian, Strype, testifies that the Archbishop "was for the translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue, and for the laity's use thereof." From an old manuscript, written apparently in 1392, he takes this statement:

"Also the Bishop of Arundel, that now is, preached a sermon at Westminster, whereat there were many hundred people, at the burying of Queen Anne (on whose soul God have mercy) and in his commendation of her he said that it was more joy of her than of any woman that ever he knew. For notwithstanding that she was an alien born she had in English all the four gospels, with the doctors upon them. And he said that she sent them unto him, and he said that they were good and true and commended her, in that she was so great a Lady, and also an alien and would study such holy, such virtuous books."[1]

[1] Strype, *Memorials of Cranmer* (ed. 1812), i.; p. 3.

This statement of the old writer is very important in connection with the so-called Wycliffite Bible, edited by Forshall and Madden. Anne of Bohemia, wife of Richard II., sent her English copy of the Gospels for the approval of Arundel years even before the Council of Oxford was held; and he said, "that they were good and true;" in other words, that there was no heretical taint from either translator or transcriber. As we know the hands through which several copies of the so-called Wycliffite version passed in pre-Reformation times, we have something like certainty in concluding that it was a "good and true" version, "approved and allowed by the diocesan of the place," as the Council of Oxford ordained.[1]

Forshall and Madden mention[2] an English New Testament which contains a note stating that it was given to the Master Confessor and Brethren of Sion by Dame Anne Danvars in 1517, and the editors claim this as a Wycliffite copy. It is at present in the possession of the Earl of Ashburnham, and, as may be seen, is a perfectly orthodox version. We have, fortunately, indirect evidence that the nuns of Sion would have none but an approved version in their Convent. There is a devotional book entitled "The Myrroure of Our Lady," which it is very probable was written not later than 1450. It was printed about 1530, at the instance of the nuns of Sion and their confessor. "Of psalms I have drawn *(i.e., translated)* but few," says the author, "for ye may have them of Richard Hampoule's drawing, and out of English Bibles, if you have license thereto."[3] It is not at all probable that the nuns of Sion, so noted for orthodoxy and asceticism would have gone to an heretical version, such as Wycliffe's, for their psalms. Indeed, we know that the compiler of this

[1] The controversy alluded to in the preface turns on the question :—"Was this the old English Catholic Bible, or an orthodox translation made by the Wycliffites who insinuated their heresies merely in the prefaces and prologues?"

[2] Introduction, lxii. [3] p. 3 (ed. J. H. Blunt, Eng. Text. Soc.).

book of devotions was careful to have the *imprimatur* of lawful authority on the various scriptural quotations throughout his work.

"And for as much as it is forbidden under pain of cursing," he writes, "that any man should have or translate (drawe) any text of Holy Scripture into English without license of the Bishop diocesan. And in diverse places of your service are such texts of Holy Scripture. Therefore I asked and have license of our bishop to translate (drawe) such things into English to your ghostly comfort and profit, so both our conscience in the translating (drawynge) and yours in the having, may be the more sure and clear in our Lord's worship which may it keep us in His grace and bring us to His bliss. Amen."[1]

Blunt commenting on these passages says:[2]

"This reference to English Bibles seems to imply that they were very common in the middle of the fifteenth century. These may have been the copies of the Wycliffite version, but it seems unlikely that the Sisters would have received 'license' to read these, especially as 'de quibus cavendum est' is written against some works of Wycliffe in the Library Catalogue preserved at C. C. Coll., Cambridge. The Arundel Constitutions passed at Oxford in A.D. 1408 forbid unauthorised translations of the Bible, and forbid also the reading of the Wycliffite or any more recent translation till the said translation shall be approved by the Bishop, or, if necessary, by a Provincial Council." Having quoted Lyndewood, as already given, he continues, 'As his words were written about the same time as those to which this note refers, they seem to corroborate the evidence given by the Mirror, that in the earlier half of the fifteenth century English Bibles were freely used by the people." Archbishop Cranmer's words: 'It is not much above one hundred years ago since Scripture hath not been accustomed to be read in the vulgar tongue of this realm' point in the same direction. In fact, there is much evidence that, in the words of John Foxe, 'as well before John Wycliffe was born, as since the whole body of the Scriptures by sundry men' were 'translated into this country tongue.' As the old Service Books were so thoroughly swept off the face of the earth after the Reformation, in the same manner were the older English Bibles before it."[3]

Blessed More witnesses to the vigilance of the clergy in guarding the faithful from false or unlawful translations at the very time when this copy of the New Testament was presented to the nuns of Sion.

"I have shewed you," he writes, "that the clergy keep no Bibles from the laity that can no more but their mother tongue, but such translations as be either not yet approved for good, or such as be already reproved for naught as Wycliffe's was. *For as for old ones that were before Wycliffe's days they remain lawful and be in some folks hands.*"

1 *Myrroure*, p. 71. 2 Forsh. and Madd., Introd. lxii.
3 *Notes to the Myrroure of Our Lady*, p. 310.

There is another copy of the so-called Wycliffite Scriptures that we can trace to its owner in the fourteenth century. It belongs now to the British Museum. Dr. Adam Clarke, the famous biblical scholar, once owned it, and however anxious so genuine a Protestant must have been to possess a valuable memento of Wycliffe, the evidence seemed too strong for him to believe that it was the Reformer's version. Writing to Townley he says:

"Of my large MS. English Bible about which you enquire, I can only say that I have reason to believe it to be earlier than the time of Wycliffe. I reason thus from the *language* which is of an older cast, and likewise the *orthography* and *construction* of the sentences. In many respects the New Testament in it is dissimilar from the copies I have seen ascribed to Wycliffe, whether these have been amended, corrected, and altered in later times, and mine is one of those which has undergone no *revisal*, but is just as Wycliffe originally made it, I cannot say. This is merely a possible case; and if the supposition be founded, that mine is Wycliffe's translation, it must necessarily follow, that all those which I have seen, and which *Lewis* has collated, have been *considerably altered*; and that there is not so old a copy of Wycliffe's remaining as my own. I am led to think that some of these copies examined by Lewis, are not Wycliffe's; else those which he has principally followed are *much altered* from the original. My conclusion, however, is simply this: Either mine is *before* Wycliffe's time, because it differs so much from the copies generally ascribed to Wycliffe, and from the text published by Lewis in 1731; or that text, and these from which it is taken, have been revised and altered from Wycliffe's original, and mine is one of those which has not undergone such revision.

"In what year my MS. was written I cannot tell. The writing and orthography are old enough, for at least fourscore years before Wycliffe, who began his translations in 1378, but that mine could not be written twenty years later than that, is abundantly evident from this circumstance, that it most evidently appears to have been illuminated for *Thomas of Woodstock*, brother of John of Gaunt, and Edward the Black Prince; and youngest son of Edward III., as it bears his arms in a shield at the beginning of Proverbs; arms which appear on his monument in Westminster Abbey; the singular *bordure* of which was never, so far as I can find, worn by any after his time. Now, this Thomas of Woodstock was smothered between two feather beds, at Calais, by Thomas Mowbray, Earl Marshal of England, September 8th, 1397, at the command of Richard II., this prince's nephew. How long before 1397 this book was written, I cannot tell, but it must have been, in the very nature of things, several years before this time.[1]

This copy of the Scriptures is claimed to be perfectly orthodox, and from an inventory, still extant, of the Duke of Gloucester's goods we know that he possessed, more-

[1] Townley's *Biblical Literature*, Vol. ii., p. 44.

over, two books of the Gospels, in English as well as an English Psalter. "The good Duke Humphrey" of Gloucester possessed another copy of these Wycliffite Scriptures. Now Humphrey, being the firm friend of Whethamstede, who was the determined foe of Lollardism, and, being himself most active in his efforts to suppress this heresy, is it conceivable that he would possess a Lollard Bible? Humphrey's nephew, Henry VI., was the owner of another of these pre-Reformation English Bibles. He presented it to the monks of the Charter-House, London. Now in the Register belonging to the Monastery of Edmundsbury there are two letters addressed from this sovereign, one to the abbot, and the other to the aldermen and bailiffs, for the suppression of "the heretics commonly called Lollards,"[1] as "opposed to God's peace and the king's." It is surely asking too much of us that we should believe that Henry encouraged the circulation of Lollard Bibles.

Father Gasquet has examined the two texts given by Forshall and Madden, and he tells us:

"There is nothing inconsistent with their having been the work of perfectly orthodox sons of Holy Church. In no place where (had the version been the work of Lollard pens) we might have looked for texts strained or glossed to suit their well-known conclusions, do any such appear."[2]

Forshall and Madden set down as Wycliffite every extant pre-Reformation manuscript of the Scriptures in English. They set out with the fixed principle that the Catholic Church was the declared foe of a vernacular Bible, and with such a principle to guide them, they brush aside every difficulty of time, place, and person. They would have us believe that the poor proscribed Lollards[3]

1 *Archæologia*, Vol. xxiii., pp. 340-341.

2 *Dublin Review*, July, 1894, p. 142.

3 Lollard was the name given to the followers of Wycliffe, from the Latin "lolium," a kind of tare. Pope Gregory XI. playing upon the word calls this sect "lolium inter purum triticum"– tares or cockle among the pure wheat. The best authorities trace it to the German *lollen*, signifying to sing in an undertone, and the term *lolhard* meaning originally "one given to singing" was applied in Germany to certain orders of lay people, who, under a solemn and religious profession, concealed a turbulent and mischievous character. (See Blunt's *Dict. Hist. Theology*, art. Lollards.)

whose houses were subjected to constant search, and who, themselves, consisted for the most part of unlettered fanatics, could turn out all these costly manuscripts with their exquisite illuminations[1] and high class binding. They would have us also believe that priests and nuns and lay persons whose loyalty to the Catholic Church they dare not question, gloried in the possession of an heretical, forbidden Bible, and bequeathed it as a most precious heirloom, to other equally loyal Catholics. But, is it possible to conceive that priests would bequeath such heirlooms, knowing that their wills would have to be proved in the Bishop's court, where of an absolute certainty, there would be the most vigilant care against heretical writings? In an extant copy of Hampole's Psalter, written about the reign of Henry VI., there are inserted some verses charging the Lollards with having translated their own peculiar doctrines into this work, so as to claim for it the merit of the holy hermit. This copy clearly got into the hands of the officials whose duty it was to seek out every fragment of Wycliffite writing, and the fact that no heretical Wycliffite Bibles are now to be found, proves how determinedly the inquisitors carried out their instructions.

We have evidence from many sources that the Bible known as Wycliffe's contained most serious errors. Blessed More is one of our informants.

"This," he says, "I remember well, that besides other things framed for the favour of divers other heresies there were in the prologue of that Bible such words touching the Blessed Sacrament as good Christian men did abhor to hear, and that gave the readers undoubted occasion to think that the book written after Wycliffe's copy, and by him translated into our tongue, and that this Bible was destroyed consequently not because it was in English but because it contained gross and manifest heresy."

And in corroboration of Blessed More's testimony that there were heretical Bibles known as Wycliffite we have the admission of Foxe, the Martyrologist, than whom

[1] Those who claim this Bible as Wycliffite hold that these illuminated MSS. were the work, not of Wycliffite preachers, but of somewhat later hands.

there has never yet existed a more malignant or more unscrupulous writer against the Catholic Church. From the register of Fitzjames, Bishop of London, Foxe prints thirteen articles extracted from "the prologue" of Hun's "Great Book of the Bible." These, he tells us, were read to the people from the pulpit at St. Paul's Cross, and they were invited to come and examine the Bible for themselves and see that it contained these errors.[1] There is no extant copy of the Scriptures answering to Foxe's description. And this is another proof of the zeal of the inquisitors in hunting up all false translations of the sacred writings.

If the version that goes by his name be Wycliffe's it is strange that he never once quoted from it in sermon or treatise, but it is stranger still, that in a work written in condemnation of his error all the quotations should be from the alleged Wycliffite Bible. Yet this is what we find in Bishop Pecock's *Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy*. The writer's admitted purpose is to refute the claim of the Lollards that the Scriptures are the sole rule of faith, for which reason alone, as he clearly explains, he calls the Lollards "Biblemen." Nevertheless, he not only quotes exclusively from the so-called Wycliffite Bible, but throughout his whole tract, he assumes that the laity had an authorised version of the sacred writings, and he, nowhere, blames them for reading it.

"This, what I have now said (he concludes) of and to Biblemen, I have not said under this intent and meaning that I should feel it to be unlawful (for) laymen to read in the Bible and to study therein, with help and counsel of wise and well-learned clerks and with license of their governor and bishop."[2]

The "license" to which Pecock refers has been occasionally noted down in the manuscripts themselves. In one of Lord Ashburnham's copies of the New Testament, for instance, we are told that the volume was "overseen and

1 Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, Vol. iv., p. 186.

2 *The Repressor of over much Blaming of the Clergy*. (Ed. Rolls Series), I. p. 37.

read" by two learned doctors, who, we must infer, were deputed to that duty. Yet Forshall and Madden have no difficulty about including this copy in their list of Wycliffite versions.

But the so-called Wycliffite Scriptures are, themselves, very important witnesses, and their evidence makes entirely for the contention of Catholic scholars. Most of the surviving manuscripts were clearly employed in the public service of the Church. The Lessons and the Epistles and Gospels of the Mass are marked, and in some of them is to be found an index pointing to the chapters which contain these. We have copies, too, of the New Testament, to which are added the portions of the Old Testament read at times in the Mass. One copy, belonging to "Sir Roger Lyne, chantry priest of Saynt Swythyn's at London Stone," gives the parts of "Scripture as they ben red in the messe booke after ye use of Salisberi." To say that these were for the use of Wycliffe's "poor priests" is asking us to believe too much, for, though called priests, they had, with very few exceptions, no claim to the sacerdotal character. Lechler[1] admits that Wycliffe's references to "apostolic men" or "evangelic men" in his later sermons is a proof that the term "priest" was no longer applicable to all the itinerants. He also tells us[2] that the English sermons of Wycliffe, issued a few years ago from the Clarendon Press, were largely intended for his itinerant preachers "in the way of helps and guides, and collections of materials." Is it not incredible that in these sermons he does not quote from his own version of the Scriptures,—that is, supposing the version claimed for him to be really his? To me it seems inexplicable that he should have missed so splendid an opportunity of popularising his translation.

I have given a few of the arguments of Catholic scholars in support of their contention that the reputed

[1] *Life of Wycliffe*, Eng. Trans., Vol. 1, p. 309.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 315.

Wycliffite version of the Scriptures is in reality the old authorised Catholic version. To these arguments Protestant writers offer no convincing answer,[1] at least so far as regards the second or revised version of the so-called Wycliffite Bible. Forshall and Madden say that the note ascribing the version to Nicholas Hereford is practically contemporary, and this no doubt is strong evidence that he had a hand in what they call the unrevised translation of the Old Testament. But Hereford is surely to be claimed by Catholics. Though he fell deeply into the errors of Wycliffe he did not remain long in them, for we know that his orthodoxy was unquestionable in 1394, when he was made chancellor of the Diocese of Hereford, and he must have previously proved the sincerity of his recantation. Supposing him to have been concerned in the translation, it is not easy to determine what use he made of the English versions of the Sacred Books then existing, but it is clear that he founded his translation of the Psalms on Hampole's version.

Protestant writers frequently point to the ignorance of the English people, clergy and laity, in the fourteenth century, as a proof that there was no copy of the Scriptures in the vernacular. No doubt the great plague of 1349 decimated the ranks of the priesthood so that many had to be admitted to Holy Orders before the necessary studies could be completed. But we have incontrovertible evidence of the care taken by the English Bishops that these studies should be continued after ordination, and the manuscript sermons of that period that are still extant in the British Museum and other libraries, prove at once the depth of Scripture knowledge possessed by the clergy, and the spiritual enlightenment of the people to whom those sermons were addressed.[2]

1 Cf. Preface, note 1.

2 See a remarkable paper, "Religious Instruction in England during the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," by Father Gasquet, in *Historical Papers*, Vol. iii , published by the Catholic Truth Society. The learned Benedictine, as is usual with him, supports each statement by irrefutable testimony.

The first principle with most Protestant writers, that Rome is the enemy of the Bible, puts the matter in dispute beyond the range of controversy. The few manuscript English Bibles which survived the ruin of the monastic libraries are, at once, voted Wycliffite. Rome they know is the enemy of the Bible. With this their argument begins and with this it ends. Let proofs be piled mountains high, and Wycliffe will still be the *first* and *only* translator of the Bible into English, as Luther was the *first* translator of the Bible into German, though, as we shall see in Chapter VIII., there were several German editions of the Bible printed before Luther was born. The destruction of the monastic and other libraries in England, at the time of the Reformation, deprives the impartial scholar of much valuable testimony. But though the subject is not without its difficulties, Protestants must feel that the arguments on the Catholic side are at least as strong as those advanced in support of the contention that the extant copies of the old English version of the Scriptures are Wycliffite.

CHAPTER VII.

THE RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL ERRORS OF THE WYCLIFFITES.

It is marvellous with what wilful onesidedness the overwhelming majority of Protestant writers approach the consideration of Wycliffe's life. They shrink from an examination of his contemporaries, and, in flagrant violation of the clearest facts of history, take for granted everything that he and his followers assert. In their sketches of "The Morning Star of the Reformation" we are not told of Wycliffe's erratic bent of mind, which is evidenced by the subject of his first book, *The Last Age*, written in 1356, in which he maintained that the fourteenth century would be the utmost limit to the world's existence. His sycophancy to the ruling powers in England is put far out of the reader's view. This was his proud boast, "I am the preacher, clerk, and chaplain to the king," and to such a king as Edward III., who inherited most of his mother's vices. To the sons of the king, John of Gaunt and Gloucester, he paid most abject court. He dedicated some of his treatises to the adulterous Lancaster, and to such a depth of servility did he descend that he even dedicated one of his works "To the most worshipful and *gentlest* Lord Gloucester." Becoming language this from an intrepid reformer to one whose cruelty is noted by historians as his most prominent characteristic! But whilst Wycliffe's servility is unquestionable, it must be said, in justice to both John of Gaunt and Gloucester, that they do not seem to have aided the Reformer when his errors became pronounced. At the time of his death Gloucester was, in

fact, the devoted ally of Arundel, Wycliffe's most determined opponent, and this fact, by the way, is of the utmost importance, seeing that one of the so-called Wycliffite Bibles belonged to him. Yet Wycliffe, who fawned upon princes and nobles, was the man who unceasingly attacked his fellow-priests as "flatterers and parasites of the great."[1]

Warton, in his *History of English Poetry*, summarises the reasons which led to Wycliffe's rebellion against authority. Warton is too pronounced a Protestant to add that the so-called Reformer did not discover "corruptions" till he was thwarted in his views of worldly advancement.

"It was a lucky circumstance that Wycliffe quarrelled with the Pope. His attacks on superstition at first probably proceeded from resentment. Wycliffe, who was a professor of divinity at Oxford, feeling on many occasions not only his own province invaded, but the privileges of the university diminished by the pretensions of the Mendicants, gratified his warmth of temper by throwing out some slight censures against all the four orders, and the Popes, their principal patrons, and abettors. Soon afterwards, he was deprived of the wardenship of Canterbury Hall, by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who appointed a monk in his place. Upon this he appealed to the Pope, who confirmed the archiepiscopal sentence. Wycliffe, highly exasperated at this usage, immediately gave loose to his indignation, and without restraint or distinction, attacked in numerous sermons and treatises not only the scandalous" [*i.e.*, the supposed] "enormities of the monks, but even the usurpation of the pontificial power itself, with other ecclesiastical corruptions."

Himself a greedy pluralist, holding a chair of theology at Oxford, a prebendal stall and parochial rectory, Wycliffe denounced the endowments of the clergy. The injustice of his attacks is intensified by the fact that the bishops who were then ruling the English Church, are admitted by many Protestant writers to have been pre-eminent for the munificence of their charity. From Foss's *Lives of the Judges* one can gather a litany in their praise. It was the age of William of Wykeham, whose name will endure whilst Winchester Cathedral and Oxford University last; it was the age in which Archbishops Sudbury and Courtenay gave their strong intellects and pure manly

[1] See his *Office of Curates*, Vol. ii., pp. 102-3.

hearts to the spread of religion and education. Wycliffe's errors were many and grievous. Some of them were distinctly Protestant, and others were as distinctly anti-Christian. With him the Pope was anti-Christ and the Vicar of the devil,[1] and this favourite doctrine of the Reformer sufficiently indicates the anti-Catholic tendency of his teaching. There is no need to quote from his anti-Catholic doctrines. They are strewn all over the story of his life, and his biographers, without exception, glory in them. But there are some of his doctrines of which his admirers would gladly have the world oblivious. There is unquestionably something startling in propositions like the following. *God*, according to Wycliffe, *can create nothing besides what He has already created. He cannot make the world to be larger or smaller than it is; nor can He create souls save to a definite and fixed number. He cannot annihilate anything that He has created.* These doctrines, it must be admitted, are extraordinary, as coming from a professed Christian. But there is yet another still more startling from its blasphemy. *God ought to obey the devil.*[2]

This last proposition was brought before the Council of Constance, and, of course, condemned. Some of Wycliffe's admirers profess to be astonished that the Fathers of the Council should have extracted such a doctrine from his works. They forget that two of his followers, being examined by the Archbishop of Canterbury respecting this very article, continued to affirm it, and one of them declared that he was ready to burn for it.[3] He tried, no doubt, to give an orthodox meaning to his proposition, but he tried in vain.

Shirley, who has made a careful study of Wycliffe's teaching, confesses that his doctrines were such that they could not be overlooked by ecclesiastical authority.

[1] *Trialogus*, p. 358.

[2] See *Trialogus*, lib. i. cap. ii; *T. Wald*, i. i. 10, 13, 17; *Fascic. Zizan.*, p. 2; *Hartz. Conc. Germ.*, v. 84; *Hard. Conc.*, viii., 299.

[3] *Fascic. Zizan.*, p. 328.

"Whatever share old party feeling may have had," he says, "in stirring Courtenay's theological zeal, no Archbishop of Canterbury, even if inclined, could safely have neglected to proceed against the author of opinions so profoundly at variance with the ecclesiastical even more than with the theological opinions of the day."[1]

And what Shirley confesses as to the ecclesiastical authority, the well-known Reformer, Melancthon, says of the civil power.

"I have looked into Wycliffe," he writes, "and have found many errors whereby judgment may be formed of his spirit. He neither understood nor held the justice of faith. *Concerning civil dominion he wrangles like a sophist and a rebel.*"[2]

Le Bas, an admiring biographer of Wycliffe, is forced to make this admission:

"It is possible that the voice of loud invective against the Church may have assisted to call up from the depths of the popular discontent a mad, ungovernable spirit of anarchy and rebellion. . . . The charges with which the clergy were assailed were, indeed, such as an exasperated populace might easily transfer to tyranny of every description, and it would be hopeless to deny that the language adopted by Wycliffe or his itinerant preachers, in urging their principles of reformation, did frequently burst through the barriers of sobriety and caution, and was occasionally violent enough to compromise the safety of all existing institutions." And again, he says: "It cannot be denied that the words of Wycliffe, in the mouths of many of his more ignorant followers, may have helped to impart something of a revolutionary character to Lollardism."[3]

Heylin is a historian whose Protestantism is beyond question, yet this is what he says of Wycliffe and his doctrines:

"A man, many of whose opinions were so far from truth, so contrary to peace and civil order, so inconsistent with the government of the Church of Christ as to make them utterly unworthy of so great a character. For if the doctrines of Wycliffe must be called the Gospel, what shall become of the religion then established in England, and in most other parts of the Western world? Were all but Wycliffe's followers relapsed to heathenism, or had they embraced the law of Mahomet? If none of these, and that they still continued in the faith of Christ delivered by the four evangelists, and other apostolic writers; if this was the case, Wycliffe's new doctrine could not challenge the name of Gospel; *but such is the humour of some men, as to call every separation from the Church of Rome by the name of Gospel, and the greater the separation, the more pure the Gospel.*"[4]

[1] Introd. to *Fascic. Zizan.*, xliii.

[2] Hospinian, *Hist. Sacram.*, Vol. ii., p. 115.

[3] *The Life of Wycliffe*, p. 245-352.

[4] Quoted by Collier, *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. iii., p. 136.

Heylin wrote more than two centuries ago, but his words are as true now as when they were penned. And, for illustration, we need not go beyond Melbourne, where there are some whose notion of a pure Gospel means unrelenting hostility to the Catholic Church, and agreement with those who are opposed to it, even though their several doctrines about the sacraments and grace be as widely separated as the poles.

But Wycliffe, whatever else he may have been, was no hero. He contrived to enjoy his benefice at Lutterworth all the time that he was clinging to his errors, and whilst many of his followers were suffering for them. He recanted, or, at any rate, he pretended to recant, his false and dangerous teaching, and thus he was permitted to retain his living undisturbed. Foxe, the martyrologist, has to admit that when Wycliffe was forced to make confession of his doctrine, he made his declaration and qualified his assertions after such a sort that he did mitigate and assuage the rigour of his enemies.[1] Dean Hook bears the same testimony. In his biography of Arundel, quoting an old English authority in support of his statement,[2] he writes thus:

"The modern biographers of Wycliffe are diligent in attempting to prove that he was not guilty of any inconsistency, and that he did not recant. It is sufficient for us to know that he certainly explained himself so as to render it possible for the Archbishop and the other prelates, who did not wish to deal harshly with him, to permit him to depart in peace."

"At the convocation held in Oxford in 1382, at which the Archbishop presided, Wycliffe condescended to explain his opinions on the Eucharist, and on other matters with reference to which his tenets were regarded as heretical. His explanations were by his contemporaries regarded as a recantation. Such they may not have actually been; but certainly they were of such a character as to render it possible for the Archbishop and his assessors to permit him, without further molestation, to enjoy the remainder

[1] Vol. iii., p. 19.

[2] Hooke quotes from Knyghton in proof of this statement—"Similiter affuit magister Johannes Wycliffe ad respondendum super hereticâ pravitate, ut prius de prædictis conclusionibus sive opinionibus. Qui eas omnes renuntians nec eas tenuisse nec tenere se velle protestans ad maternalis virgæ documentum, quod ei antea pro refugio præsto fuerat, advolavit iterum sub formâ quæ sequitur. (*Scriptores*, col. 2649.)

of his life at peace in his parsonage of Lutterworth; and Wycliffe himself gave his judges no further cause of complaint. Their sentence was, "*Go and sin no more.*"[1]

Bishop Collier says:

"Wycliffe qualified his propositions, explained his meaning to a more commodious sense, and gave the Synod some sort of satisfaction. To mention some particulars in his apology, he owns himself willing to retract any error he may have been guilty of, and submit to the correction of Holy Church."[2]

The admirers of Wycliffe are puzzled in their attempts to explain away the fact of his having held his benefice undisturbed to the end, notwithstanding the efforts made by the civil and ecclesiastical powers to crush the new heresy which was threatening the very existence of constituted authority.

When death overtook him he was either actually offering up the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass, or assisting at its celebration, though, as his writings prove, he held most anti-Catholic views regarding both the Mass and the Blessed Eucharist. He was buried, too, in consecrated ground,[3] which, of itself, if not conclusive, goes far to prove that he died in apparent peace with the Church.

In 1411, Archbishop Arundel submitted to the Pope 267 heresies and errors extracted from the Reformer's works. The Sovereign Pontiff condemned them, but refused to sanction the exhuming or dishonouring of Wycliffe's remains. Bishop Jeremy Collier,[4] and Dean Hook,[5] who are eminent amongst Anglican ecclesiastical historians, are my authorities for this statement. When at the Council of Constance the heretical teaching of Wycliffe was brought up, there was a strong condemnation of his heresies, and a decree was passed to have his remains exhumed and scattered to the winds. This took place before the election of Martin V., and though he ratified the decree condemning the errors, he does not

1 *Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. iv., pp. 365-366.
2 *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. iii., p. 143. 3 Hook, Vol. iv., p. 497.
4 *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. iii , p. 291. 5 *Archbishops of Cant.*, Vol. iv., p. 498.

appear to have sanctioned the dishonouring of Wycliffe's body.[1]

It is worth remembering that, in the forty-five propositions which the Council of Constance condemned, there is not even the remotest reference to Wycliffe's translation of the Bible, or to any teaching of his urging the reading of the sacred volume by the people.

Many Protestant writers conveniently forget the political aspect of Wycliffe's teaching. It affected the State as well as the Church, and threatened the very existence of all civil government. Cromwell's remains were exhumed and cast to the winds by the royalists of England, and without intending to approve of the disturbing of the bones in either case, I unhesitatingly assert that the memory of Wycliffe must have been far more odious to the English people at the time of the Council of Constance, than was the memory of Oliver Cromwell in the reign of Charles II.[2] I shall cite none but Protestants in support of this assertion.

If, as it is alleged, Wycliffe was responsible for the circulation of the Bible amongst his followers, was he not as the master of willing disciples, responsible as well for their gross misinterpretation of the sacred text? He to be sure kept his own head out of danger. He did not take open part in riot or bloodshed, but they were the direct, logical outcome of his teaching. Bishop Collier, whose narrative I follow as that of a generally accepted writer,

1 See De Herdt, *Hist de Conc. Const.*

2 Those acquainted with the Tudor times will remember how the Attorney-General of Henry VIII. had "Thomas A'Beckett, sometime Archbishop of Canterbury" formally cited to appear in court, and answer to the charge of high treason preferred against him. The interval of thirty days, allowed by the canon la , passed, and the illustrious martyr neglected to leave the tomb in which for two centuries and a half his body had reposed. Council was graciously assigned him by the amiable ruler of England, but the sentence was a foregone conclusion. The fearless champion of the Church's rights was adjudged guilty, and so the bones of the saint were disinterred and publicly burnt. It is needless to add that the gold, silver, and jewels, obtained by the demolition of the shrine were conveyed to the royal treasury.

tells us how the minds of the people became debauched, having been taught that such persons as had acquired more wealth than others should relinquish part of their ill-gotten stores, and, if necessary, should be made to do so by force, because men were under no obligations to Church or State.

This seems decisive enough as to the tendency of Wycliffe's doctrines. What else was Wycliffe preaching, but rank communism when he told the people that "all things belong to the just, though they must not presume to enforce their right by any worldly means." For the spreading of his teaching he started an unauthorised system of itinerant preachers of whose doings his biographers do not care to make any mention. Professor Shirley describes them as both "coarse and ignorant." The few priests who followed Wycliffe at the beginning of his revolt, soon made submission to the Church. Independence of authority, Professor Shirley admits, was the most essential tenet of the new creed, and in this, he tells us, Wycliffe "was unable to count on retaining the support of any but a few presumptuous fanatics, the fools who rushed in where angels feared to tread."[1] These men by their inflammatory harangues incited the people to rebellion, spoliation, and slaughter.

Southey's *Book of the Church* is saturated with hostility to Catholicism. Yet, this is what he feels compelled to write of Wycliffe's followers:

"If there were some amongst them whose views and wishes did not go beyond a just and salutary reformation, the greater number were eager for havoc, and held opinions which are incompatible with the peace of society. They would have stript the churches, destroyed the monasteries, confiscated the church lands, and proclaimed the principle that the saints should possess the earth. The public safety required that such opinions should be repressed; and, founded as they were in gross error, and leading to direct and enormous evil, the Church would have deserved the reprobation of impartial posterity if it had proceeded temperately and quietly in repressing them."[2]

[1] *Fasciculus Zizaniorum*, p. xi.

[2] *Book of the Church*, Vol. i., p. 349.

Dunham is in perfect accord with Southey. He says:

"Every syllable of this candid statement is confirmed by the records of the times. It is a fact which, though dishonesty may and does conceal, no sophistry can invalidate, that these fanatics, who consisted, with some few exceptions, of the most ignorant, profligate, and debased of the people, were threatening the existence not only of all government but of society itself. It is little to the credit of Richard II. that he suffered the principles of these men to be propagated without interruption; had Wycliffe been stopped at the commencement of his misguided career, had he been suffered indeed to retain what *doctrinal* opinions he pleased, but compelled to refrain from the promulgation of such as tended to the spoliation of the Church and the subversion of the state, well would it have been for the security no less than the honour of the country."[1]

There was an open revolt against constituted authority. An attempt was made to seize the King's person. Sudbury, Archbishop of Canterbury, was murdered as he finished Mass. Hook informs us that the primate's head was carried through the city with the heads of those who had been decapitated with him, and was fixed on London Bridge. To distinguish the Archbishop his hat was nailed to his skull.[2] Many prominent Englishmen, clerical and lay, were put to death by infuriated mobs. If we are to believe the charges brought against Oldcastle and several of the ringleaders of his attempted insurrection, these men contemplated the most sweeping revolution. The charges are embodied in the legal documents produced in court, and from them we gather that the King and his brothers

1 *Europe during the Middle Ages*, Vol. ix., p. 279.

2 Collier gives us this picture of the Primate, in the closing scene of his life: "The Archbishop, who foresaw what would happen, had spent all the night in prayer, and was officiating in the chapel when the rebels entered. When Divine Service was over, he came out to the mob, and behaved himself with great unconcernedness and courage, saying, 'that when a man could not live, either with conscience or honour death was an advantage to him; and that he thanked God he had never been in a better preparation to leave the world.' When he found them make a horrid noise for his blood, and eager to finish the murder, he exhorted them to their duty to God and the King; and after having forgiven his enemies, and prayed for their pardon, he kneeled down to the sword without the least sign of concern; and here as the crime was barbarous, the manner was butcherly and cruel, for he received eight strokes before his head was severed. Thus, this loyal and learned prelate died a martyr to the State, and fell by the rage of the rebellious mob." (*Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. iii., p. 152.)

were to be put to death, and a general overthrow of the existing constitution in Church and State was to follow. All religious men and women were either to be killed, or compelled to abandon their several Orders and return to the world. All cathedrals, parish churches and religious houses were to be plundered and levelled with the ground; and Oldcastle was to be appointed Regent of the regenerated Kingdom.[1]

Because the leaders of these mobs appealed to Scripture in vindication of their enormities, some Protestant writers are not ashamed to palliate their crimes, and to represent the perpetrators as fearless champions of the open Bible in the evil time when the Pope, the enemy of Scripture truth, was supreme spiritual ruler of all England.

Dean Hook administers a rather gentle reproof to those who make saints of the Wycliffites or Lollards, to call them by the name by which they are best known. He gives this advice:

"When we speak of them as martyrs, we ought to regard them as *political* martyrs, rather than religious. They made religion their plea, in order to swell the number of the discontented; but their actions tended to a revolution in the State as well as in the Church. . . . Both parties regarded their principles as subversive of all order, in things temporal as well as in things spiritual" (p. 94).

The only parallel the Dean can find to the Lollard heresy is the ruthless, all-destroying French Revolution.

"The Lollards were pervading the country, preaching revolution in Church and State. They began with the extremest puritanism, and ended in preaching doctrines such as have seldom been heard, except during the great revolution in France. How were they to be dealt with—as heretics or rebels? The difficulty was met by treating them sometimes as the one and sometimes as the other."[2]

Unless there was to be an end of all order in Church and State, some determined action should be taken. For the first time in English history, heresy was punished by the civil power, or to speak more truly, the system of

[1] See *Harduin Conc.*, Vol. viii., p. 299. *Schaunat Conc., Germ.*, Vol. v., p. 84.

[2] *Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. iv., p. 499.

communism and murder that goes under the name of Lollardism, was crushed by the forces of constituted authority. Dean Hook tells us:

"Nothing can be clearer than that up to this time, heresy was regarded in England as an exclusively spiritual offence exposing the offender to spiritual censures; but not punishable by forfeiture of lands or goods, much less by the infliction of death."[1]

And Blunt rightly observes:

"The introduction of the punishment of death in the terrible form already in use in other countries, marks a strong opinion on the part of the legislature of the dangerous character, and of the wide prevalence of the obnoxious tenets (of the Lollards), as well as an acknowledgment of the inefficacy of all existing machinery to restrain them."[2]

The same writer draws attention to the unwillingness of the English bishops to put this new enactment into force, and shows how they had exhausted all moral means of persuasion before they consented to hand over offenders to the civil power.

"Judging, however, by existing records," he writes, "the instances of those who suffered the extreme penalty for Lollardism, in this or the following reign, do not appear to have been numerous, and must have been in very small proportion to the number of its professors. Indeed, there seems to have been on the part both of the bishops and clergy, considerable unwillingness to proceed to extreme measures against them—an unwillingness very inconsistent with the general habits of the time in the administration of justice, and much in advance of the times as to humanity."[3]

"The fact that these (Sautree and Bradby) were the only two executed in that reign (Henry IV.'s), while the Lollards boasted that their number exceeded 100,000, shows the unwillingness of the bishops to put the act into force. . . . The country had, indeed, become so dissatisfied with the remissness of the bishops, that in 1412 a petition against the Lollards was presented to Parliament by Sir John Tiptoft. . . . The bishops were, as a rule, exceedingly unwilling to deliver them over to the secular arm, and often kept them in confinement at their own expense to preserve their lives."[4]

If Ranke and other Protestant historians are right in their contention that the private interpretation of the Holy Scriptures was responsible for this threatened disruption of all government, civil as well as spiritual, was

1 *Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. iv., p. 500.
2 *Dict. Theol.*, Art. Lollards.
3 *Dict. Doctr. Hist. Theol.*, Art. Lollards.
4 *Dict. Sects and Heresies*, Art. Lollards.

it not the duty of those responsible for the well-being of society to put some restriction on this fearful abuse? But the Church did not go further than prohibit the reading of false translations of the Scriptures. We have seen its legislation in the Council at Oxford, and the interpretation of the Council's decree given by the great canonist Bishop Lyndewoode and Blessed More. I quote a few modern Protestant authorities to show that these illustrious witnesses, speaking for the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, are in perfect accord with truth-telling writers of our own day. Canon Dixon writes:

"From the earliest times the English Church or nation was possessed of the sacred writings through the labours of monks and bishops. . . . At length, however, at the beginning of the fifteenth century, the resolute prelate Arundel passed his famous Constitution to forbid any man from making new translations on his own account, or reading those that had been made in or since the time of the lately deceased Wycliffe. He thus proclaimed the war of authority against private versions; though certainly he neither forbade the ancient versions to be used, nor denied that an authorised version might be made,[1] . . ."

Dean Hook, from the Anglican standpoint, surely an unimpeachable witness, vindicates the action of the Catholic Church.

"It was not from hostility to a translated Bible, considered abstractedly, that the conduct of Wycliffe, in translating it, was condemned. Long before his time there had been translators of Holy Writ. There is no reason to suppose that any objection would have been offered to the circulation of the Bible, if the object of the translator had only been the edification and sanctification of the reader. It was not till the designs of the Lollards were discovered, that Wycliffe's version was proscribed."[2]

Blunt, another recognised Anglican authority, is in accord with Dean Hook. He speaks thus:

"The lawless political principles of Wycliffe, and the still more lawless ones of his followers, created a strong prejudice against vernacular translations of the Scriptures on the part of the rulers of England both in Church and State. The Bible was quoted in support of rebellion and of the wildest heresy; and even Archbishop Cranmer refers to and condemns a class of persons who thus 'slandered and hindered the Word of God,' in his preface just quoted.

[1] *History of the Church of England from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, Vol. i., p. 451.

[2] *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. iii., p. 83.

"We can easily see, now, that the best remedy for the evils which thus attended the use of Bibles translated by private men was the issue of an authorised version. Probably this was contemplated much earlier than is generally supposed, for there is a reference to it even in the Constitution of Archbishop Arundel, by which he prohibited the circulation of Wycliffe's translation."[1]

Mr. Karl Pearson, whom no one has charged with having Catholic leanings, bears this emphatic testimony:

"The Catholic Church has quite enough to answer for; . . . but *in the fifteenth century it certainly did not hold back the Bible from the folk;* and it gave them in the vernacular a long series of devotional works, which for language and religious sentiment have never been surpassed. Indeed, we are inclined to think it made a mistake in allowing the masses such ready access to the Bible. It ought to have recognised the Bible once for all as a work absolutely unintelligible without a long course of historical study; and, so far as it was supposed to be inspired, very dangerous in the hands of the ignorant."[2]

It needs but a very slight acquaintance with the history of Lollardism to recognise the truth of Mr. Pearson's statement. The story of Wycliffe and his followers, as often retailed to us by their admirers, is probably the best illustration of De Maistre's saying, that history has been a conspiracy against the Church. The more one learns about this period of English history, the more one is astounded at the readiness of non-Catholics to believe any absurdity regarding the relations of the Church to the Bible. I have dwelt at considerable length on the Lollard heresy, but I feel that I need not apologise for having done so.

1 *The Reformation*, Vol. i., pp. 504-5. *Constitution* (7th of thirteen, inter. preted by Lyndewoode.)

2 *Academy*, August 7th, 1886.

CHAPTER VIII.

LUTHER AND THE BIBLE.

The world is indebted to a German Catholic, John Von Gutenberg, for the greatest development in the literary history of the human race. About the year 1440 printing was invented, and "the first book sent out by the press was the Latin Bible. *No book was more frequently printed.*"[1]

This is the testimony of Schaff, and it is to the immortal honour of the Archbishop Elector of Mainz that he helped Gutenberg in the publication. When poverty overtook him, the Archbishop's successor allowed him a liberal pension, and it is interesting to note how Gutenberg in his will, left a copy of his great Bible, and all his other printed works, to his sister, who was a nun in a Convent at Mainz.

It is easy to understand why the Church chose the Latin version as her standard one, because apart from its greater fidelity to the original, there was the fact that the Latin language was, and long continued to be, the medium of instruction and communication. Four-fifths of the published books were necessarily in that tongue which was most intelligible to an equal proportion of readers. And this is the explanation of the exceedingly large issue of the Vulgate as compared with that of the vernacular versions.

This Latin Bible printed by Gutenberg (1450-1455) was formerly styled the "Mazarine Bible" from the first recognised copy having been discovered in the library of Cardinal Mazarin, at the "Collège des Quatre Nations." It is, however, now more generally known as the 42 line Bible.

"It is not only the first edition of the *Sacred Text* in any language," says Dr. Dibdin, custodian of the great library at Althorp,

[1] *Religious Encycl.*, Art. Bible.

"but it is the *very first book* printed with metal types. Those who have not seen it can form little notion of the beauty and regularity of the press-work, and of the magnificent appearance of the volumes. They exhibit a master-piece of art, and a miracle in their way; showing that the infancy and maturity of the art of printing were almost simultaneous."

Coppinger[1] bears the same testimony. Gutenberg and those associated with him had the same strong, living, loving faith that had animated the transcribers of the old manuscripts. Their hearts were in the work, and hence their earliest effort reached almost the full perfection of their art. And the same most competent authority tells us:

"Not only was the Bible the first complete book printed with movable types, but it often proved to be the first effort of the early printers, and in many cases was one of the earliest works produced in the various towns. It is also the first in the number of its editions, copies, and translations. Regarded entirely apart from its contents, and from a bibliographical aspect only, it is a book which stands alone. No other book has ever had the influence this had. No other book has ever called forth such expenditure of time, learning, and money for printing and publishing abroad by millions. . . . . The study *of the Latin Bibles of the fifteenth century includes in reality the history and progress of the art of printing.*"

Coppinger, from personal examination, gives a list of *one hundred and eleven* Latin Bibles printed before the end of the 15th century. He writes a full history of each Bible, and he adds, moreover, thirteen other Latin Bibles that were most probably printed within the same period.

Both Mr. Dibdin and Hallam emphasise the fact that many copies of this Bible are to be found in England. The *Athenæum*[3] puts the number as twenty-eight; and, yet, we have so well known a writer on biblical hermeneutics as Horne *ignoring its existence.*

Reuss, a leading Rationalist of Germany, states that:

"No book was so frequently published, immediately after the first invention of printing, as the Latin Bible: *more than one hundred editions* of it being struck off before the year 1500."[4]

1 *Incunabula Biblica*, p. 1. 2 *Incunabula Biblica.* Pref. p. iii.

3 July 21st, 1879. 4 *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, p. 458.

The Rev. W. F. Moulton, professor in the Wesleyan College, Richmond, Yorkshire, and one of the New Testament revisers, candidly tells us how rapidly the various versions of the Sacred Scriptures were issued from the newly invented printing press. He, as we know, underestimates the actual issue of Bibles, but his evidence is not the less valuable, for it is another proof of the inexcusable ignorance of those who represent the Church as desiring to keep the knowledge of the Bible from her children.

"Of the Latin Bible alone, as many as ninety-one editions," he says, "had been issued before the close of the fifteenth century. Within twenty years of this date—*i.e.*, 1455, the printing of Gutenberg's Bible—the invention had found a home in more than a hundred European cities; and by the end of the century more than a thousand presses were at work. The Continental presses, almost in the earliest years of their existence, teem with editions of the Bible in different languages. Before 1477, four editions of the German Bible had been given to the world; ten more were issued during the forty years which followed."[1]

We have all heard, many a time, of the Protestant tradition about Luther's providential discovery of a Bible chained to the wall of his monastery, and many of us, I presume, have seen an engraving of Mr. Ward's well-known picture representing that event. It was purchased, I believe, at a cost of £3,000, and presented to the British and Foreign Bible Society. Irreverent men, however, have rudely brushed away the time-honoured fable on which the artist relied, and what is worse, the brushing process has been largely done by non-Catholics. But as the *Saturday Review*[2] has observed:

"There are no lies that die so hard as lies that have a controversial importance. The whole history of the 'Blessed Reformation' from whatever side it is told is a conspicuous illustration of this."

Mr. Ward, however, did no more than put on canvas the picture Protestant writers had painted of the great reformer. D'Aubigné's *History of the Reformation* may be considered a very high authority if one is to judge by

[1] *History of the English Bible.* [2] 25th July, 1874.

the number of editions, in various languages, it has gone through. And D'Aubigné actually sets it down as history that Luther, having had the advantage of an early Catholic education, and having studied two years in the University of Erfurt, where "he had read the Philosophy of the Middle Ages in the writings of Occam, Scotus, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas," had not known that there was such a thing as a Bible in existence, till he made the marvellous discovery. The learned Anglican, Dean Maitland, whose book on the Dark Ages is in every scholar's library, exposed the audacious falsehood, and D'Aubigné, by discreditable subterfuges tried to wriggle out of it. We shall see how far his testimony, and that of other Protestant writers, bear out D'Aubigné's assertion.

"To say nothing of parts of the Bible, or of books whose place is uncertain," says Maitland, "we know of at least twenty different editions of the whole Latin Bible printed in Germany only, before Luther was born. These had issued from Augsburg, Strassburg, Cologne, Ulm, Mainz (two), Basle (four), Nüremberg (ten), and were dispersed through Germany, I repeat, before Luther was born; and I may add that before that event there was a printing-press at work in this very town of Erfurt, where, more than twenty years after, he is said to have made his 'discovery.' And yet . . . we find a young man who had received 'a very liberal education,' who 'had made great proficiency in his studies at Magdeburg, Eisenach, and Erfurt,' and who, nevertheles, did not know what a Bible was, simply because 'the Bible was unknown in those days.'"[1]

Luther was born in 1483, and according to D'Aubigné he discovered the chained Bible in 1503. Now, Coppinger, in his *Incunabula Biblica*, giving the several dates and places of publication, proves that before Luther saw the light of day *there had been printed fifty-eight editions of the Latin Bible alone,* and that before the year of his famous discovery, there had been published *one hundred and twenty-nine*, and of these, *thirty-eight editions* had been published in Germany.

Noticing a list of Bibles in the South Kensington Exhibition (1877), the *Church Times*, 26th July, 1878, writes:

1 *Dark Ages*, p. 506.

"This catalogue will be very useful for one thing at any rate, as disproving the popular lie about Luther *finding* the Bible for the first time at Erfurt, about 1507. Not only are there very many editions of the Latin Vulgate long anterior to that time, but there were actually nine German editions of the Bible in the Caxton Exhibition earlier than 1483, the year of Luther's birth, and at least three more before the end of the century."

Mr. Henry Stevens, an ardent admirer of the German reformer, describing the Luther Exhibition in the Grenville Library,[1] admits that:—

"By 1507 more than one hundred Latin Bibles had been printed, some of them small and cheap pocket editions. There had been besides *thirteen editions of a translation of the Vulgate into German*, and others in other modern languages. . . . Among the most interesting editions latest made [to the Grenville Library in the British Museum] is a nearly complete set of fourteen grand old pre-Luther German Bibles, 1460—1518, all in huge folios except the twelfth, which is in quarto form."

In the Catalogue of the Caxton Exhibition,[2] Mr. Stevens says:

"Prior to the discovery of America (1492) no less than twelve grand patriarchal editions of the entire Bible, being of several different translations, appeared from time to time in the German language; to which add the two editions by the Otmars of Augsburg of 1507 and 1518, and we have the total number of no less than fourteen distinct large folio pre-Reformation or anti-Lutheran Bibles. *No other language except the Latin can boast of anything like this number.*"

Mr. Blunt[3] complains how reforming England had allowed the Catholic countries of the Continent to get far ahead of it in the printing and circulation of the vernacular Bible. "Thirty years," he says, "before the reign of Henry VIII., as early as A.D. 1477, there had been five distinct translations printed in Germany, twelve more being printed before Luther was heard of, that is, before A.D. 1518."

In the year 1466 a German translation from the Latin Vulgate was printed. This edition has been called by Geffcken the "German Vulgate." In the Senatorial Library at Leipsig two copies are preserved, neither of which has any printed date of publication, but in one, the

[1] *Athenæum*, Oct. 6th, 1883. [2] p. 79.

[3] *Plain Account of English Bible*, p. 30.

illuminated capitals are added by the hand, as was usual in the early specimens of writing. In the same hand is appended the date 1467.

Before the printing of Luther's Bible in 1534, this Bible, besides these editions, was republished with improvements, at least *sixteen times:* once at Strassburg; five times at Nüremberg, and ten times at Augsburg.[1] It would be, perhaps, more correct to call some of these separate versions than editions of the same version. And what are we to think of men like Mr. Horne, for example, who, writing on the subject of German Bibles, deliberately omits all reference to any of these editions?

Dr. Aldero, in his well-known catalogue of the Biblical collection of the King of Wurtemberg, at Stuttgart, mentions *twenty-seven different editions of the Bible in German earlier than Luther's version.* Brockhaus' (German) *Encyclopædia* enumerates *seventeen* pre-Lutheran Bibles, and Chambers' *Encyclopædia* gives the same number.

One has only to go to the Melbourne Public Library to find complete disproof of D'Aubigné's reckless falsehood. In the magnificent collection of that institution I have seen a very fine copy of a German Bible that was printed in Augsburg in 1473, by Günther Zainer, ten years before Luther was born.

A scholar visiting London for a few days would hardly fail to see the British Museum. A few hours spent in the great library of that institution would help one towards an appreciation of the Church's labours in multiplying copies of the holy Scriptures. I am not referring specially to its collection of manuscript Bibles. Its printed copies of the sacred volume may be easily seen, and one has only to examine the several dates of publication to learn what

1 See *Dublin Review*, Vol. i. The following are dates of the editions: Strassburg, 1485; Nüremberg, 1477, 1480, 1483, 1490, 1518; Augsburg, 1477, 1480, 1483, 1487, 1490, 1494, 1507, 1510, 1518, 1524 —Le Long, t. i. pp. 277-97.

utter nonsense it is to represent the Church as opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures. Luther's version of the New Testament was printed in 1522. His edition of the Bible first appeared in 1534. All good Protestants are taught that this, *the first printed Protestant Bible*, was the *first printed copy of the Scriptures*. But the Protestant Government of England has managed to purchase for its national library no fewer than twenty-seven Catholic editions of the Bible, earlier than Luther's German translation. From the Museum catalogue of 1892 I find that in its library there are *eleven* German editions of the Bible, ranging in date from 1466 to 1518.[1] In Bohemian there are *three* copies covering the years from 1488 to 1506. In Dutch there is one copy dated 1477. I omit the editions of 1525 and 1527, as it may be said that they are partly Lutheran. In French I find five editions from 1510 to 1531. The second edition, printed by Lempereur, I also omit as it was printed in 1534, the same year as, but I believe somewhat earlier, than Luther's copy. In Italian I count seven editions from 1471 to 1532. And if it be remembered that this is the collection of a single library, it is surely more than enough to answer the cry that Rome is the enemy of the Bible.

The *Times*, on the occasion of the last Lutheran Centennial Celebration, wrote thus of the German Bibles in the British Museum:

"These are all handsome volumes, some of them enriched with woodcuts coloured by hand at the time of their publication. They reflect the highest credit upon the early German printers by the magnificence of their execution. It is a singular thing with respect to these early German Bibles that all of them appear to be independent translations, not one of them being a mere reissue of the other."

1 The British Museum Catalogue for 1892 contains the following list of German Bibles, all of them pre-Lutheran: Johann Mentelin, Strassburg, 1446; Heinrich Eggesteyn, Strassburg, 1468; Günther Zainer, Augsburg, 1473; Jodocus Pflawzmann, Augsburg, 1475; Anthoni Sorg, Augsburg, 1477; Günther Zainer, Augsburg, 1477; Anthoni Sorg, Augsburg, 1480; Anthonium, Koburgur, Nürenberg, 1483; ——, Strassburg, 1485; Hansen Otmer, Augsburg, 1507; Silvanus Otmer, Augsburg, 1518.

With all these facts before us, as they and a great many more of a similar kind should have been before D'Aubigné, we can but adopt the reply of Dean Maitland to the historian of the Reformation.

"M. D'Aubigné seems to think that whatever has been once said by ignorance, fraud, or folly, may be said again with impunity. He gave an 'authority'—why, so did Robertson, and Henry, and Warton, for various absurd falsehoods, as has appeared on turning to those authorities; but some things are so plainly false, that one does not need to look at the authority on which they are stated. If M. D'Aubigné had said, that by some singular infelicity the Saxon Reformer had been educated in an atheistical manner, and until he was twenty years old had been studiously prevented from coming to the knowledge of the fact that the Bible existed—that he had been kept by his father in the woods, never taught to read, or allowed to go to church, or converse with Christians—if M. D'Aubigné had told us even this, strange as it is, upon respectable contemporary authorities, it would of course be our duty to look at them; but when the story is told of a young gentleman whose religious education had been particularly attended to, and who had of his own free will been working hard at Occam, Scot, Bonaventure, and Thomas Aquinas, it is too much. We do not need to look at the authority. We can only lament the pitiable ignorance of the writer who could repeat such nonsense."[1]

That there was a chained Bible in the monastery at Erfurt is quite probable. The manuscript copies of the sacred Scriptures were so costly that it was customary to secure by a chain the copy that was used in the public service of the Church. And, as a matter of fact, the custom of chaining valuable books to the shelves or writing-stands, continued long after the invention of printing. Maitland instances cases so late as 1711 and 1718.[2] But that Luther "discovered" such a Bible, or that the Bible was "a rare and unknown book" during Luther's college days is a statement so transparently false that it would be beneath contempt were it not that D'Aubigné's assertion has been echoed and re-echoed by men whose high position in the Anglican Church gives authority to their words. Dean Milner, for instance, in his *Church History* seriously quotes Luther's ignorance of the Bible. Bishop Westcott in *The Bible in the Church* is not

[1] *Dark Ages*, p. 547. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 320-21.

ashamed to repeat this silly falsehood: "The discovery of a Latin Bible, we are told, turned the thoughts of Luther into a new channel."[1] But as Mr. Hall very clearly shows,[2] it is necessary only to read the whole of D'Aubigné's work to find how utterly reckless is his assertion about Luther's "discovery" of a Bible, "a rare book at that time unknown." A certain class of people are said to need long memories, and D'Aubigné, in publishing his *History of the Reformation* forgot that he had written the following, amongst a few other similar admissions, regarding a time, be it remembered, which was prior to the printing of the first Protestant version of the New Testament.

"The *printed Word* had taken wing, and been carried as the wind does certain seeds, to the most distant regions. The discovery of the two Indies had enlarged the world. Everything announced that a great revolution was at hand. The world was waiting . . . Luther appeared."

Again, "The Laity themselves began to cultivate their understandings, and to love the Holy Scriptures." And once more, "Charitas, Abbess of St. Clair, and Clara, a nun of the same convent . . . were learned, read Latin, and studied the Fathers; but their favourite study was the Holy Scriptures."[3]

When Maitland exposed this glaring falsehood D'Aubigné tried to throw the blame on one Mathesius, Luther's boon companion, and subsequently one of his biographers. But Mathesius, as quoted by Dupin, admits that he, himself, in his younger days, had seen a *German Bible;* that his father had a German version of the Gospels for each Sunday of the year, and some books of the Old Testament.

But, now that we have proved the publication of thousands of pre-Lutheran German Bibles to be an incontrovertible fact, it is important to know how far they were intended for the people, and how far they actually reached them. And a writer in the *Athenæum* refers us to one of many authoritative sources of information.

[1] p. 259. [2] *Who Translated the Bible?* pp. 179-85.

[3] Quoted by Mr. Hall from the Glasgow edition, 1845, Vol. i., p. 102, Vol. ii., pp. 80-100.

"The preface to the Cologne Bibles throws most interesting light on this matter. The editor declares that the Latin version of Jerome is intended for the learned, *but that the present book of the Bible in German is for the use of unlettered, simple folk, lay and spiritual.* . . . . He tells us of the many manuscripts of the Bible which have been preserved by pious men in cloister and convent, *and how long before his day it had been printed in the towns in Upper Germany.* . . . . Notwithstanding such facts as these, children are still taught in the Protestant schools of Germany that Luther was the first Bible translator! It would be interesting to know how far this myth is prevalent in England. However well assured facts may be, truth takes a long time to master myth, especially when that myth is connected with a distinct theological bias. . . . . At the beginning of the sixteenth century the German people had a translation of the Bible which had become generally current. *The best known scripture texts had assumed a permanent German garb, and were quoted from the pulpit and cited in writings for the vulgar in words which had attained to a proverbial homeliness and were impressed deep in the hearts of the people.* This pre-Lutheran Bible version has been fittingly termed by Geffcken the German Vulgate."[1]

Luther's admirers claim for his translation of the Scriptures that its style is uncommonly clear and eloquent, and Catholics are not disposed to deny thus much. But when it is further asserted that the reformer was a perfect master of the Hebrew and Greek languages, then, Catholics will certainly look for an explanation of the decree of the Protestant synod of Dort which publicly condemned a translation of Luther's German Bible into the Dutch language, and ordered a new version from the original instead. So great a hater of "Popery" as Zuinglius, charged Luther "with changing and rechanging the Word of God," and Simon and Sebastian Munster, bitter foes of the Catholic Church though they were, were yet most severe in their criticisms of Luther's biblical learning. Cardinal Wiseman proves to demonstration, that whether from ignorance or malice, there are many most serious mistranslations to be found in this much eulogised version of the Bible, and, what cannot be disputed, that some of these mistranslations directly favour the new doctrines which Luther was propagating. Thus, for instance, on the question of clerical celibacy, he so twists the first Epistle St. Timothy, chapter 3, verse 12, as to change a mere

[1] December 22nd, 1883.

negative condition into a direct precept, and in the verse immediately preceding he also translates his own doctrine into St. Paul's teaching. The first Epistle to the Corinthians, chapter 9, verse 5, he so renders as to cover the particular state of life from which he chose his own helpmate. The difficulty of the professed nun, Sister Catherine, is specially foreseen by St. Paul. The Epistle to the Romans, chapter 3, verse 28, is made to support his favourite doctrine of Justification by Faith alone, and in the sixth verse of the following chapter he adds to the text that he may strengthen his own peculiar teaching. But I must refer those desirous to study this subject further, to Cardinal Wiseman's article,[1] in which they will find the extracts from Luther's German Bible placed alongside the Greek text of which he professed to give a faithful rendering.

The non-Catholic writer in the *Athenæum*, however, whom I have just quoted, will tell us what preparation the German reformer made for so great an undertaking as the translation of the Scriptures. This writer has evidently made a most careful study of the question, and he unhesitatingly says that Luther could not possibly have translated the version of the Bible that goes by his name: and he says, moreover, that he made a very free use of the German Catholic version known as the German Vulgate. Melancthon arrived in Wittenberg, August 25th, 1518: Luther attended his lectures, and began for the first time to study Greek. In his own letters he admits this, and, besides, Melancthon, in a speech to the students, mentions how Luther *already advanced in years* (quamvis jam senex) had learnt the Greek tongue. In June, 1519, there was the famous Leipzig disputation with Eck, and in April, 1521, Luther reached Worms. Luther's time was never so busily occupied as during this period. He was in lengthened controversy with Eck and

[1] *Dublin Review*, Vol. i., pp. 388-91.

Emser; he was sending forth book after book against the Pope, and he was answering the condemnation of the leading Universities of Europe. These are some of the difficulties students of history raise, and ordinary people do not find it at all easy to see how Luther, with his biblical studies so constantly interrupted, could in so short a period have given the world an original version of the New Testament in German.

In plain words, the writer in the *Athenæum* roundly charges Luther with plagiarism, and it is not possible for one to go through his arguments without coming to the same conclusion. Luther's admirers, who so summarily dispose of the pre-Lutheran translators of the Bible, cannot complain if their hero's claims are subjected to the test of a searching investigation.

"We have now reached that critical point," he says, "which is peculiarly calculated to draw forth unreasoning party animosity. We have to answer the following question: *What is the relation which exists between Luther's translation and the German Vulgate?* Did Luther make use of the German Vulgate or did he translate it in perfect independence from the original Greek? Those who seek to answer this question by an unbiassed comparison of Luther's text with the German Vulgate *will be—perhaps slowly, but yet surely—forced to the conclusion that the two are not independent translations.* As we have shown by our reference to Greek, we limit our remarks to the New Testament. *How are the coincidences between the two translations to be explained?* They are so remarkable that Protestant scholars have seen the need of some explanation, and two hypotheses have been suggested. So early as 1847 Hopf placed a considerable number of passages from the Koburger German Vulgate alongside their Lutheran parallels, and came to the conclusion that Luther probably had this particular Bible before him. A few years later, Geffcken—one of the most scholarly workers in the field of pre-Reformation literature—*roundly declared that the coincidence between Luther's and the older translations could not be chance ones: that Luther had often found very little which it was necessary to alter in the German Vulgate.* This first hypothesis, then, supposes Luther to have worked with a copy of the older translation (most probably the Koburger) before him. Such a proceeding casts not the slightest slur upon Luther: he was perfectly justified in using all the assistance he could obtain. *Only, if it be true, it is time that we should hear no more of Luther as the first German Bible translator, and of his translation as an independent work from the original Greek.* The second hypothesis, supported amongst others by Dr. Karl Blitz and Dr. Wilibald Grimm, appeals to subjective feeling. "Considering Luther's well-known independence," writes Grimm, "I cannot conceive that he could have had a copy of his

predecessor before him and now and then borrowed something from it." While admitting the numerous coincidences the upholders of this second hypothesis *suppose the words of the German Vulgate to have obtained such general currency that they had indelibly impressed themselves on Luther's memory; these, consciously or unconsciously, he reproduced in his translations.* This theory is peculiarly noteworthy, for it proclaims, perhaps unintentionally, the commanding position obtained by the German Bible before Luther.

Meanwhile, there is evidence sufficient that Luther knew of the work of his predecessors. In the preface to the Seven Penitential Psalms (1517) he excuses himself for departing in some verses from *die gemeine Translation.* Even from the Wartburg (January, 1522), he writes that the names of previous translators are unknown, and later we find in Luther's circle discussions as to the rendering of certain passages in the "vorige Biblia," as compared with the new version. *It is more than time that both in Germany and England justice should be done to those unknown toilers whose years of labour produced the German Vulgate, and thus rendered Luther's task infinitely easier,* or we might almost venture to say possible." (December 22nd, 1883.)

Some may ask, what was the Pope about all this time when Bibles were being printed so freely in Germany? If Bible Society speakers are to be trusted we should expect that he was fulminating anew the thunder-bolts of the Church against the daring innovators who were spreading the light of the Gospel far and wide. But Dean Maitland, who knew what he was writing about, has stated that the Sovereign Pontiff was in the very forefront of the Bible printers:

"Before Luther was born, the Bible had been printed in Rome; and the printers had had the assurance to memorialise His Holiness, praying that he would help them off with some copies. It had been printed, too, at Naples, Florence, and Piacenza; and Venice alone had furnished eleven editions. No doubt we shall be within the truth if we were to say that beside the multitude of manuscript copies, not yet fallen into disuse, the Press had issued fifty different editions of the whole Latin Bible—to say nothing of Psalters, New Testaments, or other parts—and yet more than twenty years after, we find a young man who had received *'a very liberal education,'* who *'had made great proficiency in his studies at Madgeburg, Eisenach, and Erfurt,'* and who, nevertheless, did not know what a Bible was, simply because 'the Bible was unknown in those days.'"[1]

We cannot blame Dean Maitland for being occasionally in error regarding the exact number of editions that were issued from the various printing presses. Every year is adding to our own store of knowledge on the subject. He

[1] *Dark Ages*, note p. 506.

was an early gleaner in the field, and those who have succeeded him have gathered for us many scraps of knowledge that were lying away in hidden or forgotten places. The land of the Popes was, in fact, pre-eminent for the printing of Bibles. An Italian city holds the palm for the number of its editions. Before the close of the fifteenth century, nearly four years before Luther's discovery of a chained Latin Bible, Venice had printed *thirty-one* editions of the Holy Scriptures in Latin, a language which it is not necessary to say was understood by every Italian who could read.

The Italian Bible of Malermi was printed both at Rome and at Venice in 1471. Two editions of it were printed at Venice in 1477, and in the year 1525, that is *nine years previous to Luther's German Bible,* this Italian version of the Scriptures *had passed through thirteen editions.*[1] More than forty editions of the Bible in the vernacular had been issued before the appearance of the first Protestant Italian Bible in 1562.

The Pentateuch in Hebrew was printed at Bologna in 1482, being the first portion of the Hebrew Scriptures ever printed. At Soncino in Catholic Italy, in 1488, was published the first Hebrew Bible that ever issued from the printing press, and there were several editions of it in other Italian cities before it was printed elsewhere.

The number of editions of the Latin Bible that were issued in France, seems almost incredible. Coppinger, in the work already referred to, enumerates as many as ninety-two editions from the printing presses of Paris and

1 These are the editions:—(1) Vendelinus de Spina, Venetti, 1471. (2) *Kalendis Octobris*, 1471, without place or name of printer, but believed to be at Rome. There is some considerable difference in the translation of the Old Testament as compared to Malermi's version. (3) Johannes de Rubœis, Pinarolii 1475. (4) Ant. Bononiensis, Venetii, 1477. (5) Gabriel de Piero, *Ibid.*, 1477. (6) Octavianus Scotus, *Ibid.*, 1481. (7) Andreas de Cattharo, *Ibid.*, 1484. (8) Joh. Rosso, Ibid., 1494. (9) Barth. Zanni, *Ibid.*, 1502. (10) From the same press 1507. (11) Lazar. Zoardi and Bernard de Benaliis, *Ibid.*, 1517. (12) Eliz. Rusconi, *Ibid.*, 1525. (13) An edition without name or date, but certainly before this period. Le Long. Tom. I. pp. 354-5.

Lyons alone, before the year 1534, when Luther's Bible was published. The supply, of course, followed the demand, and we are enabled by this single fact to understand how wide-spread was the knowledge of Latin amongst the reading classes of France in the fifteenth, as also in the beginning of the sixteenth, century. A French translation of the New Testament, by two Augustinian Friars, Julian Macho and Pierre Farget, was printed at Lyons in 1477. The French Bible of De Moulins was published soon after, and in 1487, a new edition, corrected and enlarged by Jean de Rely, afterwards Bishop of Angiers, was published at Paris. It passed through several editions before 1534. Another translation of the Bible by Jacques Le Fèvre appeared—The New Testament at Paris in 1523; the Old at Antwerp in 1530.

The whole Bible which had been translated into Spanish, in 1405, by Boniface Ferrier, brother of St. Vincent Ferrier, was printed at Valencia in 1478, and reprinted in 1515. In 1512 the Gospels and Epistles were translated by Ambrosio de Montesina and printed soon after. To Spain belongs the glory of having been the first country in Europe to print a Polyglott Bible. So early as 1503 the illustrious Cardinal Ximenes made preparations for publishing the magnificent Complutensian Polyglott in which the Holy Scriptures were printed in Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and Chaldee. The New Testament was finished in 1514, and the Old in 1517. It may be added that to Spanish zeal also are we indebted for the second Biblical Polyglott which was published in Antwerp in 1569-72. Le Jay published another Polyglott in France in 1654, and not till 1657 did the first English one, that of Bishop Walton, appear. A Bohemian version of the New Testament was published in 1475. The Vernacular Bible was printed at Prague in 1478, and again in 1488; at Cutna in 1498, and at Venice in 1506, and again in 1511. In Mr. Strang's *Travels in Germany* it is said, "that the Bohemians had

published seven editions of the Scriptures before Luther began his great German Bible."

In the Flemish language we have a version of the Bible printed at Cologne in 1475. Seven editions of this translation were published before Luther's version appeared. Two entirely distinct at Delft in 1477—the one in folio, the other in quarto—a third at Goude in 1479, and the others at Antwerp in the years respectively, 1515, 1525, 1526, 1528. The New Testament, translated by Cornelius Hendricke, was published separately at Delft, in 1524, and passed through several editions in rapid succession. In Sclavonic we have an edition of the Bible published at Cracow in 1478-9, and in the Polish-Russian dialect there was a Bible printed in 1517, and, in the same dialect, another translation of the Sacred Scriptures appeared in 1525.

It will be observed that throughout this list of printed Bibles I have taken account only of those that were issued before Luther's "discovery" of "the rare and unknown book" in 1503, or before the publication of the Reformer's own German translation in 1534. But, for a just estimate of the number of Bibles actually existing at either of these periods it is necessary to remember that though printing increased the *power of multiplication* of books to an indefinite extent, yet as regards standard works in sacred and profane literature, the difference in the *actual produce*, from the days of transcribing manuscripts was not for many years so great as is generally supposed. Dean Maitland warns us[1] that we must think of writing as a business that was generally taken up by choice for the extension of God's kingdom on earth, and therefore pursued with a degree of zeal and perseverance which in the present day would seem incredible. And this had been going on for centuries. Whole communities of monks were engaged in the transcription of the Sacred Scriptures, and the learned Anglican writer referred to gives some interesting details.[2]

[1] *Dark Ages*, p. 454. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 455-58.

One monk, whom he mentions, transcribed nineteen copies of the Missal, five of the Gospels, two of the Epistles, besides many other books whose titles are not given. Nor was the work of transcription confined to the monks. He tells us of a nun who lived in the time of Pope Gregory VII. (A.D. 1073), and who transcribed a Bible in two volumes; a Bible in three volumes; two books of the Gospels; one of the Epistles; five Missals, and twenty other volumes which were, for the greater part, comments on the Sacred Scriptures by some of the Latin Fathers.

From the lists given by Merryweather[1] it is clear that the number of standard works in the monastic libraries in the pre-printing times was not very appreciably less than the number to be found in them after the invention of printing. No doubt the price of books, in the infancy of printing, prohibited their purchase by the masses. But making every allowance for the difficulties of transcribing and of printing, and for the number of those who could read, I feel that I am very far within the truth in saying that there must have been 300,000 copies of the Latin and vernacular Bibles in existence when Luther made his "discovery" of "the rare and unknown book," and that there were twice that number in circulation when he published his German Bible.

But of what avail, I may be asked, is all this mass of evidence? Who ever caught Rome napping? Wily old foe that she is, during all those centuries before Protestantism existed, she knew right well that one day it would come into being. She knew, too, that "The Bible and nothing but the Bible" would be its battle cry; that there would be societies distributing copies of the sacred Book, by the million, in heathen and papal lands; and that their orators would be accusing popes, bishops, and priests of concealing God's written truths from His people. Rome, to be sure,

[1] *Bibliomania in the Middle Ages.*

knew all this, and the cunning old serpent gave from her exchequer with a prodigal liberality and got thousands of printing presses to work, and, before the blessed Reformation was dreamt of, turned out hundreds of thousands of Bibles, just that she might be able to say that she had printed the Scriptures in the vernacular before Protestants did so. Of course she never intended that her children should open a single one of these innumerable copies of the Bible!

CHAPTER IX.

TYNDALE AND THE PRINTED ENGLISH BIBLE.

We have seen that the Bible was printed in the vernacular in Italy, Germany, France, Spain, Belgium, and Bohemia, before the end of the fifteenth century, and, if it was not printed earlier in England, we have a sufficient explanation of the fact in the abuses for which the Lollards sought to make God's Holy Book responsible. The accounts, too, which they had received from the Continent, were well calculated to make the English bishops wary as to the purpose to which the Scriptures might be applied, and still more wary as to the publication of private translations. And, now that we have come to the history of the printed English Bible, it is necessary to be on our guard against the grossly exaggerated statements to be found in the manuals of history compiled by several Protestant writers, regarding its circulation amongst the people. We are told how eager the people were to secure the sacred volume. But Dore tells us that except "among a small minority, who found in these translations a means of propagating their new doctrines, England was certainly not a Bible-thirsty land."[1] An unbound copy of the English Bible, in folio, in the reign of Henry VIII., cost ten shillings, a sum equal to about £6 of modern money. The price was fixed by the executive, and we have a record of the government printer's (Marler) complaint to the Council that the books remain unsold, and that he shall be "undone" if the parishioners are not compelled to provide themselves with copies of the Bible for use in

[1] *Old Bibles*, p. 13.

every parish church in the kingdom. There had been nine editions printed. In consequence of this complaint, a proclamation was issued on May 6th, 1541, imposing a fine on those who failed to comply with the order before November 1st, of the same year.[1]

Dr. Brewer disposes of the Protestant fable that the reading of the English Bible brought about the English Reformation. He gives this warning:—

"The price of them was far beyond the means of the poorer classes, even supposing that the knowledge of letters was at that time more generally diffused than it was for some time afterwards. To imagine that ploughmen and shepherds in the country read the New Testament in English, by stealth under hedges, or that smiths and carpenters in towns pored over its pages in the corners of their masters' workshops, is to mistake the character and acquirements of the age."[2]

And Mr. Blunt tells us what large deductions must be made in the statements regarding the Scriptures which we meet with in certain Protestant authors. In fact we can accept but one-tenth as true. This is what he writes:

"It is sad to be obliged to warn the reader that there are gross exaggerations in much that has been written about the translation of the Bible. Spalatinus, the authority who is responsible for Tyndale's linguistic accomplishment, immediately after adds that the English were so eager for the gospel as to affirm that they would buy a New Testament, even if they had to give 100,000 pieces of money for it. So when Cranmer wrote to Cromwell that his sanction of a translation gave him more pleasure than £1,000, Grafton immediately reported it as £10,000."[3]

Dr. Blunt might have suggested much larger deduction from the stories regarding the English Bible than ninety per cent. The authorities from whom these stories are principally taken are two men of unenviable character. Their names are by no means synonyms for "the historic mind." Scholars will admit that John Foxe was a deliberate falsifier of history and that Strype was a willing retailer of Foxe's fabrications and of Robert Ware's forgeries. It is impossible to acquit him of having been a

1 *Blunt's Plain Account Eng. Bible*, p. 53.
2 *Henry VIII.*, Vol. ii., p. 468.
3 *A Plain Account Eng. Bible*, p. 31.

wilful accessory to the publication of Ware's forgeries. He makes so careful a selection from them that it is evident he was gauging the capacity of the English people for swallowing well-gilt stories against Catholics, and that he only stopped short at Ware's most atrocious charges. As to Foxe, I must express my amazement that a Bishop of the Anglican Church should seriously quote the martyrologist in this Austral land where fairy tales are yet at a discount. I shall not go to Foxe's collaborator,[1] Jewell, for a certificate of character for him, but I shall summon a few Protestant writers whose names will command the respect of any impartial jury. One may infer Collier's opinion of Foxe from the following references, which I take from the index to his history. It will be seen that he has not a single word of eulogy to bestow upon him.

"Foxe, John, the martyrologist; his indefensible commendation of William Thorpe; his justification of Sir John Oldcastle insufficient; some further remarks upon him; he maintains the deposing doctrine; misreports Cardinal Wolsey; his horrible assertion upon the murder of Cardinal Beaton; intemperate language; misrelates the cause of the panic at the Duke of Somerset's execution; misplaces his censure of the Duke of Suffolk's servant; maltreats Judge Morgan's memory; ridicules devotion; his story respecting the death of Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, disproved; panegyric upon Queen Elizabeth; he petitions her in favour of the Anabaptists."

The Dictionary of National Biography gives this not too flattering picture of the martyrologist:

"He is a passionate advocate, ready to accept any *prima facie* evidence. . . . Foxe's mistakes sometimes arise from faulty and hasty copying of original documents, but are more often the result of wilful exaggeration. . . . He wrote that one Greenwood, having obtained the conviction of 'a martyr,' John Cooper, on concocted evidence, died miserably soon after. Foxe was informed that Greenwood was alive, and that the story of his death was a fiction. He went to Ipswich to examine witnesses, but never made any alteration in his account of the matter. . . . At a later date . . . a clergyman recited Foxe's story from the pulpit. Greenwood was present and proceeded against him for libel. . . . Foxe confessed that his story of Bishop Gardiner's death is derived from hearsay; but it is full of preposterous errors, some of which Foxe's personal knowledge must

[1] *Blunt's Reform.*, Vol. ii., p. 320.

have enabled him to correct. . . . He was a compiler on a gigantic scale, neither scrupulous nor scholarly, but appallingly industrious, and a useful witness to the temper of his age."[1]

Blunt designates Foxe as "that bitter historian and unscrupulous romancer."[2] Brewer is admitted by Freeman to be *the* historian of the Reformation period. And Dean Hook says that he is "the scholar most competent from his deep researches into the public records to form an opinion on the subject of Foxe's character;"[3] and this is what Brewer writes:

"Had Foxe, the Martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately, he was not honest, he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents."

Dean Hook is in perfect agreement with Brewer. He tells us:

"Some years ago I had occasion to consult the Rev. Dr. Maitland, the learned librarian of Lambeth, on the amount of credit I might give to a statement made by Foxe. His answer was: 'You may regard Foxe as being about as trustworthy as the *Record* newspaper. You must not believe either when they speak of an opponent, for, though professing Protestantism, they are innocent of Christian charity. You may accept the documents they print, but certainly not without collation. Foxe forgot, if he ever knew, who is the father of lies.'"[4]

I may add that, Dr. Maitland, in his *Essays on the English Reformation* and in his *Six Letters on the Acts and Monuments* of Foxe, deals most scathingly with the claims of the martyrologist to the character of a truthful historian.

If the Church was so vigilant in guarding the sacred text from abuse in the fifteenth century why should she abate her watchfulness in the sixteenth century when there were going around, as Archbishop Cranmer testifies:

"Idle babblers and talkers of the Scripture, out of season and of all good order, and without any increase of virtue, of example, or of good living."[5]

1 Art. John Foxe. 2 *Reformation*, Vol. I., p. 373.
3 *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, Vol. i., p. 148.
4 *Op. Cit.*, New Series, Vol. i., p. 148. 5 Prologue to Bible.

Before I deal with particular Protestant versions of the English Bible it will be well to have a correct notion of what we mean by the word "Bible" or *what is meant by the term "Scriptures."* Most Protestants, I am sure, are accustomed to regard the Authorised Version as the sole rule of faith, just as if the translators themselves were directly inspired. The following reminder, from the Protestant Archbishop Whately, though startling to the generality of his co-religionists, will help us to appreciate the action of the Catholic Church in causing certain translations of the Scriptures to be destroyed. He says:

"It is, however, important to remark that when our Church speaks of 'Holy Scripture' as being the rule of faith, and the standard to which everything must be referred in our religious teaching, the term 'Holy Scripture' means—not, as some seem to imagine, our Authorised Version, nor any other version—but the original, as written by the inspired authors themselves, in Hebrew and in Greek. It is to the very works that they composed that the term 'Scripture' is strictly and properly applicable. It is often, indeed, applied to translations of Scripture, and there is no objection to such a use of the word, provided we take care not to be misled by it, and that we do not apply the word 'Scripture' to one translation more than to another. Our Church attributes inspiration to the Apostles and Evangelists, and other writers of those books which we call, collectively, the Bible; it does not attribute inspiration to any translators of the Bible. We have good reason, indeed, to believe that many translations of Scripture into various languages are substantially correct in sense, and give, on the whole, a just view of the meaning of the sacred writers, and of the great doctrines of the Gospel. And one translation may give the sense of the original more exactly than another; but no man has a right to apply the name 'Bible' more to one translation than to another. As for our Authorised Version—the one in common use in this country—it is so called from being the one 'authorised to be read in churches,' in order to secure uniformity in our Divine Service, but it was never authorised as the standard of our Church, in the sense of being that 'Holy Scripture' by which it is declared all doctrine is to be proved. Indeed, it was not even composed till several years after the framing of the Thirty-nine Articles, which declare Scripture to be our rule of faith. The version which was at that time in use was one commonly called the 'Bishop's Bible,' parts of which are retained in our Prayer-books —namely, the Psalms and the sentences from Scripture introduced into the Communion Service. But, as I have already said, the framers of our Articles meant by 'Holy Scripture' neither that nor any other version, but—what is most literally and strictly so called—the very works composed by the inspired writers themselves."[1]

[1] Quoted by O'Hagan in defence of F. Petcherine.

Later on I shall give some parallel passages illustrating the very erroneous translations adopted by many of the early Protestant divines, but let us first hear what Protestant authorities have to say on the subject.

I may mention, incidentally, that Bunsen says that Luther's version, though showing everywhere his genius, wants corrections in at least 3,000 places.[1] And a few of the leading Reformers will tell us what they think of the first non-Catholic versions of the Scriptures.

Zuinglius writes thus to Luther:

"Thou corruptest the Word of God; thou art seen to be a manifest corrupter and perverter of the Holy Scripture; how much are we ashamed of thee!"[2]

Luther, in return, rejects the Zuinglian version calling the translators, "fools, asses, antichrists, deceivers."[3] And when he was presented with a copy by the Zuinglian printer he indignantly rejected it.[4]

Beza writes thus: "The Basle translation is in many places wicked, and altogether differing from the mind of the Holy Ghost."[5]

Molinæus says that, "Calvin in his harmony, makes the text of the Gospel to leap up and down; he uses violence to the letter of the Gospel: and besides this, adds to the text." And of Beza's translation he makes this assertion: "He actually changes the text."

Tyndale has the distinction of having been the first Protestant translator of the New Testament into English, and it is well to know in what mould his mind was cast. He was just the very man to pervert the meaning of Holy Scripture for the purpose of propagating his own doctrines.

1 *Nippold*, Vol. iii., 483. 2 Tom. 2, ad Luth. lib de S.
3 *Ibid.*, pp. 388-9.
4 Hosp. *Hist. Sacram.*, part ult., p. 183. Lavath. *Hist. Sacr.*, 1, p. 32.
5 His. Transl. Nov. Test., part 12, part 110.

It is but too evident that Tyndale's was a most irreverent mind. This is the picture which Blunt has painted of him:

"He was a man of unamiable character, could not keep on good terms with his acquaintances, and he was so soured by his disappointments that he spent the remaining ten years of his life chiefly in very bitter attacks upon the Church of England, and all who represent it. His intellect was keen, and he had some knowledge of languages, of which he was said to speak seven. *But his manner of writing about sacred subjects is often inexpressibly shocking.* How such a man came to undertake the translation of the New Testament is one of the problems of the Reformation age."[1] Again he says: "He was also of a very cankered and bitter temper, which led him to fill his pages with abusive language, even when writing on the most sacred subjects. His language respecting the latter was often so shocking, and at the same time, so utterly illogical, that it led Sir Thomas More to stigmatise him as 'a blasphemous fool.' It is certainly a strong evidence of the extent to which party feeling will lead that Tyndale should ever have been respected as a theological writer."[2]

He adopted to the full Luther's doctrine of justification by faith alone, and used to call zeal for good works "pope-holiness." When Protestants speak of the necessity for a *reformation* in the Church in the sixteenth century they do not recognise the transparent fact that this extraordinary tenet of the German Reformer could lead to nothing short of the utter ruin of true religion. This statement of Dr. Brewer should be carefully studied:

"Luther's most earnest remonstrances," he writes, "were directed not against bad, but against good works, and the stress laid upon them by the advocates of the old religion. If that religion had been in its practice so generally corrupt as it is represented to have been by modern writers, such denunciations were idle."[3]

Green tells[4] us that Tyndale was the guiding spirit of Lollardism in his day, and Blunt tells us what kind of men his followers were. He says:

"What they called the Gospel was at the best a cloudy ill-defined budget of negations, by which they reduced the doctrine of the Sacraments and of the ministry to nothing, and substituted in their place tedious verbosities about faith and election, out of which little or no practical meaning could be drawn. . . . They were also great adepts at abuse; every priest was called 'a Judas,' and every Bishop 'an Antichrist,' everyone who declined to side

[1] *Plain Account*, p. 31. [2] Blunt, Vol. 1, p. 548.

[3] Introd. to *Letters and Papers*, p. 228. [4] *Short Hist.*, p. 342.

with them 'a fleshly minded hypocrite'; and the foulest language that filthy imaginations could invent was heaped upon the opponents of 'the Gospel' by them in the same breath with unctuous commendations of themselves and their friends."[1]

Of the general character of Tyndale's writings the same distinguished Protestant authority will be our witness. Speaking of Bayfield, a prominent English Reformer, he censures him severely for having disseminated such objectionable books as Tyndale's. He says:

"He had been a very busy disseminator of such *ribald books as Tyndale's;* and although it is convenient for party historians to class all such books with Tyndale's New Testament, they were works which deserved to be forbidden in the then state of religious opinion, leading as much to sedition as to novelty in religion."[2]

Bishop Collier, speaking of his works, says:

"He has failed both in truth and decency in several material points. And in short his heterodoxies are too visible to reckon him amongst the reformed of the English Church."[3]

Such is the character of the man and his writings given us by authorities whose Protestantism is above suspicion, and who will say that he was fitted for the work of translating the Scriptures which demands a mind filled with reverence, and free from every prejudice?

Canon Dixon in his *History of the Church of England,* tells us with what impartial mind Tyndale approached his work.

"It was Tyndale and his fellow labourers who awoke the question of translating the Scriptures after the slumber of a century. The admirers and the guests of Germany, those voluntary exiles poured from their foreign refuges, upon their native land, an inexhaustible succession of printed versions of the various books of the Bible. These . . . were condemned by Convocation among the books of *mala dogmata:* they were seized or bought up by the bishops, and committed to the flames. If the clergy had acted thus, simply because they would have kept the people ignorant of the Word of God, they would have been without excuse. *But it was not so.* Every one of the little volumes containing portions of the Sacred Text, that was issued by Tyndale, contained also a prologue and notes written with such a hot fury of vituperation against the Prelates and clergy, the monks and

[1] Blunt, Vol. i., p. 546.

[2] *Reformation,* Vol. i., pp. 535-536.

[3] *Eccl. Hist.*, Vol. iv., p. 203.

friars, the rites and ceremonies of the Church, as . . . was hardly likely to commend it to the favour of those who were attacked. Moreover, the versions themselves were held to be hostile to the Catholic Faith, as it was then understood, and to convey the sense unskilfully or maliciously."[1]

Moulton says Tyndale "frequently used language which cannot be defended."[2] His version was supposed, at first, and on good grounds, to be a translation from Luther's German Bible, just as it was actually stated on his title page, afterwards, by Coverdale that his translation was taken "out of Dutch and Latin." Tyndale was a devotee of Luther's, and immediately before he undertook the translation, "we find him on his way to Wittenberg, the sacred city of the Reformation. Afterwards retiring to Hamburg he translated the Gospels and Epistles, and his press at Cologne and at Worms, where he was joined by a few scholars from Cambridge, was soon busy with his versions of the Scriptures and with reprints of the tracts of Wycliffe and of Luther."[3] Some Protestant writers like Ellicott[4] maintain that Tyndale was an original translator from the Greek. But Marsh in his *Lectures on the English Language* says, that he is merely a full-blown Wycliffe, and Moulton[5] though he does not go this length, instances several passages which Tyndale clearly adopted from the old English version. Moulton proves conclusively that it was the Vulgate and the Greek Testament of Erasmus, and not the most correct edition, too, that he used in addition to the old vernacular text.

The English Bishops took alarm at Tyndale's translation. The Primate Warham wrote urging them to take immediate steps against the circulation of a false rendering of the Scriptures amongst the people, "instilling," as he said, "pernicious and scandalous heresies into the minds of

[1] *Hist. of the Church of England*, Vol. i., p. 451-2.

[2] *Hist. English Bible.* [3] Green's *Short History*, pp. 342-3.

[4] *Revision Eng. Version*, p. 57.

[5] Hist. Eng. Bible in *Bib. Educator*, Vol. ii., p. 309-10.

the simple, and profaning the hitherto unsullied majesty of the Holy Scriptures by nefarious and distorted comments."[1] And in a Commission of investigation which Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, instituted in his diocese, we have the grounds of this alarm stated in the most unmistakable language. He writes to the clergy:

"Some sons of iniquity and ministers of the Lutheran faction have craftily translated the Holy Gospels of God into our vulgar English, and intermingled with their translation articles gravely heretical and opinions that are erroneous, pernicious, pestilent, scandalous, and tending to seduce persons of simple and unwary disposition."[2]

Warham bought up an edition at a cost of £66 9s. 4d., a sum equivalent to £800 of modern money, and some of the Bishops contributed to the purchase. Tunstall is said to have bought up another edition. But it is probable that his name was confounded with Warham's.[3]

Blunt sees nothing reprehensible in the bishops' condemnation of Tyndale's translation.

"There was much justification for this in the 'prologues,' the 'glosses,' and the false renderings of Tyndale's translation (the first alone occupying as much space as the translation itself); but, no doubt, Warham was one of those for whom the excuse should be made which Cranmer wrote in his preface to the 'Great Bible,' 'therefore, I can well think them worthy of pardon which at the coming abroad of Scripture doubted and drew back.'"[4] Again he tells us: "In some editions of Tyndale's New Testament there is what must be regarded as a *wilful* omission of the gravest possible character, for it appears in several editions, and has no shadow of justification in the Greek or Latin of the passage. It is, in the printing of 1 Peter ii., 13, 14, 'Submit yourselves unto all manner of ordinance of man for the Lord's sake whether it be unto rulers as unto them that are sent of him.' Here the words 'whether it be unto the king, as chief head,' are altogether left out. Such an

1 Wilkin's *Conc.*, Vol. iii., p. 706.

2 Commission dated Oct. 24, 1526.

3 "I suspect that the stories in Hall, Burnet, and others, respecting the purchase of an edition by Bishop Tunstall, in 1529, have no other foundation than this purchase by Archbishop Warham in 1527. Tunstall's commission to the archdeacons was issued in obedience to Warham's letter, and is dated on the same day, October 24, 1526." (*Lingard*, Vol. v., p. 54).

4 *Reformation*, Vol. i., p. 506.

error was quite enough justification for the suppression of Tyndale's translation."[1]

Green, though friendly to Tyndale, has to write thus:

"The king was keenly opposed to a book which he looked on as made 'at the solicitation and instance of Luther'; and even the men of the New Learning from whom it might have hoped for welcome were estranged from it by its Lutheran origin. We can only fairly judge their action by viewing it in the light of the time. What Warham and More saw over sea might well have turned them from a movement which seemed breaking down the very foundations of religion and society. Not only was the fabric of the Church rent asunder and the centre of Christian unity denounced as 'Babylon,' but the reform itself seemed passing into anarchy. Luther was steadily moving onward from the denial of one Catholic dogma to that of another; and what Luther still clung to, his followers were ready to fling away. Carlstadt was denouncing the reformer of Wittenberg as fiercely as Luther himself had denounced the Pope, and meanwhile the religious excitement was kindling wild dreams of social revolution, and men stood aghast at the horrors of a Peasant-War which broke out in Southern Germany. It was not therefore as a mere translation of the Bible that Tyndale's work reached England. It came as a part of the Lutheran movement, and it bore the Lutheran stamp in its version of ecclesiastical words. 'Church' became 'congregation,' 'priest' was changed into 'elder.' It came, too, in company with Luther's bitter invectives and reprints of the tracts of Wycliffe, which the German traders of the Steelyard were importing in large numbers. We can hardly wonder that More denounced the book as heretical, or that Warham ordered it to be given up by all who possessed it."[2]

It is charged against the Church that she has burnt Bibles in certain periods of her long history, and from such an indefinite accusation her calumniators would have the people believe that she who has preserved the Bible through the vicissitudes of nineteen centuries is the enemy of the Sacred Book. It is difficult to know what answer should be given to such accusers.

I will not have recourse to the *tu quoque* style of argument. Protestants as well as Catholics have destroyed what they deemed to be false translations of the sacred writings. Two entire editions of the English Bible, for instance, were confiscated at the Hague, in 1637, because of the mistranslations and the vile character of the notes which were added. Catholics do not denounce this action

[1] Blunt's *Reform.*, Vol. i., p. 514 note.

[2] *Eng. Hist.*, Vol. ii., pp. 127-28.

of the Protestant Church, for, with the learned Protestant divine, Whitaker, they feel that "translations are only the Word of God, so far as they faithfully express the meaning of the authentical text."[1]

The table of collated texts which is subjoined will enable us to see how the early Reformers actually translated their doctrines into the Scriptures instead of taking them from the sacred volume. They were able to appeal to the Bible against the "image worship" of Rome, and in favour of "justification by faith alone," but it will be observed how careful they were to put "the images" and "the justification" into the Bible to which they referred the people for proof of their statements. There is no word so grossly misused as the word "liberty." The so-called reformers, claiming that they possessed the truth, pleaded for liberty, but they were so fond of liberty that they were determined to keep it all to themselves. The Mass was to be forcibly abolished as "an idolatry," and the monks and nuns were to be driven from their cells, and as a preliminary to all this, we see how the word "altar" in the Holy Scriptures has to make way for the term "table," and how the advice of the Apostle as to clerical celibacy is changed into what is practically a prohibition. The subsequent corrections of some of those transparently deliberate mistranslations only prove the grossness of their character. There is no room for controversy as to the meaning of these several texts in the original.

[1] *Answer to Reynolds*, p. 235.

The Book, Chapter, and Verse.	The Vulgate Latin Text.	The true English, according to the Rhemish Translation	Corruptions in the Protestant Bibles, printed A.D 1562, 1577, 1579.	The last Translation of the Protestant Bible, Ed. Lon., an. 1683.
St. Matth. ch. xviii. ver. 17.	*Quod si non audierit eos, dic "Ecclesiæ," ἐκκλησίᾳ· si autem "ecclesiam," ἐκκλησίας non audierit, sit tibi sicut ethnicus et publicanus.*	And if he will not hear them, tell the "church;" and if he will not hear the "church," let him be as an heathen, and as a publican.	If he will not hear them, tell the "congregation;" and if he will not hear the "congregation," etc.	Corrected.
Ephes. ch. v. verses 25, 27, 32.	*Viri, diligite uxores vestras sicut et Christus dilexit "ecclesiam."*	Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the "church," verse 25.	Husbands, love your wives, as Christ loved the "congregation."	Corrected.
	Ut exhiberet ipse sibi gloriosam "ecclesiam."	That he might present to himself a glorious "church," ver. 27.	That he might present to himself a glorious "congregation."	Corrected.
	"Sacramentum" hoc est magnum; ego autem dico in Christo et "ecclesia" ἐκκλησίαν.	For this is a great "sacrament;" but I speak in Christ, and in the "church," ver. 32, etc.	For this is a great "secret," for I speak in Christ, and in the "congregation."	
Hebrews chap. xii. ver. 23.	*Et ecclesiam primitivorum, ἐκκλησίᾳ.*	And the "church" of the first-born.	And the "congregation" of the first-born.	Corrected.
S. Matth. ch. xxvi. ver. 26.	*Accepit Jesus panem et "benedixit," και εὐλογήσας ac fregit, deditque, etc.*	Jesus took bread and "blessed" and brake, and gave to his disciples.	Instead of "blessing," they translate "and when he had given thanks."	Corrected.
St. Mark chap. xiv. ver. 22.	*Accepit Jesus panem et "benedicens," εὐλογήσας, etc.*	Jesus took bread, and "blessing," etc.	Instead of "blessing," they say, "and when he had given thanks."	Corrected.
Acts of the Apos. chap. iii. ver. 21.	*Quem oportet quidem cœlum "suscipere" usque in tempora restitutionis omnium, ὃν δεῖ οὐρανὸν δέξασθαι.*	Whom heaven truly must "receive," until the times of the restitution of all things.	Instead of "receive," they say, whom heaven must "contain." And Beza, "who must be contained in heaven."	Corrected.
Jeremiah chap. xi. ver. 19.	*Mittamus lignum in panem ejus.*	Let us cast wood upon his bread.	"We will destroy his meat with wood." In another Bible, "Let us destroy the tree with the fruit."	Let us destro the tree wit the fruit there of.

The Book, Chapter, and Verse.	The Vulgate Latin Text.	The True English according to the Rhemish Translation.	Corruptions in the Protestant Bibles, printed A.D. 1562, 1577, 1579.	The last Translation of the Protestant Bible, Ed. Lon., an. 1683.
I Corinth. chap. ix. ver. 13.	*Et qui altari deserviunt cum altari participant,* θυσιαστηρίῳ.	And they that serve the "altar," participate with the "altar."	Instead of "altar," they translate "temple."	Corrected.
I Corinth. chap. x. ver. 18.	*Nonne qui edunt hostias participes sunt altaris?* θυσιαστηρίου.	Those that eat the hosts, are they not partakers of the "altar?"	Partakers of the "temple."	Corrected.
Et etiam ver. 20.	*Et consumebant quæ erant super mensam.*	And they did consume the things which were upon the "table."	Which was upon the "altar."	....
Apocalp. ch. ii. iii. verses 1, 8, 12.	"*Angelo*" *Ephesi ecclesiæ scribe.*	To the "angel" of the church of Ephesus, write thou.	To the "messenger" of, etc., instead of "angel."	Corrected.
2 Corinth. chap. ii. ver. 10.	*Si quid donavi propter vos in "persona" Christi* ἐν προσώπῳ Χριστοῦ.	If I pardoned any thing for you in the "person" of Christ.	—In the "sight" of Christ.	Corrected.
St. Matth. chap. ii. ver. 6.	*Ex te enim exiet dux, qui "regat" popular meum Israel.*	For out of thee shall come forth the Captain, that shall "rule" my people Israel.	Instead of "rule," the New Testament, printed anno 1580, translates "feed."	Corrected.
1 Peter chap. ii. ver. 13.	*Subjecti igitur estote "omni humanæ creaturæ,"* πάσῃ ἀνθρωπίνῃ κτίσει *propter Deum, sive "regi quasi præcellenti," sive ducibus, etc.,* βασιλεῖ ὡς ὑπερέχοντι.	Be subject therefore "to every human creature" for God, whether it be to the "king, as excelling," etc.	In the latter end of king Henry VIII. and in Edward VI's times, they translated, "submit yourselves unto all manner of ordinance of man," whether it be unto the "King, as to the chief head." In the Bible of 1577, to the "king, as having pre-eminence." In the Bible of 1579 to the "king, as the superior."	Submit yourselves, "to every ordinance of man," for the Lord's sake, whether it be to the "king, as supreme."

The Book, Chapter, and Verse.	The Vulgate Latin Text.	The True English according to the Rhemish Translation.	Corruptions in the Protestant Bibles, printed A.D. 1562, 1577, 1579.	The last Translation of the Protestant Bible, Ed. Lon., an. 168
Ephes. chap. v. ver. 5.	—*Aut avarus, quod est "idolorum servitus."*	—Or covetous person, which is "the service of idols."	— or covetous man, which is "a worshipper of images."	Corrected.
2 Corinth. chap. v. ver. 16.	*Qui autem consensus templo Dei cum "idolis?"* εἰδώλων	And what agreement hath the temple of God with "idols.?"	How agreeth the temple of God with "images?"	Corrected.
1 Ep. John chap. v. ver. 21.	*Filioli, custodite vos a "simulacris"* εἰδώλων.	My little children, keep yourselves from "idols"	Babes, keep yourselves from "images."	Corrected.
Psalm vi. ver. 5.	*In "inferno" autem quis confitebitur tibi?*	But in "hell," who shall confess to thee?	They say "in the grave."	In the "grave, who shall "give thee thanks?"
Proverbs ch. xxvii. ver. 20.	"*Infernus*" *et perditio nunquam implentur.*	"Hell" and destruction are never full.	"The grave" and destruction are never full.	Corrected.
2 Thess. chap. ii. ver. 15.	*Itaque fratres, state et tenete "traditiones,"* παραδόσεις, *quas didicistis, sive per sermonem, sive per epistolam nostram.*	Therefore, brethren, stand and hold the "traditions" which you have learned, whether it be by word, or by our epistle.	For "traditions" they say "ordinances."	Corrected.
2 Thess. chap. iii. ver. 6.	—*Ut subtrahatis vos ab omni fratre ambulante inordinate, et non secundum "traditionem," quam acceperunt a nobis.*	—That you withdraw yourselves from every brother walking inordinately, and not according to the "traditions" which they have received of us.	Instead of "traditions," they translate "instructions."	Corrected.

The Book, Chapter, and Verse.	The Vulgate Latin Text.	The True English according to the Rhemish Translation.	Corruptions in the Protestant Bibles, printed A.D. 1562, 1577, 1579.	The last Translation of the Protestant Bible, Ed. Lon., an. 1683.
Paralip. r Chron. n. xxxvi. er. 8.	*Reliqua autem verborum Joakim, et abominationum ejus, quas operatus est, "et quæ inventa sunt in eo," continentur in libro regum Judæ et Israel.*	But the rest of the words of Joakim and of his abominations which he wrought, "and the things that were found in him," are contained in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.	The rest of the acts of Jehoakin, and his abominations which he did, "and carved images that were laid to his charge," behold they are written in the book of the kings of Judah and Israel.	Corrected.
cts of ie Apos. iap. ix. er. 22.	*Et confundebat Judæos qui habitabant Damasci, affirmans quoniam hic est Christus.*	And confounded the Jews, etc., affirming that this is Christ.	Saul confounded the Jews, proving, "by conferring one scripture with another," that this is very Christ.	Corrected.
. Matth. iap. xix. er. 11.	*Qui dixit illis, "non omnes capiunt," οὐ πάντες χωροῦσι, verbum istud, sed quibus datum est.*	—All men "do not" receive this saying.	—All men "cannot" receive this saying.	—All men "cannot" receive this saying.
bloss. iap. ii. r. 20.	*Si ergo mortui estis cum Christo ab "elementis" hujus mundi, quid adhuc tanquam viventes in mundo decernitis? τί δογματίζεσθε.*	If then you be dead with Christ from the "elements" of this world, why do you yet "decree" as living in the world?	If "ye" be dead with Christ from the "rudiments" of "the" world, why, "as though" living in the world, "are ye led with tradition?" And, "are ye burdened with traditions"?	—Why, as though living in the world, are you "subject to ordinances"?
Peter ap. i. r. 18.	*Scientes quod non corruptibilibus auro vel argento redempti estis de vana vestra conversatione "paternæ traditionis," ἐκ τῆς ματαίας ὑμῶν ἀναστροφῆς πατροπαραδότου*	Knowing that not with corruptible things, gold or silver, you are redeemed from your vain conversation of "your fathers' tradition."	"You were" not redeemed with corruptible things, gold or silver, from your vain conversation "received by the" "tradition of the" fathers.	—From your vain conversation "received by tradition from your fathers."

In the English Bible of 1562 the word "Church" was so totally suppressed, that it is not even once to be found. The object of this deliberate mistranslation is transparent. The fear of the particular congregation to which a man belonged, was substituted for the fear of the Church, which, up to this time had a powerful effect in keeping the people within the limits of their duty. The corrupt renderings of the words "idols" into "images" and "worshipper of idols" into "worshipper of images," was done for the purpose of inducing the people to strip the churches of religious images. "How agreeth the temple of God with images?" was the war-cry by which they were incited to demolish the sacred emblems with which the generous piety of their ancestors had adorned the magnificent cathedrals, churches, and monasteries throughout the length and breadth of England. And, when the sacred edifices had been purged from every trace of "popish idolatry," the corrupt translation (Ep. St. John, v. 21.) "Babes, keep yourselves from images" was painted in large characters within the doors.

Tyndale, we are told by high Protestant authority, translated the New Testament for "party purposes,"[1] and it is manifest that the same dishonourable motives influenced many succeeding Protestant translators in rendering the sacred writings into English. For the fact is indisputable that most of the errors to be found in the early editions of the English Protestant Bible are favourable to the peculiar doctrines of the translators, and opposed to the teaching of the Catholic Church. A coincidence of this kind must be attributed to design and not to ignorance.

Ward, in his immortal work, *Errata of the Protestant Bible*, Dr. Lingard in his memorable preface to it, and Milner in his *End of Religious Controversy*, have proved

[1] Blunt, *Reform.*, Vol. ii., p. 547.

that, regarding most essential doctrines of faith, such, for instance, as those that relate to the sacraments, the Mass, the priesthood, devotion to our Blessed Lady and the saints, purgatory, free-will, and inherent justice, the errors of the early English Protestant Bibles were many and deliberate. Innovations of the Bible kept pace with innovations of faith; the Bible had to be revised as the principles of the early Reformers changed. It was not hostility to the Scriptures that induced the English Catholic bishops to destroy Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. It was because they felt that there could be "no crime more foul in its own nature, more prejudicial in its consequences, more nearly allied to diabolic malignity, than that of designedly corrupting the Holy Scriptures, and, by such corruption, leading the sincere inquirer into error, and converting the food of life into the poison of death."[1]

The English bishops most conspicuous in their opposition to Tyndale's version, were men who were specially devoted to the promotion of Biblical studies. Cardinal Fisher, as most writers admit, stands out pre-eminently as the greatest bishop in Henry the Eighth's reign. His martyrdom in defence of the Papal Supremacy is sufficient proof of his orthodoxy, and his devotion to biblical studies is shown by his translations of portions of the Psalter and of the New Testament, as also by a Concordance or Harmony of the Gospels which he wrote, and which, though it has not come down to us, was highly valued by so competent an authority as Erasmus.[2]

When Cardinal Wolsey was about to found his college at Oxford "the exposition of the Bible" formed an important part of his plans, and when this plan had actually been carried out, it was confirmed by a royal

1 Lingard, Pref., Errata, p. 1.

2 Fr. Bridgett's *Life of Blessed John Fisher*, pp. 110-12.

order. From that college came some of the most energetic teachers of Holy Scripture. There is good reason for believing that Wolsey had contemplated the publication of an authorised English version.[1]

Of Archbishop Warham's devotion to the See of Rome we have most unmistakable evidence,[2] and of his desire to circulate the Scriptures amongst his people we have strong proof in his efforts to secure for them an authorised and accurate version. He presided over the assembly convened by Henry VIII., in 1530, "to speak and declare plainly their advices, judgments, and determinations respecting . . . the admission and divulgation of the Old and New Testament translated into English." In the official records of this royal commission we are told of the "malignity of the times, and the probability that a translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular should be the occasion of continuance or increase of errors among the said people, rather than any benefit or commodity towards the wealth of their souls." But we are assured that when the dangers arising from these heretical opinions shall have passed away, "His Highness intended to provide that the Holy Scripture shall be by great, learned, and Catholic persons translated into the English tongue."[3] A commission was formed to promote the work of translation. It included, amongst others, Warham, Tunstall, and Sir Thomas More, and if an authorised version was not sooner published, the delay was undoubtedly due to the fact that the words of Holy Scripture were being wrested to evil purposes. This is what Blunt writes of the two Bishops:

"Warham and Tunstall were both men of irreproachable piety, Tunstall being a very learned Greek scholar; and whatever were their real motives for destroying Tyndale's New Testament, they certainly were not evil motives."[4]

[1] *Plain Account*, p. 36.

[2] See *Dub. Review*, 4th Series, Vol. v.

[3] See Wilkin's *Conc.*, Vol. iii., pp. 737-40.

[4] Blunt, *Plain Account*, p. 33.

CHAPTER X.

THE KING'S BIBLE, OR THE AUTHORISED ENGLISH VERSION.

The translations of Tyndale, Coverdale, and Queen Elizabeth's bishops were so notoriously corrupt as to cause a general outcry against them among learned Protestants. Broughton, a most zealous Protestant, told the bishops "that their public translations of the Scriptures into English is such that it perverts the text of the Old Testament in eight hundred and forty-eight places, and that it causes many to reject the New Testament and to run to eternal flames."[1]

The Protestant clergymen of the diocese of Lincoln petitioning the King to order a new translation write thus of the then current version:

"It is a translation that takes away from the text, that adds to the text, and that sometimes to the changing or obscuring of the meaning of the Holy Ghost." Again they say it is "a translation which is absurd and senseless, perverting in many places the meaning of the Holy Ghost."[2]

Burges reiterates their complaint:

"How shall I," he writes, "approve under my hand, a translation which hath so many omissions, and many additions; which sometimes obscures, sometimes perverts, the sense; being sometimes senseless, sometimes contrary."[3]

King James the First thought the Geneva translation to be the worst of all, and declared that of "the marginal notes attached to it. some are very partial, untrue, seditious." In fact, "he could never see a Bible well translated

[1] See the *Triple Chord*, p. 147.

[2] Abridgment delivered to his Majesty, pp. 11, 12, 13.

[3] *Apol.* Sect. 6, also Covel's, *Answer*, p. 93.

into English at all,"[1] and, therefore, he ordered a review and correction of those versions which had passed for God's Word in the reigns of Edward the Sixth and Queen Elizabeth. Many volumes have been written about the literary charms of King James's Authorised Version, Cardinal Newman[2] says it is "a work, which, by the purity of its diction, and strength and harmony of its style, has deservedly become the model of good English, and the standard of the language to all future time." And the illustrious Father Faber, who, like Newman, was a convert to the Catholic faith, pays a glowing tribute to its beauty of language.[3] But this eulogy touches only the fringe of the work, for fidelity to the original is the real charm of any copy. And who will contend that the authorised version is a faithful translation of God's message to men?

The objections to the Authorised Version of the Scriptures, as containing many serious errors, were not, however, confined to Catholics. The instances are numerous, but these few will suffice. Collier tells us that the Grand Committee for Religion, in 1656, appointed a sub-committee to confer about the matter of a new translation of the Bible. At the Savoy Conference in 1661 the Nonconformist divines objected to a great many wrong translations of Scripture passages in the liturgy. And Dr. Ryan in his analysis of the *Errata* is compelled to admit that there are many serious mistranslations amongst the errors which Ward enumerates. The greatest Hebrew scholar of his day said "he would rather be torn to pieces than impose such a version on the poor churches of England." Bishop Lowth showed how defective was the translation of the Old Testament from the fact that it rested entirely on the Masoretic text. The infallibility of the vowel points invented by the Masora in the sixth cen-

[1] *Conference before his Majesty*, p. 46.

[2] *Present Position of Catholics in England*, p. 69.

[3] *Interest and Characteristics of Lives of Saints*, pp. 116-17.

tury was then a cardinal doctrine in the creed of those who rejected the Church's authority.

"Their infallible Masora (Lowth writes) boasted to have been an edifice raised by wise master builders on the rock of divine authority, proves to have been framed by unskilful hands and built on sand; its foundation has been shaken and it now totters to its fall."[1]

So much for the version of the Old Testament which King James's revisers followed. Lowth is one of the greatest scholars Protestantism has ever produced, and from his testimony we may learn how empty was the boast of Protestants that their Bible was better than the Douay because it was a translation from the original Hebrew and Greek, whilst the Catholic version was simply taken from the Latin Vulgate. As to the New Testament it is well known that the translators had before them only the imperfect texts of Stephens and Beza. Many errors were corrected in the editions of 1683, 1762, and 1769, but many still remained. The necessity for constant revision is clear evidence that the first translation was erroneous.

Dr. Ellicott speaks in very plain terms of these errors:

"It is vain," he says, "to cheat our souls with the thought that these errors are either insignificant or imaginary. There *are* errors, there *are* inaccuracies, there *are* misconceptions, there *are* obscurities, not, indeed, so many in number or so grave in character as some of the forward spirits of our day would persuade us; but there *are* misrepresentations of the language of the Holy Ghost, and that man, who, after being in any degree satisfied of this, permits himself to bow to the counsels of a timid or popular obstructiveness, or who, intellectually unable to test the truth of these allegations, nevertheless permits himself to denounce or deny them, will, if they be true, most surely at the dread day of final account have to sustain the tremendous charge of having dealt deceitfully with the inviolable Word of God."[2]

The Authorised Version has been appropriately likened to one of the old English Cathedrals, not alone for the beauty and majesty of its outlines, but also for the fact that it was originally Catholic. Tyndale built on the so-called Wycliffite translation, defacing it, however, with his own errors. King James's version has been called the "Great Bible," twice revised, and, at least, in its fourth

[1] See Moore, Vol. ii., p. 325. [2] *Pastoral Epistles*, p. xiii.

edition, that Bible was Catholic. In 1541 "it was overseen and perused at the command of the King's Highness, by the right reverend father in God, Cuthbert (Tunstall), Bishop of Durham, and Nicholas (Heath), Bishop of Rochester," and though these Bishops erred grievously on the question of the Pope's Supremacy, they still maintained every other Catholic doctrine. The "Great Bible" was revised, or rather defaced, by Elizabeth's bishops in 1568, and many maintain that it is it which, after a lengthened revision, reappeared in 1611 as King James's "Authorised Version," and was passed off as a new translation. Protestants who boast so loudly of the Authorised Version do not suspect how largely they are indebted for it to Catholic influences. King James's hatred of the Genevan Bible and its notes suggestive of tyrannicide, no doubt, contributed much to bring about the revision. But it is certain that the complaints of Catholics about corrupt translations expressed by Dr. Gregory Martin in his *Discoverie of Manifold Corruptions,* made a revision absolutely necessary.

Of the mistakes of the Authorised Version it is enough to say that Milligan, out of 259 pages in his book, takes up 89 with corrections of the text; that Conquest, in his *Twenty Thousand Emendations Bible* points out as many mistakes; and that those recently (1881) charged with another revision of King James's version made about 20,000 corrections, fifty per cent. being textual.

Though there are many points in the Revised Version to which Catholics must take exception, there are yet several important corrections. The true reading is restored to 1 Cor. xi. 27, "Whosoever shall eat the bread *or* drink the cup," etc., and thus the corruption is removed which Dean Stanley said was due either "to theological fear or partiality." Beza's interpolation in Heb. x., 38, "any man" brought in to save righteous Calvinists from

supposing they could ever fall away, has disappeared. But the most surprising change of all is St. John v., 39. It is no longer "Search the Scriptures," but "Ye search," and thus Protestantism has lost the very cause of its being. In 2 St. Timothy iii., 16, the correct rendering is given—"Every Scripture inspired of God *is* also profitable," the old translation, however, appearing in the margin, as a minority of the translators apparently adhered to it. The Apostles have now power to "forgive" sins, and not simply to "remit" them. "Confess *therefore* your sins" is the new reading of St. James v. 16., and the banished particle has returned to bear witness against Protestant evasion. Some little amends, too, have been made to our Blessed Lady. She is declared by the angel who spoke to St. Joseph to be "*the* Virgin" foretold by Isaias, and she is "endued with grace," at least in the margin.

I have said that the "Great Bible" was originally Catholic. Besides the *imprimatur* referred to, we have the testimony of Morrice, who was Cranmer's secretary. He informs us that in translating the New Testament Cranmer "took an *old* English translation, thereof, which he divided into nine or ten parts, causing each part to be written at large in a paper book, and then to be sent to the best learned bishops and others, to the intent that they should make a perfect correction thereof. And when they had done, he required them to send back their parts so corrected unto him at Lambeth, by a day limited for that purpose. And the same course, in question, he took with the Old Testament."[1] Most people would at once conclude that an *old* translation could not be one of less than ten years' standing, such as Tyndale's then was. Who, in our day, for instance, would refer to Froude or Freeman as an *old* historian? Yet, Bishop Ellicott tells us that Morrice meant Tyndale's when he spoke of an *old* translation.

[1] Nichol's *Narratives of the Reformation*, Camd. Soc., p. 277.

When Protestants charge Catholics with prohibiting the Bible they forget some inconvenient facts of history. It would be most interesting to know the reason why John Frith's cruel death has been so very strangely consigned to oblivion both in press and on platform during the recent controversy about Bible burning? We have had the story of Tyndale's martyrdom told repeatedly, and was not Frith the coadjutor of both Tyndale and Coverdale in the translation of the New Testament, and why has there been no mention of his name? Of Tyndale's suffering and death in 1536 we know little,[1] but it is admitted that his death had no connection with his translation of the Bible.[2] Sedition as much as heresy was the charge against him, and some Protestant historians charge the emissaries of Henry the Eighth with conniving at his death.[3] Of Frith's last moments, however, we do know a good many details which surely would not be unnoticed, without the gravest reason. The truth is that Cranmer, who is occasionally represented as a saint and a martyr,[4] was mainly responsible for Frith's condemnation. With all his reputation for tenderness of heart, he could refer, "in the most cold-blooded style, in a gossiping letter to Archdeacon Hawkins,"[5] to the tortures to which this unfortunate man was subjected. Is the Bishop of Melbourne not aware of this fact in Cranmer's life? If he has read the Reformer's history he must have come across it, and why did he pass it over in his denunciation of Bible-burning? Frith denied the doctrine of the Real Presence, and for that he and others were put to

1 McClintock and Strong's *Encyc.*, Art. Tyndale.

2 Blunt's *Reform*, Vol. i., p. 547. 3 See Schaff's *Encyc.*, Art. Tyndale.

4 As an instance of John Foxe's trustworthiness I quote the following: He feels certain that the "Archbishop Cranmer) ranks next to St. Paul in the estimation of Christ. Cranmer's great mission was to strike down Popery. He was a real Saint as well as a martyr for God's Word. He is now in the glory of heaven, among the valiant army of Christ's soldiers." This veracious authority who could thus eulogise Cranmer, charges Sir Thomas More with Frith's death, the fact being that Frith was put to death in 1533, whereas More had resigned the Chancellorship a year before.

5 Blunt, Vol. i., p. 536.

death with the full approval of the man who, himself, afterwards denied the doctrine in the most irreverent manner, and subsequently approved of every kind of torture for those who held it.

When we hear wild talk about the Catholic Church as opposed to the circulation of the Scriptures, we cannot help putting this very plain question: "Have the Anglican dignitaries of Australia read the history of the Reformation?" Was it by the ancient English Church, or by the New Church of England, that the following enactment found a place in the statute-book?

"Recourse must be had to the Catholic and Apostolic Church for the decision of controversies, and therefore all books of the Old and New Testament in *English*, being of Tyndale's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of faith, or holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth sithence Anno. Dom. 1540, or to be set forth by the King, shall be abolished. No Printer or Bookseller shall utter any of the aforesaid books. . . . There shall be no annotations or preambles in Bibles or New Testaments in English. The Bible shall not be read in English in any Church. No women or artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen nor labourers shall read the New Testament in *English*. . . . . And if any spiritual person preach teach or maintain anything contrary to the King's instructions or determinations made or to be made and shall be thereof convict he shall for his first offence recant, for his second adjure and bear a fagot, and for his third shall be adjudged an heretic, and be *burned* and lose all his goods and chattels."[1]

This enactment was lately brought up in judgment against the Catholic Church, but surely the right reverend prelate who had the temerity to refer to it must now regret his mistake. Evidently he must have overlooked the date of the enactment. He seemed to be unaware of the fact that this law was passed long after the pretended marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, at a time when his paragon, Thomas Cranmer, was Archbishop of Canterbury, and nine years after the English Parliament, at Henry's bidding, had renounced obedience to Rome. But there was another royal prohibition of the Bible about which we

[1] *Henry VIII.*, 34, 35, c. 1.

were not told a word. I quote the substance of a proclamation of Henry, in 1546, when Cranmer was in high favour with the royal tyrant. It would not suit to admit that Cranmer was the chief Bible-burner of the sixteenth century, and so the Catholic Church has to be discredited for his doings.

"From henceforth, no man, woman, or person, of what state or condition or degree soever, he or they shall be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession the text of the New Testament of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other which is not permitted by the Act of Parliament."

"All manner of English books set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wycliffe, Joye, Roye, Bazgil, Coverdale, Turner, Tracey, or any other of them. Every man, woman, or child, possessing any of these books was required to deliver them up to the properly constituted authorities who were to cause them incontinently *to be speedily burnt.* Everyone who should be found to have offended in any way against the true meaning of this proclamation, the same was not only to suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the King's Majesty's will and pleasure, but also to make such fine and ransom to his Highness for the same as His Majesty or four of his Council shall determine."[1]

Dr. Westcott, Anglican Bishop of Durham, speaking of this proclamation, says:

"It was probably at this time that the great destruction of the earlier Bibles and Testaments took place. And, even where the book has been preserved, the title-page has been in many cases destroyed that the true character of the volume might escape the observation of a hasty inquisitor. For the proclamation was not allowed to remain idle."[2]

Thus was ushered in the Reformation which we are assured brought light and liberty and every blessed gift. The recollection of this statute and this proclamation should suggest to some people the necessity for silent reserve when there is question of prohibiting the reading of the Bible.

"Bloody Mary" is a name familiar to all good Protestants, for, from their infancy, they have been taught to regard the Catholic daughter of Henry the Eighth as embodying in her person all that is evil in the Catholic Church. Yet it does not appear that the much maligned Queen ever

[1] See Wilkins' *Conc.*, Vol. iv., p. 1. [2] *Hist. Eng. Bible*, p. 85.

caused the Bible to be treated with contempt. Indeed, the exact contrary appears to have been the case, for it must be remembered that Westcott, whom I quote, was no admirer of Mary Tudor. Yet he has to make this admission: "No special measures appear to have been taken for the destruction of the English Scriptures, or for the restriction of their private use."[1]

I am not finding fault with the condemnation of spurious Bibles provided it were done by legitimate authority. But I think it will be readily admitted that Parliament was not a fitting body to decide what was or what was not a true copy of the Scriptures. Those, however, who loudly condemn the action of the Church in prohibiting spurious translations, should not close their eyes to these plain facts of history.

As a matter of course, we have been reminded of the law of the index, and Hallam was quoted in proof of the irreparable injury which it is alleged to have done to literature. Had Hallam been studied more carefully it would have been discovered that he also referred to another law of the index of which many Protestants are wonderfully forgetful. With all its anxiety to guard against the propagation of dangerous literature, the Roman Index never approached the severity which Mr. Hallam tells us characterised the course pursued by the Protestant Government of England?

"It is natural to suppose," he says, "that a government thus arbitrary and vigilant must have looked with extreme jealousy on the diffusion of free inquiry through the press. The trades of printing and bookselling, in fact, though not absolutely licensed, were always subject to a sort of peculiar superintendence. Besides protecting the copyright of authors, the Council frequently issued proclamations to restrain the importation of books, or to regulate their sale. It was penal to uttér, or so much as to possess, even the most learned works on the Catholic side; or, if some connivance was usual in favour of educated men, the utmost strictness was used in suppressing that light infantry of literature—the smart and vigorous pamphlets with which the two parties arrayed against the Church assaulted her opposite flanks.

[1] *Hist. Eng. Bib.*, p. 89.

"Stow, the well-known chronicler of England, who lay under a suspicion of an attachment to Popery, had his library searched by warrant, and his unlawful books taken away; several of which were but materials for his history. Whitgift, in this, as in every other respect, aggravated the rigour of preceding times. At his instigation the Star Chamber, in 1585, published ordinances for the regulation of the press. The preface to these recites 'enormities, and abuses of disorderly persons professing the art of printing and selling books,' to have more and more increased, in spite of the ordinances made against them, which it attributes to the inadequacy of the penalties hitherto inflicted. Every printer, therefore, is enjoined to certify his presses to the Stationers' Company, on pain of having them defaced, and suffering a year's imprisonment. None to print at all, under similar penalties, except in London, and one in each of the two Universities. No printer who has only set up his trade within six months to exercise it any longer, nor any to begin it in future until the excessive multitudes of printers be diminished and brought to such a number as the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London, for the time being, shall think convenient, but whenever any addition to the number of master printers shall be required, the Stationers' Company shall select proper persons to use that calling, with the approbation of the ecclesiastical commissioners. None to print any book, matter, or thing whatsoever, until it shall have been at first seen, perused, and allowed by the Archbishop of Canterbury or Bishop of London, except the Queen's printers who shall require the license only of the Chief Justices. Every one selling books printed contrary to the intent of this ordinance, to suffer three months' imprisonment. The Stationers' Company empowered to search houses and shops of printers and booksellers, and to seize all books printed in contravention of this ordinance, to destroy and deface the presses, and to arrest and bring before the Council those who shall have offended therein."[1]

Was not the right to print the Bible confined in England for generations to the Universities and to certain printers,[2] and what is meant by imposing heavy penalties upon other printers who would bring out an edition, except that an index was rigidly enforced in that country? The Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury were not the men to allow any privileges to the people. Green[3] tells us:

"No Archbishop of Canterbury, since the days of Augustine, had wielded an authority so vast, so utterly despotic, as that of Parker, and Whitgift, and Bancroft, and Abbot, and Laud. The most terrible feature of their spiritual tyranny was its wholly personal character. The old symbols of doctrine were gone . . The result was that at the Commission Board at Lambeth, the Primates created their own tests of doctrine with an utter indifference to those created by law. . . Nor did the successive Arch-

[1] *Constit. Hist.*, Vol. i., p. 238.

[2] Coppinger, *Law of Copyright*, c. ix.

[3] Green, *Short History*, p. 458.

bishops care greatly if the test was a varying or conflicting one. . . . It is no wonder that the Ecclesiastical Commission, which these men represented, stank in the nostrils of the English clergy. Its establishment, however, marked the adoption of a distinct policy on the part of the Crown, and its efforts were backed by stern measures of repression. All preaching or reading in private houses was forbidden."

"Thorough," was Archbishop Laud's motto.[1] He not only suspended and deprived some rectors and vicars for "Gospel preaching," which meant wresting the Scripture to their own fanatical meaning, but he also prohibited the importation of small pocket Bibles called the Geneva Bibles, because their marginal notes were found to savour of Calvinism. It will astonish some good Protestants to learn that Archbishop Laud very rightly refused to license an edition of Foxe's mendacious *Book of Martyrs* to be read in the churches.

[1] Green, op. cit., p. 513.

CHAPTER XI.

THE RHEMISH AND DOUAY VERSION, OR THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC BIBLE.

The history of the English Catholic version of the Bible proves at once the strength of Catholic love for the inspired volume, and the hollowness of the charge that Protestants are ever bringing against us of treating it as a sealed book. At the very time when persecution was raging in England, and the profession of the old faith meant forfeiture of all that the world treasures, we find some exiled English priests busily engaged in a vernacular version of the New Testament, which was published at Rheims in 1582, and in 1609 the Old Testament was published in English at Douay. To Dr. Gregory Martin chiefly belongs the glory of both these versions. He was assisted by Drs. Allen (afterwards Cardinal), Bristow, Reynolds, and other theologians, but the help received from them was mostly in the way of revision. He translated the whole Bible, though it was not published all at one time. Wood tells us in his *Athenæ Oxonienses*, that Martin was a man "of great learning and knowledge, especially in the Greek and Hebrew tongues, and of extraordinary modesty and moderation in his behaviour." His translation of the New Testament is most commonly known as the Rhemish Version, because the English College, which was founded at Douay in 1568, was transferred to Rheims in 1578, but was subsequently re-established at Douay.

The Catholic versions, if wanting in beauty of language and charm of style, are admitted to be faithful renderings

of the Vulgate. As Dr. Dodd rightly observes, the translators thought it better to offend against the rules of grammar, than to risk the sense of God's Word for the sake of a fine period. I give a few out of a number of Protestant testimonies to the accuracy of these versions:

"Our limits will allow us only to refer to that in use in English of which the Old Text was printed at Douay, in 1609, and the New at Rheims in 1582. This is greatly inferior in strength and elegance of expression to the A.V. in 1611, but is highly commendable for its scrupulous accuracy and fidelity, which cannot be predicated of all translations from the Vulgate into other languages."[1]

Mr. Scrivener adds that the Rheims Divines (who were evidently men of learning and ability) may occasionally do us good service in furnishing some happy phrase or form of expression which had eluded the diligence of their more reputable predecessors.[2]

Dr. Moulton bears this high testimony to the accuracy of the Douay Bible:

"The translation is literal and (as a rule, if not always) scrupulously faithful and exact . . . Only minute study can do justice to its faithfulness, and to the care with which the translators executed their work." Again, he says that "the Rhemish testament had left its mark on every page of the work."[3]

In grammatical precision he notes its great superiority to the Authorised Version.

"As the Latin language has no definite article," he writes, "it might well be supposed that of all English versions the Rhemish would be the least accurate in this point of translation. The very reverse is actually the case. There are many instances (a comparatively hasty search has discovered more than forty) in which of all versions, from Tyndale's to the Authorised inclusive, this alone is correct in regard to the article."[4]

Dr. Westcott, Anglican Bishop of Durham, is another witness to the accuracy of the Catholic version:

"The scrupulous or even servile adherence of the Rhemists to the text of the Vulgate was not without advantage. They frequently reproduced with force the original order of the Greek, which is preserved in the Latin, and even while many unpleasant roughnesses occur, there can be little doubt that this version gained on the whole by the faithfulness with which they endeavoured to keep the original form of the sacred writings . . .

1 Kitto, *Encycl. Bib. Lit.*, Art. Vulgate.

2 Supplement to the Authorised Version.

3 *Hist. Eng. Bible*, pp. 185-7, 207.

4 *Hist. Eng. Bible*, pp. 253, 254.

The same spirit of anxious fidelity to the letter of their text often led the Rhemists to keep the phrase of the original when others had abandoned it . . . When the Latin was capable of guiding them, the Rhemists seem to have followed out their principles honestly; but whenever it was inadequate, or ambiguous, they had the niceties of Greek at their command. The Greek article cannot, as a rule, be expressed in Latin. Here, then, the translators were free to follow the Greek text, and the result is, that this critical point of scholarship is dealt with more satisfactorily by them than by any earlier translators. And it may be said that, in this respect also, the revisers of King James (*i.e.*, of the Protestant Authorised Version) were less accurate than the Rhemists, though they had their work before them."

The writers of the "Address of the Translators to the Readers," in the original Protestant "Authorised Version," disclaim having seen any translation of *the whole Bible* for the English Catholics, though the Old Testament was printed at Douay in 1609-10.

As the authors of this Address have been quoted in proof of the notorious John Foxe's veracity, it is well to test the truthfulness of the writers. It happens that we have abundant means for doing so.

The Rev. Dr. Scrivener, in the margin of his copy of the Address, notices the statement referred to, and in a foot-note adds, "the writers must have seen the first volume of the Douay Bible, since neither *tunicke* nor *rationale*[1] occur in the Rhemish New Testament."

Westcott, in his *History of the English Bible,* says:

"The Old Douay version furnished a large proportion of the Latin words which King James' revisers adopted; and it is to this, rather than to Coverdale's Testaments, that we owe the final and most powerful action of the Vulgate upon our present version."[2]

The Protestant Archbishop Trench says:

"So willing were King James's translators to profit by all who went before them, that they did not decline to see what good the Rhemish version occasionally though rarely offered; thus the felicitious phrase, 'the ministry of reconciliation' (2 Cor. v. 18) first appears in it; and the singularly happy rendering of *bebelos* by 'profane persons' (Heb. xii. 16) was probably derived from it into our version."[3]

[1] See p. cxiii. [2] *Hist. Eng. Bib.*, p. 245.

[3] Auth. Ver. N. Test., p. 37.

Bishop Ellicott bears much stronger testimony:

"To this last version (the Rhemish) they were certainly more than occasionally indebted. And commonly with advantage, as the Rhemish, with all its faults and asperities, was a translation of a really good version, and, at any rate, is very affluent in its vocabulary, and very useful in converting Latin words into English service."[1]

The Preface to the New Revision of 1881 makes this acknowledgment:

King James's Bible "shows evident traces of the influence of a version not specified in the Rules, the Rhemish, made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek original."

We have seen the action of the Church in printing hundreds of editions of the Bible in the vernacular, and we cannot have the slightest difficulty in forming our judgment upon the veracity of the writers of the Address to the readers of the Authorised Version. The power of prejudice never had clearer illustration. Trusting to the blind credulity of Protestants, these writers accuse the Church of withholding the Scriptures from her children, while all notice is omitted of the printed versions in Italian, German, French, Flemish, Spanish, Bohemian, &c.

As a set-off against the gross corruptions of Tyndale's and other early English Bibles, it is very strongly objected by many Protestant writers that the term "penance" in the Rhemish version, is not a correct translation of the Greek word *metanoia*. In this, however, the Rhemish version follows the Vulgate, which has been hallowed by use in the Church from the earliest ages. But if the Vulgate be faulty, it can only be so on one of two grounds; first, that *pœnitentiam agite* necessarily implies corporal or outward austerities, whilst μετανοεῖτε is limited to some purely internal act; secondly, that the former expresses only regret for the past, whilst the latter brings out fully the purpose of amendment. As a matter of fact each term is somewhat ambiguous and depends for its meaning on

[1] Rev. Eng N. Test., p. 91.

the context in which it is found. It is not at all true that *pœnitentiam agite* is applied exclusively even by classical writers to external acts. Tacitus,[1] Petronius,[2] and Curtius[3] are quoted for this sense in Facciolati's *Latin Dictionary*.

The noun *pœnitentia* is not to be found in Cicero, neither is the word *resipiscentia*. The verb *pœnitere*,[4] however, is used by him, in the sense of external action. Again, on the other hand, it is not true that *metanoia* excludes external works. We find in St. Matthew (xi. 21), "Woe to thee Chorazain, woe to thee Bethsaida; for if in Tyre and Sidon had been wrought the miracles that have been wrought in thee, they had long since *done penance* in sack-cloth and ashes." How utterly meaningless would be the translation—"They had long ago *changed their minds* in sack-cloth and ashes." It is not a mere change of purpose for the future Our Lord speaks of, but a sincere sorrow for the past, accompanied by works of penance in sack-cloth and ashes.

The use of the Greek word in question, noun and verb, almost invariably determines the sense to true sorrow as manifested in corporal works. We know clearly what the "penance" was which St. John the Baptist preached, for his dress of camel's hair, the locusts and wild honey which were his only food, the confession of sins and the fruits worthy of penance, all proclaim that it was not a mere internal act. Nor could his hearers have understood him to speak of any other penance than that which was known and practised by their fathers.

To take one illustration out of a hundred from the Old Testament. In Jeremias (xxxi. 19), the Vulgate rendering is as follows: "Postquam enim convertisti me egi pœnitentiam"—*nichamti*. This is correctly translated

[1] *Dial De Oratore*, c. 15. [2] *Sat.*, c. 32. [3] Lib. viii., c. 6.
[4] In 4ta Tuscul—*extrema*.

in the Douay version: "After thou didst convert me, I did penance"; for, penance for the past naturally follows conversion. But the Protestant translation is quite paradoxical. It runs thus: "Surely after that I was converted, I repented," and is just as if a man building a house were to commence at the roof, or, to use a hackneyed colloquialism, it is putting the cart before the horse. It is unquestionably a very strong proof of the correctness of the Vulgate translation that the early Greek ecclesiastical writers as Sozomen,[1] Socrates,[2] St. Basil[3] (died 380), and the early Greek Councils as Laodicea[4] (A.D. 372), and the first Council of Nice[5] (A.D. 325), use the word *metanoia* for the canonical penances. Students of ecclesiastical history know that these did not mean merely internal acts. They meant the most rigid mortifications, accompanying the purpose of amendment. We may also quote the poet Ausonius, in the well-known passage:

> Sum Dea, quæ facti, non factique exigo pœnas;
> Scilicet ut pœniteat, sic metanoia vocor.

It is obvious that St. Jerome could have had no party purpose in view when he adopted *pœnitentia* as the true rendering of the Greek. The correctness of the translation was not contested for more than eleven hundred years. Beza, the French Reformer, was amongst the first to adopt the term "*resipiscentia*," *i.e.*, "*repentance*," for "*pœnitentia*" or "*penance*." Beza, in fact, borrowed the word from Lactantius, but gives it a very different meaning. Lactantius strongly insists that its primary meaning is "sorrow for the past."[6] Erasmus quotes Tertullian (3rd cent.) in favour of this meaning, which he himself adopted.[7] St. Augustine puts into one sentence the whole controversy regarding the meaning of the words "*pœnitentia*" and "*resipiscentia*." "No

1 *Eccl. Hist.* 2 Lib. v., c. 19. 3 Psalm xxix., ad Amphil. c. i.
4 Can. ii., iii.-xix. 5 Can. xii.
6 "Resipiscit enim, ac mentem suam quasi ab insaniâ recipit, *quem erravi piget*." (lib. vi., c. 24.)
7 Siquidem resipiscit cui vita superior displicet.

one," he says, "can begin a new life without being sorry for the past."[1] Again, the illustrious Doctor of the Church uses the word *pœnitentia* in such a context that it is impossible to mistake its meaning in the sense of external action. "Penance," he says, is "the daily punishment of good and humble members of the Church, in the infliction of which we smite our breasts, saying, 'Forgive us our trespasses.'"[2] In precisely the same sense, too, does St. Cyprian take the word, when he teaches that the penance must be in proportion to the offence.[3]

In the New Testament, there is just one example in which the word can be said to be used in a sense of "a change of mind." In St. Paul's epistle to the Hebrews (xii., 17) we interpret the Greek word to mean a change of purpose. Everywhere else the context requires corporal penance. Amongst the Jews, too, corporal penance was ever in use. The Anglican Archbishop Trench, having examined the second objection that the Rhemish translation "penance," or, as it is in the Vulgate, *pœnitentia*, does not make sufficient account of the changed mind for the time to come, says: "On the whole I cannot but think it would have been better to leave *pœnitentia* undisturbed."[4]

Some of the most eminent Protestant scholars have pronounced the Vulgate to be the most perfect of all extant versions, and the Douay and Rhemish translations, as we have seen, are admittedly most accurate renderings of it. Yet readers of Church history know what was the fate of the English Catholic version. The first eight editions of this faithful transcript of God's Word had to be printed in Catholic countries; two were published at Rheims, three at Antwerp, two at Rouen, one at Douay. The next three

1 "Novam vitam inchoare non potest, quem veteris non pœnitet."

2 Pœnitentia, bonorum et humilium fidelium pœna quotidiana, in quâ pectora tundimus, dicentes; Dimitte nobis debita nostra. (Epist. 108 ad Seleuc.)

3 Pœnitentia crimine minor non sit. (De lapsis, Sermon 5.)

4 Auth. Vers. N. Test. p. 18.

editions were printed in England, but the title page tells us neither the place of publication, nor the name of the printer. To give the Word of God to the poor hunted Catholics was too great a risk for a printer to run in those days. Bible Society orators whose hearts go out in sympathy to the savage heathen should have more kindly thought for their own Christian countrymen to whom the Bible was, so far as law could make it, a sealed volume. *Persecution*, as Hallam tells us,[1] *was the deadly original sin of the Reformed Churches*, and in nearly every country where their boasted Reformation triumphed, the result, says Lecky,[2] *was mainly to be attributed to coercion.* And Dean Hook states the unvarnished truth when he gives this warning: "No mistake can be greater than that which would represent the Reformation as a struggle for freedom. The notion of religious liberty or even of toleration never entered the mind of any Reformer of the sixteenth century."[3]

If the gentlemen who make false charges against the Catholic Church were less oblivious of patent historical facts their rhetoric, though it might err for lack of imagery, would be all the better for its solidity. We often hear the deepest sympathy expressed for Tyndale, Rogers, Coverdale, and others who were compelled to print their translations abroad. Yet, with marvellous inconsistency, this sympathy is withheld from the faithful toilers who devoted themselves for years to the task of translating from the Vulgate, an English Catholic version of the Scriptures.

Dr. Grant, in his Bampton Lectures,[4] very sensibly remarks:

"Surely the very failure that has attended the mere dispersion of the Sacred Scriptures among the heathen nations might satisfy us that it was not designed that the Gospel should thus win its triumphs."

[1] *Constitut. Hist. Eng.*, Vol. i., c. 3. [2] *Ration. in Europe*, Vol. ii., p. 45.
[3] *Archbishops of Canterbury*, New Series, Vol. ii., p. 227. [4] iii., p. 93.

But it was not necessary for him to go to heathen nations, as the Protestant countries of Europe would have supplied him with highly practical illustrations of the truth of his statement.

I am not now dealing with the specific causes that brought about the so-called Reformation. The true history of that period, is for the first time being written, and Protestant writers are foremost in vindicating the old Catholic Church of England from the foul calumnies that have been heaped upon her. But it is certainly beyond all question that the reading of the Bible was not a contributing factor in the Protestantising of Europe.[1] To prove this assertion we have only to set a few facts face to face with each other. The first English Bible, usually called Coverdale's, was *printed in* 1535, "*and finished 4th Oct.*," during that year, but England had formally repudiated connection with Rome, *November*, 1534.[2] Mary came to the throne July, 1553. Though the Bible had been eighteen years translated into English, the old religion was easily re-established.

Scotland, in 1560, at the instigation of Knox, had made the profession of the Catholic faith penal; but it was not till 1579 that Scotland had a national version of the Scriptures. In the Highlands the effect got ahead of the cause by nearly two centuries, for the first Gaelic version of the

[1] Mr. James Gairdner, replying to a letter of Rev. W. H. Hutton in the *Guardian* of Jan. 25th, 1899, says:—"It may be disagreeable to trace the Reformation to such an ignoble origin, but facts, as the Scottish poet says, are fellows you can't coerce . . . and won't bear to be disputed." What "we call *the* Reformation in England . . . was the result of Henry VIII.'s quarrel with the Court of Rome on the subject of his divorce, and the *same* results could not possibly have come about in any other way." When "Henry VIII. found himself disappointed in the expectation, which he had ardently cherished for a while, that he could manage by hook or by crook, to obtain from the See of Rome something like an ecclesiastical license for bigamy," he took matters into his own hands, "and self-willed as he was, never did self-will lead him into such a tremendous and dangerous undertaking as in throwing off the Pope. How much this was resented among the people, what secret communications there were between leading noblemen with the imperial ambassador strongly urging the emperor to invade England, and deliver the people from a tyranny from which they were unable to free themselves, we know in these days as we did not know before." [2] *Biblio. Spen.*, Vol. 1, p. 78.

New Testament bears the date 1767, and the first Gaelic Bible that of 1802. In 1609 were passed in Iona, the statutes of Icolmkill which established the reformed Kirk of Scotland. Wales had its Welsh translation in 1588, about fifty years after the revolt from Rome; and the inhabitants of the Isle of Man had no native version of the Bible till 1763, more than two centuries after the Reformation had been established. In 1525 Albert of Brandenberg seized on the duchy of Prussia, and expelled the Catholics. There was no Polish Bible in existence there before 1561 (or according to Horne, before 1596), nor was there one in Lithuanian till 1560. The light of the Reformation, if we are to trust Mosheim,[1] reached Denmark in 1521—certainly the nation was almost entirely Lutheran in 1536. The first Danish Bible, however, was not printed until 1550. In 1529 Sweden, by a decree of a national Council, adopted the Confession of Ausburg. The first Swedish Bible is dated 1541.

In Switzerland the cantons that separated from Rome had done so before the publication of a Helvetic Bible in 1529. Since its publication not a single canton has forsaken the Catholic faith. Only regarding Netherlands, and some few cities of Germany, can it be contended that the people owed the Reformation to the perusal of the Bible, for there only, had it pre-existed in the vernacular tongue. And yet, the majority of the provinces of the Netherlands have not swerved from the Catholic faith. The tyranny of Spain, a good deal more than the reading of the Bible, accounts for the defection which took place.

[1] Vol. iv., p. 81.

CHAPTER XII.

THE BIBLE SOCIETY'S TRANSLATIONS FOR THE HEATHEN.

The famous Encyclical which Pope Leo XII. wrote in condemnation of the Bible Societies, in 1824, and a similar instruction of Pius IX., in 1850, are to the prejudiced Protestant mind a veritable skeleton in the cupboard. They have only to be produced when there is a question of the Church's hostility to the Bible, and Rome's doughtiest champions must retire from the contest. I think, however, that it will be admitted by every impartial reader that the specimens which I give of the corrupt versions circulated by Protestant missionaries, are ample justification of the action of these great Popes.

The translators of these Bibles were faithful to the early Protestant traditions. They simply read their doctrines into the Bible rather than took them from it, and besides, too, the translators were often so grossly ignorant of the language into which they were trying to render the English version that the Scriptures became a scorn and a reproach amongst the heathens. Nor was there anything inconsistent with the Anglican formularies in this extraordinary mode of interpretation, for Dr. Lushington, representing the highest Anglican Ecclesiastical tribunal in England, declared, in our own day, that the right to interpret the inspired writings was of the most elastic description:

"As to the liberty of the Anglican clergy to examine and determine the text of Scripture, I exceedingly . . . doubt if this liberty can be extended beyond the limits I have mentiond, namely, certain verses or parts of Scripture. I think it could

not be permitted to a clergyman to reject the whole of one of the books of Scripture."[1]

With such wide scope for the imagination, it is little wonder that so many Protestant translators have made the sacred volume a mockery to the poor heathen. Mr. Taylor Meadows, Chinese interpreter to H.M. Civil Service, writes thus:

"Let the English Protestant reflect on the Book of the Mormons, and on Mormonism, as it is spreading in some places in Great Britain, and he will obtain a by no means exaggerated notion of the contemptible light in which our badly translated Scriptures and Christianity in China are regarded by the thorough Confucian; *viz., as a tissue of absurdities and impious pretensions which it would be lost time to examine.*"[2]

Dr. Morrison, the translator of the first Chinese Protestant Bible, lets us into his confidence:

"I edited the New Testament," he says, "with such *alterations* as in my conscience, and with the degree of knowledge of the Chinese language which I then possessed, I thought necessary."[3]

The scholarly translation that had been made long before his time by the Catholic missionaries, was the groundwork of his version, but some deviation was necessary, "for fear of identifying the doctrines of the Bible with the system of Popery."[4]

For a similar reason Professor Samuel Kidd was led to invent a new Chinese word even for God. And yet Dr. Morrison's version cost more than twenty thousand pounds. The Bible Society put it aside because, as they rather euphemistically expressed it, "it was imperfect, and not sufficiently idiomatic to be understood."[5] Dr. Marshman attempted another version, but "I am assured by missionaries," says Mr. Malcolm, "and by private Chinese gentlemen, that neither Marshman's nor Morrison's Bible is fully intelligible, much less attractive."[6] The Abbè

1 Judgment, Bishop of Salisbury versus William, p. 16.

2 *The Chinese and their Rebellion*, p. 79.

3 *Memoirs by his Widow*, Vol. ii., p. 3.

4 *Critical Notes of Dr. Morrison's Literary Labours*, p. 34.

5 *Brief View of the Operations of the B.F.B.S.*, p. 4 (1862).

6 *Travels, &c.*, Vol. ii., p. 218.

Voisin, a Catholic missionary in China, published a French translation of a part of the Protestant Chinese version adopted by the Bible Society.

"The pen falls from my hand," he declares, "in witnessing the ignoble and sacrilegious manner in which our sacred books are travestied, dishonoured, and perverted. I defy the Chinese scholar who possesses the most exact knowledge of his own language, so much as to guess what the translator intended to express: nor could I myself have done so if I had not been familiar with the inspired text which he proposes to translate."[1]

It is the same story in India where Bibles are distributed as profusely as in China. "The translation is really pitiful," says a Protestant clergyman, and deserves only contempt.

In the Hindustani version, we are assured by a Protestant missionary,[2] the sentence "Judge not, that ye be not judged," is thus translated, "Do not justice, that justice be not done to you!" And we may imagine what notion of Christianity this teaching conveys to the pagan mind.

Dr. Carey "executed or superintended the translation of the Holy Scriptures in no fewer than thirty-five languages or dialects."[3] and a Protestant authority[4] tells us, "They have been either simply useless, or, from explaining the doctrines of our faith by ridiculous forms of expression, have been absolutely pernicious."

"Two versions of the Sacred Scriptures are in existence," writes Lord Torrington,[5] who evidently overlooked a third by the Baptists, "both provided by the funds of the British and Foreign Bible Society, the one by the Church of England, and the other by the Wesleyan missionaries; but though their respective presses are within six miles of each other, their respective versions are so different, and both of them apparently so unsatisfactory, that a youth who has been trained to the one cannot accommodate himself to the other, and a native, though very imperfectly acquainted with our language, finds that he understands the Bible better in English than in either."

[1] *Annal de la Propag. de la Foi*, tome ix., p. 109.

[2] *Baptist Missionary Account*, 1819—Appendix.

[3] *Annals of the Eng. Bible*, by C. Anderson, Vol. ii., p. 602.

[4] *Theory of Caste*, p. 149.

[5] Barrow, p. 165.

Dr. Livingstone, the famous African traveller, referring to a version of the Bible by a Rev. Mr. Elliott, describes it as God's Word in a language which no living tongue can articulate, nor living mortal understand."[1]

The marvellous specimen of Bible-translating known as the Negro-English version and "printed for the use of the missions by the British and Foreign Bible Society, London, 1892," lets us see what liberties can be taken with God's Word. Having made triumphant exhibition of it in the Crystal Palace in 1852, the Society, for very shame, had to withdraw it from circulation. With so many libels on the inspired book before him, what wonder that the Rev. Mr. Percival, chaplain to the Queen, should, in published pamphlet, record his indignant protest? He says:

> It freezes the blood in the veins of a Christian, to think that there exists in the nineteenth century a Society which, insolently sporting with the oracles of the All-powerful, dares to present to the idolatrous nations, as the Divine Word, the labours of miserable scholars, and shamefully swindle simple and too credulous men who maintain the Society with their money."

If time allowed I could go on multiplying my illustrations of futile attempts of British Bible Societies to translate the Scriptures into the vernacular of pagan peoples. We have, however, many admissions from themselves of their egregious failures in this field of mission labour.[2]

But there is one proof of this failure about which it would be interesting to gather the opinion of Bible Society orators—Abuse of "Popery" is their stock-in-trade, and Rome's hostility to the Bible is always at service "to point a moral or adorn a tale." They do not tell their audience that for want of intelligible translations of their

1 *Missionary Travels in South Africa*, p. 115.

2 For proofs of this statement see *e.g.*, *Chinese Repository*, Vol. xii., p. 351. *Theory and Practice of Caste*, p. 149. *Proceedings of the South India Missionary Conference*, p. 224. *Christianity in Ceylon*, p. 268. *History of Ceylon*, by Hon. G. Turnour, p. 20.

own, and without any acknowledgment, Protestant missionaries use translations of the Bible printed at the Propaganda, under the shadow of the Pope's palace and by subsidy from the papal exchequer!

"The best translations of foreign Bibles issued by our Bible Society, are reprints from those made by the Propaganda at Rome,"[1] is the emphatic testimony of Dr. Wolff, who, himself, distributed thousands of copies, and in another place, he makes this candid admission, "Indeed, there are not greater plagiarists than some of the missionaries."[2]

Mr. Jowett[3] confesses that the Arabic version which the Bible Society formerly circulated in Syria was the Propaganda edition, printed at Rome in 1671, more than a century before the Society was created, and "expressly for the use of the Arabian Christians." He also states that "in former times the Ethiopic was much cultivated by the Jesuit Missionaries; to them we are indebted for the New Testament in that language."[4]

"In 1818, the British and Foreign Bible Society purchased 1,500 copies of the ancient Armenian Testament from the Armeno-Catholic College in the Island of St. Lazarus, Venice. . . Subsequently still larger numbers were procured from the same quarter, and put in circulation chiefly among the Armenians of Turkey."[5]

The dictionaries and grammars which the translators of the Protestant versions used were frequently borrowed from Catholic missionaries. Schreeter, wishing to translate the Scripture into the Bootan dialect, "obtained a manuscript dictionary, Tibet and Italian, the work of some Romish missionary."[6]

Dr. Marshman, of Serampore, tells us[7] that "he owed his first sight of a Latin-Chinese dictionary to the polite-

1 *Travels and Adventures*, p. 182. 2 *Ibid.*, p. 205.
3 *Researches*, p. 453. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 196.
5 Dwight, *Christianity in Turkey*, p. 69.
6 *Periodical Accounts*, Vol. i., p. 60. 7 *Chinese Grammar*, Preface, p. 2.

ness of the Catholic missionary, Père Rodriguez, who had spent twenty years in China."

The Rev. Mr. Percival honestly admits[1] that some of the Catholic missionaries were the best Tamul scholars of the age, surpassing even the most learned of the natives, and that their writings are, to this day, used by Hindoo literates as text-books.

But others, however, were not so grateful as Dr. Marshman. Mr. Morrison actually published the Chinese dictionaries of Father Basil, as his own compilation! But Klaproth, by collating the two books, detected the trick, for Morrison's edition was full of faults.[2]

In the same way the Chinese Grammar of the famous Jesuit, Father Premare, was claimed as his own work by one of the staff in the English College at Malacca, who has simply given a most literal translation of it.[3]

The immense circulation of the Bible in pagan lands is no proof that the Sacred Scriptures are read by the people. Protestant missionary agents complain of the profane purposes to which the holy Book is applied. I give a few out of many Protestant testimonies.

"The cause of the eagerness which has sometimes been evinced," writes Archdeacon Grant, "to obtain the Sacred Volume cannot be traced to a thirst for the Word of Life, but to the *secular* purposes and unhallowed uses, to which the Holy Word of God, left in their hands, has been turned, and which are absolutely shocking to any Christian feeling."[4]

"The Bibles have been seen," says Dr. Wells Williams,[5] "on the counters of shops in Macao, cut in two for wrapping up medicines and fruit, which the shopman would not do with the worst of his own books."

Some of the people, more impudent than the rest, as soon as they had received them said: "These are fine

1 *The Land of the Veda*, p. 118.
2 *Timkowski*, Vol. i., p. 350.
3 *Annales*, Vol. viii., p 585.
4 *Bampton Lectures*, p. 93.
5 *The Middle Kingdom*, Vol. ii., p. 343.

things for wadding our guns when we go into the jungles to shoot."[1]

And Mr. Parkyns bears witness for Abyssinia:

"The uses to which the many Bibles given away in this country are commonly applied is the wrapping up of snuff, and such like undignified purposes."[2]

Before beginning to write my lecture on "The Church and the Bible," of which this essay is the outcome, though, I proposed to myself to follow Protestant authorities as far as I could; yet I now feel that I have adhered too faithfully to my plan. I knew that much Protestant evidence was available in vindication of the Church from the foul aspersions cast upon her for her guardianship of the Sacred Writings, but I must confess that I did not anticipate that it was so superabundant. In fact, such evidence seems to be almost inexhaustible. But when one has such an immense crowd of strong witnesses the difficulty is rather to select the evidence which will be most telling, and to epitomise it so as to keep the narration within reasonable limits.

By confining myself almost exclusively to Protestant testimony, I have necessarily placed myself at a disadvantage. I could make but the briefest reference to the many editions of the Holy Scriptures that have been sent forth from Catholic printing presses since the period of the so-called Reformation. I have hardly even mentioned the labours of Catholic scholars in the elucidation of the Sacred Writings, nor have I said a single word about the numberless proofs of devoted Catholic loyalty to them that are to be found in the magnificent pronouncements of great churchmen of our own day, such as Cardinal Wiseman and Archbishop Ireland. I feel, then, that I have only touched the fringe of my subject, but still I am confident that the accumulated mass of evidence I

[1] *Recollections of Ceylon*, by Rev. J. Selkirk, p. 419.

[2] *Life in Abyssinia.*

have brought together disposes of the statement that the Church is the enemy of the Bible.

To me it seems a marvel that anyone can dispassionately read the history of the holy volume without feeling beyond all manner of doubt that to the Church, and to her alone, under God's protecting providence, are we indebted for its preservation. She alone preserved it for us through the gloom of the Catacombs, when the cry "Christians to the Lions!" so often resounded through the Imperial City as well as when the tide of barbarism was sweeping over Europe and the old civilisation was tottering to ruin. From Pope St. Damasus, who commissioned St. Jerome to gather up the Scriptural learning of the East and West, and enshrine the fragments in her authorised version, to Pope Leo XIII., her record has been one of fidelity to the priceless treasure entrusted to her keeping. And if men cannot appreciate her superhuman struggle to preserve God's Word inviolate through the vicissitudes of nineteen centuries, they should at least remember what they owe, in their own day, to Catholic scholarship, and be grateful to the Sovereign Pontiffs who, out of limited means, enabled that scholarship to convey God's written message to the despised heathen.

THE PRIMACY

OF

THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

PREFACE.

BEFORE commencing this course of lectures I wish to state that I do not regard controversy as suited to the spirit of this holy season. The Catholic Church wishes to keep the minds of her children fixed during Lent on the solemn thoughts which are suggested by the contemplation of the passion and death of Christ. Catholics are perfectly firm and tranquil in their own faith, and their spiritual guides do not need to divert the minds of their flocks from religious doubts and dissensions by gratuitous attacks on the faith of others. Hence they do not originate controversy. But when controversy is forced upon them they must be prepared to give an account of the faith that is in them. In dealing with the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff we must go back to the very beginning of the Christian Church, and patiently trace the development of the power bestowed on St. Peter and his successors through the early centuries, until we arrive at a time when even our adversaries admit that the Primacy was in energetic operation.

We must, therefore, try to enter into the mind and spirit of those distant times. We must ever keep in mind that, in an era of persecution, the judicial action of the Church was in evidence only when necessity demanded. We must not expect full documentary records of passing events from the archives or printing presses of the Catacombs. We must also remember that the exercise of the Primacy would be much more striking and frequent after the death of the Apostles and of the Christians of their training. We know that in those early years of the Church's history the fire of charity burned brightly, and the *sacramentum unitatis*, as St. Ignatius terms it, served to prevent schisms or serious dissensions. When disturbances began to arise, each bishop could control them in his own diocese as long as they were merely local. But when the evil menaced the faith or general discipline of the Church, then

the authoritative voice of the Roman Pontiff is heard in tones so distinct and certain that even the strongest opponents of the Roman Primacy are constrained to recognise the echoes of that voice through the intervening ages. We must take the evidence that has come down to us from distant times and from different countries. In this wide range of facts and authorities the key of the position will be found by keeping in mind that the argument is a *cumulative* one. The Acts of Councils and the testimonies of the Fathers, on which, to a large extent, an unanswerable argument from tradition in favour of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff rests, are to be viewed, not singly and separately, but in their combined and cumulative force.

The strength of such an argument is immensely increased by taking account of the admissions of adversaries regarding its constituent parts. Whatever admissions are made by non-Catholics regarding the Primacy of the Holy See are specially valuable, as there is no tenet of Catholic faith against which such bitter and unreasoning prejudice exists amongst them.

As Cardinal Newman remarks of the English Establishment: "It agrees to differ from its children on a thousand points; one is sacred—that Her Majesty the Queen is 'the Mother and Mistress of all Churches'; on one dogma it may securely rest without any mistake, 'that the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm.' Here is sunshine amid the darkness, sense amid the confusion, an intelligible strain amid a Babel of sounds; whatever befalls, here is sure footing. It is 'no peace with Rome,' 'Down with the Pope,' and 'The Church in danger.' Never has the Establishment failed in the use of these important and effective watchwords; many are its shortcomings, but it is without reproach in the execution of its special charge. Heresy, and scepticism, and infidelity, and fanaticism may challenge it in vain; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism (Popery), and it recognises by instinct, the presence of its connatural foe."

THE PRIMACY OF THE ROMAN PONTIFF.

CHAPTER XIII.

ST. CLEMENT, POPE (95), TESTIFIES TO THE EXISTENCE AND EXERCISE OF THE ROMAN PRIMACY.

(First Lecture.)

I purpose on this and other Sunday evenings during Lent to address you on the subject of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The subject has been suggested by some recent criticisms of one of my former lectures. It is, however, of such vital and wide-reaching interest that mere local or transitory considerations may well be set aside, and the subject approached from the most impersonal point of view.

What I undertake to establish is the Catholic doctrine regarding the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Before proceeding to the proofs from St. Clement, it will be useful to devote this lecture to exposition, and to such prefatory matter as will serve to clear the ground and allow a full view of the subject to be obtained.

Exposition of Catholic Doctrine.—In dealing with the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, it should not be necessary, at the outset, to explain what every well informed student of ecclesiastical history is supposed to know, namely, that

primacy is of two kinds—primacy of honour and primacy of jurisdiction. Primacy of honour implies precedence in rank and dignity, but confers no real authority or jurisdiction over others. It supposes that amongst those who are equal in authority one obtains the first place, the place of honour, owing to age, position, influence, or some other extrinsic consideration. The senior bishop in a province or the senior magistrate on the bench is allowed this kind of primacy. Such a one is said to be *primus inter pares*, first amongst his equals. Primacy of jurisdiction, on the other hand, is a prerogative which confers not only precedence in point of place and dignity, but also authority over others. This, it is needless to say, is the Primacy, or as it is sometimes called, Supremacy, which Catholics claim for the Roman Pontiff. The authority which is involved in his Primacy is an authority to teach, to rule, and to correct. The limits of that authority are as wide as the Church of Christ upon earth. The doctrine of the Catholic Church is clearly formulated in the Decrees and Canons of the Vatican Council, where it is declared (1) (sess. 4, cap. I.) that "according to the testimony of the Gospel, a primacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church was promised immediately and directly to the Blessed Peter the Apostle, and was conferred upon him"; (2) (sess. 4, cap. 2) that "what the Chief Pastor and great Shepherd of the sheep, the Lord Jesus Christ, instituted in the person of Blessed Peter the Apostle, for the perpetual welfare and lasting good of the Church, this must, by the institution of Christ, last for ever in the Church, which, being founded on a rock, shall remain ever firm to the end of the world"; (3), that if anyone say . . . that the Roman Pontiff is not the successor of Blessed Peter in the same Primacy, let him be anathema." (Canon).

Catholics then maintain: (1), that, St. Peter was invested by Christ with supreme authority over his Church; (2), that St. Peter finally fixed his See in Rome; (3), that the

Roman Pontiffs are the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome.

I know that some Protestant writers deny or doubt that St. Peter was ever in Rome; others assert that though he visited Rome and preached there, he never was bishop of the See of Rome; and others again that even though St. Peter held the primatial office and was Bishop of Rome, still he had no successors in the Primacy, inasmuch as his Primacy was temporary, and ceased with the admission of the Gentiles into the Church.

I am at present merely stating, not proving Catholic doctrine, but in regard to the first of these asssertions I may remark that it is a dangerous and discreditable thing to deny, for controversial purposes, what involves the denial of the earliest and most important facts in the history of the Christian Church. "That St. Peter worked in Rome is a fact," says Döllinger,[1] "so abundantly proved and so deeply imbedded in the earliest Christian history, that whoever treats it as a legend ought in consistency to treat the whole of the earliest Church history as legendary, or, at least, quite uncertain."

In the whole range of early Church history there are few facts better authenticated, or more satisfactorily proved, than St. Peter's visit to Rome, his founding the Church in that city, and his martyrdom there. Before the fourteenth century, no one, however hostile to the Holy See, had ever ventured to deny the fact of St. Peter's sojourn in the imperial city. It was reserved for Marsilius of Padua,[2] in furtherance of political purposes, to assert that St. Peter had never been at Rome, and, as a consequence, that the Pope was not the successor of St. Peter, and could not therefore be the Supreme Pontiff. His cry was taken up by Wycliffe and by Luther. Calvin evidently

1 *The First Age of the Church*, translated by Oxenham, Vol. ii., p. 145.

2 The Waldenses in the thirteenth century denied that St. Peter visited Rome, on the grounds that the Scriptures did not record the fact.

did not care to risk his reputation for learning by running counter to the universal testimony of fourteen centuries. "I do not dispute," he says, "that he [Peter] died there."[1] Since the so-called Reformation the negative opinion has been maintained by some non-Catholic writers of considerable ability, but Protestant writers of greater learning have vindicated the credit of the early witnesses.

Protestant Evidence for Peter's sojourn in Rome.—Dr. Cave, a distinguished Protestant writer, declares:

"That Peter was at Rome, and held the See there for some time *we intrepidly affirm with the whole multitude of the ancients.*[2] We produce witnesses altogether unexceptionable, and of the very highest antiquity. . . . . We have in another work *(Lives of the Apostles)* vindicated the testimonies of all these writers against Spanheim's exceptions. . . . After names so venerable, therefore, after monuments of antiquity so many and so illustrious, who will call in doubt a matter so clearly and constantly attested?"[3]

The Rev. Dr. Robertson, Professor of Ecclesiastical History, King's College, is equally pronounced on this subject.

"It is not so much a spirit of sound criticism as a religious prejudice which has led some Protestants to deny that the Apostle was ever at Rome, where *all ancient testimony* represents him to have suffered, together with St. Paul, in the reign of Nero" (*Hist. of the Church*, vol. i. p. 4, ed. 1875).

Bishop Ellicott brushes aside the Protestant prejudices regarding St. Peter's sojourn in Rome.

"Nothing but Protestant prejudice," he says, "can stand against the historical evidence that St. Peter sojourned and died in Rome. Whatever theological consequences may follow from it, it is as certain that St. Peter was at Rome as that St. John was at Ephesus."[4] And again, "The whole subject has, of late years, been sifted to the bottom by various German and other writers. . . . Though every conceivable difference may be found between these authors respecting the dates and duration of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome, very few are so hardly sceptical as to reject altogether *evidence, as strong, early, and wide,* as that on which we believe that Hannibal invaded Italy."[5]

1 I followed the reading given, amongst others, by Waterworth (*England and Rome*, p. 4), "Propter scriptorum consensum *non repugnat* quin Petrus Romæ mortuus fuerit etsi episcopum fuisse, præsertim longe tempore, persuaderi nequeat." I willingly accept the much stronger admission *non pugno.*

2 The Italics in these several references, unless otherwise indicated, are mine.

3 *Script. Eccl. Hist. Lit.*, p. 5.

4 Comment. St. Peter, Ep.

5 Introd. Epist.

Dr. Lardner, an eminent Nonconformist divine, thus witnesses:—

"It is not needful to make many remarks upon this tradition. But it is easy to observe that it is the general, uncontradicted, disinterested testimony of ancient writers in the several parts of the world,—Greeks, Latins, Syrians. As our Lord's prediction concerning the death of St. Peter is recorded in one of the four Gospels, it is very likely that Christians would observe the accomplishment of it, which must have been in some place. And about this place there is no difference among Christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named besides Rome. Nor did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter. . . .

"*It is not to our honour nor our interest, either as Christians or Protestants, to deny the truth of events ascertained by early and well-attested tradition. If any make an ill use of such facts, we are not accountable for it. We are not, from a dread of such abuses, to overthrow the credit of all history, the consequence of which would be fatal.*"[1]

Neale is in accord with the authorities quoted.

"There were many Christians, both at Antioch and at Rome, before St. Peter set foot in either place, yet antiquity always considered him as the founder of the church in each place."[2]

Mason says:—

"In it [Rome] the two chief Apostles, Peter and Paul, . . . taught and died."[3]

I am giving, you will observe, only the direct testimony of Protestants to the fact that St. Peter was in Rome. But there is very much indirect testimony to the same effect. Commenting on St. Peter's words: "The Church that is at Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you,"[4] we have Bishop Lightfoot, the writer in the Speaker's Commentary, Schaff, Farrar, and quite a host of other learned Protestant writers, saying that this Babylon was no other than Rome.

Whiston, the translator of Josephus, thus sums up:

"Mr. Barratier proves in his first chapter most thoroughly, as Bishop Pearson had done before him, that St. Peter was at Rome." Little wonder it is that he adds: "This is so clear in Christian antiquity, *that it is a shame for a Protestant to confess that any Protestant ever denied it.*"[5]

1 *Hist. Apost. Evang.*, c. xvii.
2 *Eastern Church*, p. 5.
3 *Principles of Unity* (1896), p. 108.
4 I Pet. v. 13.
5 *Memoirs*, London, 1750.

The dogmatic and polemical interest demanded that St. Peter's sojourn in Rome should be denied. Lipsius frankly confesses as much in the following words:

"If ever the Prince of the Apostles set foot in the eternal city, he certainly did not go as a simple traveller, but in virtue of his Apostolic Power; and his martyrdom, in that case, forms but the glorious ending of his official labour among the Romans. And if, as many Protestants also hold, the episcopate is of divine institution, then the claim of the Roman Church to trace her episcopal succession back to Peter, is after all not so very absurd."[1]

Further Protestant testimony in proof of St. Peter's residence in Rome would be wholly superfluous. If required it may be abundantly found in the works of Hammond, Ussher, Whitby, Blondell, Scaliger, Le Clerk, Schaff. We may, therefore, on exclusively Protestant testimony, put aside the assertion that St. Peter was never in Rome.

The second of the misstatements of some Protestant writers to which I have referred above, maintains the assertion that St. Peter, though he visited Rome, was not Bishop of Rome. But here again we have a large body of Protestant testimony in support of the Catholic position.

To appreciate the value of this testimony to the Roman Episcopacy of St. Peter, we must remember that the admission of such Episcopacy is the next step to the admission of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, which brings us to the parting of the ways. Yet there are many Protestant writers of the highest eminence who admit that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome.

Bramhall, Archbishop of Armagh, says:—

"That St. Peter had a fixed chair at Antioch, and after that *at Rome*, is what no man who giveth any credit to the ancient Fathers, and Councils, and historiographers of the Church can either deny or well doubt of" (*Works*, p. 628, ed. Oxon.; cited in *Brit. Crit.* No. lxiv. p. 352).

No one has ever charged Milman with Catholic tendencies. Yet he tells us how in the purest ages of Christianity

[1] Lipsius, *Zeitschrift für Protest. Theol.*, 1876, p. 560.

the belief was universal that the Popes were the successors of St. Peter.

"The succession of the Bishops of Rome from St. Peter was now, nearly 200 years after his death, an accredited tradition."[1]

"Before the end of the third century, the lineal descent of her (Rome's) Bishops from St. Peter was *unhesitatingly claimed and obsequiously admitted by the Christian world*" (*Hist. of early Christianity*, vol. iii. p. 370, ed. 1840).

And again. "At the commencement of the fifth century, the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity."[2]

Palmer, an eminent Anglican theologian, tells us:—

"The Roman Church was particularly honoured as having been presided over by St. Peter, and was therefore, by many of the Fathers, called the See of St. Peter."

Dr. Lardner goes thus far on the question:

"There were in the second and third centuries disputes between the Bishop of Rome and other Bishops and Churches about the time of keeping Easter and about the baptism of heretics. Yet none denied the Bishop of Rome to have what they called the Chair of Peter."[3]

It has been rightly said that the Patristic evidence adduced by Bishop Pearson is one of the best proofs that can be found anywhere for the fact of St. Peter's connection with Rome. He writes:—

"For although in this age a dissertation treating of this Apostolic succession [whether, namely, the first Bishop of Rome had some one of the Apostles as author and predecessor] may be called a question, yet in the primitive Church it was never looked upon as a question, but as a real and indubitable truth."[4]

And in order to prove (1) that St. Peter and St. Paul founded the Church of Rome, he cites Irenæus, Epiphanius, and Eusebius. To prove (2) that they were not merely founders, but Bishops of Rome, he quotes the words of Epiphanius. And (3) to prove that the Bishops of Rome derived their succession from St. Peter alone, he appeals to Caius as being a Greek and to the Latin fathers generally, v.g., Tertullian, Cyprian, Pope Stephen, the Author of the most ancient Catalogue *(in proemio)* who

1 *Hist. Lat. Christian*, B. i., C. i., p. 60

2 *Treatise on the Church*, Vol. vii., p. l. c. 3. 3 Op. cit. c. 18.

4 *Minor Theol. Works*, edited by Churton; Oxford, 1844, Vol. ii. p. 23.

says: "After the Ascension of Christ, the most blessed Peter undertook the Episcopate"; Optatus, St. Jerome, in his Catalogue and elsewhere; Sulpitius; *Auctor Quæstionum utriusque Testamenti;* and St. Augustine.

Chamier, quoted by Cave, says:—

"All the Fathers, with great unanimity, have asserted that Peter did go to Rome, and that he did govern that Church."

Grotius and Leibnitz on the Roman Primacy.—To the third misstatement, namely, that St. Peter had no successors in the Primacy, we may also oppose the testimony of eminent Protestant writers.

Some of the most illustrious minds which Protestantism has produced, have fully admitted the absolute need, and actual existence, of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

Grotius and Leibnitz, for example, were, as a great writer says, admittedly conspicuous among all their fellows for their great ability, their love and knowledge of theology, their blameless and honourable lives, and the philosophical character of their mind, and this is the testimony of Grotius, which, as it covers the Catholic position so fully, I make no apology for quoting at such a considerable length.

"Nurtured from my youth in sacred literature, and taught by masters not holding the same opinions on divine things, it was easy for me to see the will of Christ, that all who desired to bear His name, and through Him to attain blessedness, should be one among themselves, as He is one with the Father (John xvii.), and that, not one in spirit merely, but likewise in a communion which can be seen, and is specially seen in the bond of government and the participation of sacraments. . . . Moreover I began to reflect that not only my own ancestors, but those of many others, had been pious men, hating superstition and wickedness; men who brought up their family well in the worship of God and the love of their neighbour, whom I had ever deemed to have departed from this life in a state of salvation. . . . . I was also aware, from the report of my elders, and the histories I had read, that men afterwards arose who were altogether for deserting the Church in which our ancestors had been; and who not only themselves deserted it, some even before they were excommunicated, but made new assemblies too, which they were for calling churches, made new presbyteries in them, taught, and administered sacraments, and that in many places against the edicts of Kings and Bishops, and alleged, in defence of this, that they must obey God rather than man, just as if they had had

such a charge from heaven as the Apostles had. Nor had they halted in their daring at this point; but traducing Kings as idolators and slaves of the Pope, had stirred up the mob to armed meetings, seditions against the magistrate, breaking of the images of saints, of holy tables and shrines, and finally to civil war and open rebellion. I saw that much Christian blood had thus been everywhere shed; that morals, looking generally, especially where they had prospered, had so far from improved, that long wars had made men savage, and the contact of foreign vices infected them. My sorrow at these things increasing with my years, I began to reflect myself, and consider with others, on the causes of calamities so great. *The seceders to cover their own deed stoutly maintained that the doctrine of the Church united with the Chief See had been corrupted by many heresies, and by idolatry.* This was the occasion of my inquiring into the dogmas of that Church, of reading the books written on both sides, reading also what had been written of the present state and doctrine of the Church in Greece, and of those joined to it in Asia and Egypt."

Having stated that he had read the chief writers of ancient times, as well Greek as Latin, . . . especially Chrysostom and Jerome, because they were considered happier than the rest in the exposition of the Holy Scripture, and having applied to these writings the well-known rule of St. Vincent of Lerins, and "deduced what were the points which had been everywhere, always, and perseveringly handed down by the testimony of the ancients, and by the traces of them remaining to the present day," he is irresistibly forced to this conclusion. "*I saw that these remained in that Church which is bound to the Roman.*" And, as we should expect, the question of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff came with special prominence before the capacious and studious mind of Grotius He argues both from the testimony of history and from the necessity of things. Quoting St. Jerome to the effect that "one out of the twelve (Apostles) is chosen for the very purpose that by the appointment of a head the occasion of schism may be removed," he continues "Such a head among presbyters is the Bishop, among Bishops the Metropolitan, or some one elected in another manner, to preside over the rest. *Such among all is the Roman Bishop. This order ought always to remain in the Church, because the cause always remains, that is, the danger of schism.*"[1]

1 *Opera*, tom. iv., 658.

This central idea he enforces by various arguments and illustrations.

"As an army," he says, "or a ship cannot be ruled save by officers of different grades, which grades are to terminate in one, so neither can the Church. Even if all who are in the Church were endued with the highest charity, yet would there be need of such an order. God is not wont to be always doing miracles; but for the best result He likewise points out the best means, as a certain order is to the Unity of the Church. And what this order should be, Christ has pointed out in the person of Peter: for to him He gave the keys of the kingdom of heaven, for the whole college, as the head of the college. Now the headship in every college consists in directing the consultations and executing the decrees. A passage of Cyprian plainly expresses what we mean: 'The Lord says to Peter, etc. The Primacy is given to Peter, that the Church of Christ may be shown to be one, and the episcopal chair one.' Here you see the Primacy, which name in every college carries with it a certain power. That most beautiful union which holds the Church together, emanated not from the Roman Empire, but was indicated by Christ and followed out by the Apostles. Thus the Apostles set up Presidents in the Churches, whom the Apocalypse, after the manner of Malachy, calls angels, as being chief priests in their own assembly. Such was Polycarp at Smyrna.—So Titus was Metropolitan in Crete.—And long before the name of Patriarch came into use, the Bishops of Rome, of Antioch, and of Alexandria, ruled the body of the Church by common counsel.

"But amongst these three most eminent Churches, the headship of the Roman Church was the more powerful, with which it was necessary that every Church should agree, because the tradition of the Apostles has been ever preserved in that Roman Church by those on all sides of it, as Irenæus teaches us (iii. 3), who indeed himself, in admonishing Victor as to the right exercise of this power, admits by that very fact his inspection even over the Churches of Asia. The Bishop of Rome is the head of the Christian aristocracy. That Primacy can be exercised under Christ, and without the terror which a tyranny inflicts, and so as to preserve to the Bishops their right over the Churches committed to their charge. No one who has given any attention to ecclesiastical history can deny that the most serious schisms which arose of old in Greece and Asia were healed by the authority of the Roman See. If any schisms have arisen from the Roman See itself, these have been from contested elections. In such a case the Emperor and Kings should provide for a meeting of a General Council, and allow it either to decide the election, or appoint a new one. But why is it that those who differ in their opinions among Catholics remain in the same body without breaking communion; while Protestants who differ cannot do the same, however much they talk about brotherly love? Whoever gives its due weight to this reflection will discover the great force of the Primacy, the right use of which, such as Melancthon would not have disapproved, he who lists may find, without further trouble, in the letters of Gregory the Great."[1]

[1] Lib. cit., 641.

Testimony of Leibnitz.—And now I pass to the testimony of Leibnitz, of whom it is no exaggeration to say that, for keenness of intellect and vast and varied learning, he has probably no equal amongst Protestant writers. But, over and above his vast learning, he brought to the consideration of the question of the Roman Primacy a mind as free from pre-conceived opinions as earnest effort could effect. He, himself, tells us with what reverent care he studied the subject:—

"After a long and mature examination of the controversies on the subject of religion," he declares, "in which I have invoked the divine assistance, and divested myself, as far, perhaps, as is possible for man, of party feeling, as though I came from a new world, a neophyte unattached to any party, I have at length fixed in my own mind, and, after full consideration, resolved to adopt the following principles, which, to an unprejudiced mind, will appear to carry with them the recommendations of Sacred Scripture, of pious antiquity, and even of right reason, and the authority of history."

Like Grotius, Leibnitz argues from both fact and principle. Our quotations therefore must of necessity exceed the ordinary limits. Beginning with the Sacrament of Orders he traces the various grades of Ecclesiastical Hierarchy up to the office of the Supreme Ruler of the Church.

"The Sacrament of Orders, or of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy," he writes, "is that by which the ecclesiastical or spiritual office or power, distinguished into its several grades, is conferred on certain individuals, whose ministry God uses for the purpose of dispensing the grace of His sacraments, and of instructing, ruling, and retaining others in the unity of the faith, and the obedience of charity, superadding thereto a certain power of jurisdiction, which is comprehended chiefly in the use of the keys. To the Hierarchy of Pastors of the Church belong not only Priesthood and its preparatory grades, but also Episcopacy, and even the Primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff, *all of which we must believe to be of divine right.* As Priests are ordained by a Bishop, the Bishop, *and especially that Bishop to whom the care of the entire Church is committed*, has power to moderate and limit the office of the Priest, so that in certain cases he is restrained from exercising the power of the keys, not only lawfully, but even validly. Moreover, the Bishop, *and especially the Bishop who is called Œcumenical, and who represents the entire Church*, has the power of excommunicating and depriving of the grace of the sacraments, of binding and retaining sins, and of loosing and restoring again. For it is not merely that voluntary jurisdiction which belongs to a Priest in the confessional that is contained under the power of the keys, but the Church, moreover, has power to proceed against even the unwilling; and he 'who does not hear the Church,' and does not,

so far as is consistent with the salvation of his soul, keep her commandments, 'should be held as the heathen and the publican'; and, as the sentence on earth is regularly confirmed by that of heaven, such a man draws on himself, at the peril of his own soul, the weight of ecclesiastical authority, to which God Himself lends that which is last and highest in all jurisdiction—execution."

After pointing out that the Church was constituted by her Divine Founder as "one moral person," and that "it is of the nature of a person, whether natural or moral, to have a will in order that his wishes may be known," and that in a monarchical form of government the will of the monarch is the will of the state, while in the Church the voice of the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, is the interpreter of the Divine will, he thus proceeds:—

"Now as, from the impossibility of the Bishops frequently leaving the people over whom they are placed, it is not possible to hold a council continually, or even frequently, while at the same time the person of the Church must always live and subsist, in order that its will may be ascertained, it was a necessary consequence, by the divine law itself, insinuated in Christ's most memorable words to Peter, when He committed to him specially the keys of the kingdom of heaven, as well as when He thrice emphatically commanded him to 'feed His sheep,' and uniformly believed in the Church, that one among the Apostles, and the successor of this one among the Bishops, was invested with pre-eminent power; in order that by him, as the visible centre of unity, the body of the Church might be bound together; the common necessities be provided for; a council, if necessary, be convoked, and when convoked, directed; and that in the interval between councils provision might be made lest the commonwealth of the faithful sustain any injury. And as the ancients unanimously attest that the Apostle Peter governed the Church, suffered martyrdom, and appointed his successor, in the city of Rome, the capital of the world, and as no other Bishop has ever been recognised under this relation, we justly acknowledge the Bishop of Rome to be chief of all the rest.

"This, at least, therefore, must be held as certain, that in all things which do not admit the delay necessary for the convocation of a general council, or which are not important enough to deserve a general council, the power of the chief of the Bishops, or Sovereign Pontiff, is during the interval the same as that of the whole Church; that he can excommunicate any individual, or restore him to communion; and that all the faithful owe him true obedience; and this obedience extends so far that in the same way as an oath is to be kept in all things in which it can be done consistently with the salvation of the soul, so also we are to obey the Sovereign Pontiff, as the only visible Vicar of God upon earth, in all things which, after due self-examination, we think can be done without sin and with a safe conscience; insomuch that, in doubt, when all the other circumstances are the same, we must regard obedience as the more safe course; and this we are bound to do for the love of the unity of the Church, and

with the intention of obeying God in the person of those whom He has sent. For we should submit to suffer anything whatsoever, even with grievous personal sacrifice, rather than be separated from the communion of the Church, and give occasion to schism."[1]

Finally, as the result of his profound investigation, Leibnitz recognises the Primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff as of divine institution.

"As God is a God of order," he writes, "and as it is *of divine right* that the body of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church should be bound together by one government and one universal hierarchy, it follows that, *by the same right*, there should be within it a supreme spiritual office, confined within due limits (these words I now add), armed with a directorial authority, and provided with power of doing all that is necessary for the fulfilment of this office for the safety of the Church; though it may have been through human motives that Rome, the metropolis of the Christian world, has been chosen as the place and seat of this power."[2]

Other non-Catholic Testimony.—After these lengthened and conclusive references it must appear superfluous to quote additional Protestant testimony to prove that the Church believed in the doctrine of the Primacy from the earliest years of her existence. Such testimony, if required, may be found in the admissions, forced by the very strength of the evidence, from non-Catholic controversialists and historians.

The Rev. Mr. Hall, one of the most recent writers on the subject, makes an almost complete surrender to the Catholic doctrine. The evidence in favour of the Roman Primacy is, to quote his own words, "overwhelming":—

"The Primacy is of our Lord's appointment," he asserts, "it resides in Rome, because Rome was chosen for St. Peter's fixed and final See. The evidence of this is overwhelming. The only passage that I know of which can be quoted against it is the clause in the abortive Canon XXVIII. of Chalcedon, that the Fathers gave the Primacy to Rome because it was the imperial city; but this sentence, even if the Canon were authoritative, which it is not, does not explain the Primacy, but only why Rome was chosen for its seat. I feel this is most important for anything like fair and respectful controversy with Rome."[3]

1 *Syst. Theol.*, translated by Rev. Dr. Russell, pp. 140-5.

2 *Opera*, tom. v., pp. 228-9.

3 *Leadership, not Lordship*, p. 40.

Palmer, whom I have already quoted, makes this admission:—

"Hence we may see the reason for which the Bishops of Rome were styled successors of St. Peter by some of the Fathers. They were bishops of the particular church which St. Peter had assisted in founding, and over which he had presided; and they were also, as bishops of the principal church, the most eminent among the successors of the Apostles; even as St. Peter had possessed the pre-eminence of the Apostles themselves."[1]

Dr. Nevin, a former President of Marshall College, Pa., writes:—

"If anything in the world can be said to be *historically* clear it is the fact that with the close of the fourth century and the coming in of the fifth, the Primacy of the Roman See was admitted in all parts of the Christian world."

That this Primacy of the Roman See was not only a primacy of honour, but also of jurisdiction, is acknowledged by the same writer, who goes on to say:—

"Examples of the actual exercise of supreme power on the part of the Popes in the fourth and fifth centuries are so frequent and numerous that nothing short of the most wilful obstinacy can pretend to treat them as of no account. In every great question of the time, whether rising in the East or in the West, all eyes *show themselves ever ready to turn towards the Cathedra Petri as a last resort for* counsel and adjudication; all controversies, either in the way of appeal, or complaint, or for the ratification of decisions given in other quarters, are made to come directly or indirectly, in the end, before this tribunal, and reach their final and conclusive settlement only through its intervention. The Popes, in these cases, take it for granted themselves that the power which they exercise belongs to them of right, *in virtue of the prerogative of their See;* there is no appearance whatever of *effort* or of *usurpation* in the part they allow themselves to act; it seems to fall to them as naturally as the functions of a magistrate or judge in any case are felt to go along with the offices to which they belong. *And the whole world apparently regards the Primacy in the same way as a thing of course, a matter fully settled and established* in the constitution of the Christian Church. *We hear of no objection to it, no protest against it as a new and daring presumption, or as a departure from the early order of Christianity.* The whole nature of the case implies, as strongly as any historical conditions and relations well could, that this precisely, and no other order had been handed down from a time *beyond which no memory of man to the contrary then reached.*"[2]

A Catholic could hardly express with greater clearness the universal belief of ages in the doctrine of the Roman

[1] *Treatise on the Church*, Vol. ii., p. 473.

[2] "Early Christianity," *Mercersberg Review*, September, 1851, quoted in Lyons' *Christianity and Infallibility*, p. 144.

Supremacy than does a non-Catholic writer in the *Union Review*.

"In the Catholic Church," he writes, "it was always an article of faith that our Lord, by the assistance and guidance of His Holy Spirit, preserved the whole Church, in her collective capacity, from falling into error in her dogmatic teaching. But it was also a point of belief, which may be traced up to the Apostolic age, that in the administration of this teaching authority the See of St. Peter held a supreme office; that it was the centre of ecclesiastical operations, if we may use such a term; that apart from it there could be no genuine orthodoxy, no true Catholicity; and that in all the great controversies which from time to time divided the Christian world, the most crucial test of truth was the adherence to any dogma by the See of Peter."[1]

Canon Everest, in his essay on the "Gift of the Keys," says that our Lord provided a visible head for His Church, and that the headship was to be the prerogative of St. Peter's successors;[2] and Thorndike concedes a pre-eminence that looks very like a primacy of jurisdiction.

"I admit," he says, "a regular pre-eminence for him, the Pope, above all other Bishops, which is seen in the recourse had to him before others in matters concerning the whole Church, but deny that *infinite* power which nothing can be alleged to prove."[3]

Archbishop Bramhall admits most fully the succession of the Roman Pontiffs from St. Peter.

"He must be either meanly versed in the Primitive Fathers," he writes, "or give little credit to them, who will deny the Pope to succeed St. Peter in the Roman bishopric."[4]

Neander testifies to the antiquity of the Papal claims to a Primacy of jurisdiction.

"*Very early indeed do we observe in the Roman Bishops traces of the assumption that to them,* AS SUCCESSORS OF ST. PETER, *belonged a paramount authority in ecclesiastical disputes;* that the *cathedra Petri*, as the source of apostolic tradition, must take precedence over all other *ecclesiæ apostolicæ*. . . . In the Montanist writings of Tertullian we find indications that the Roman bishops already issued peremptory edicts on ecclesiastical matters, endeavoured to make themselves considered as the bishops of bishops—*episcopus episcoporum*—and were in the habit of appealing to the authority of their *antecessores*."[5]

Neander's evidence is not the less valuable, though, like other Protestant controversialists of far less note, he writes of what he calls "the assumption" of the Roman

1 May, 1875. 2 Quoted by Lord Halifax, Church Congress, Oct., 1895.
3 Quoted also by Lord Halifax. 4 *Works*, Vol. ii., p. 373.
5 *Ch. Hist. Church*, Bohn's Ed., Vol. i., p. 298.

Bishops. We are not to forget that he is dealing with those very ages in which, according to the generally received Protestant teaching, the faith of the Church was pure, and the sanctity of the Roman Pontiffs conspicuous. And, as we shall see in the course of our enquiry, these "assumptions" were filially recognised by those primitive saints and doctors to whose writings, when it suits their purposes, Protestants so confidently appeal.

Little as we may admire the methods of Rationalistic writers, we must at least regard their admissions in favour of the Roman Primacy as the irresistible outcome of the facts of history. The Catholic Church, and she alone, has consistently condemned their wholesale and destructive criticism of revealed truth, whilst Protestantism seemed satisfied if Rome sufferered equally with Revelation. Renan may surely be taken as a typical representative of his school, and there is no room for mistake in his words:—

"Rome," says M. Ernest Renan, "was the place in which this great idea of Catholicity was worked out. More and more every day it became the capital of Christianity, and took the place of Jerusalem as the religious centre of humanity. Its Church claimed a precedence over all others, which was generally recognised. All the doubtful questions which agitated the Christian conscience came to Rome to ask for arbitration, if not decision. Men argued, certainly not in a very logical way, that as Christ had made Cephas the corner-stone of his Church, the privilege ought to be inherited by his successors. . . . The Bishop of Rome became the Bishop of Bishops, he who admonished all others. Rome proclaims her right—a dangerous right—of excommunicating those who do not walk step by step with her. . . . At the end of the second century we can already recognise, by signs which it is impossible to mistake, the spirit which in 1870 will proclaim the infallibility of the Pope."[1]

TESTIMONY OF ST. CLEMENT (95 A.D.)

And back beyond the close of the second century, to the very dawn of uninspired Christian history, we can trace the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The nearer we get to the lifetime of the Apostles, the more valuable and

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 172-3.

authentic does the testimony become. Hence it is that Protestant writers have used every effort and resorted to every device to depreciate the value of the early ecclesiastical records, when they testify to the existence of the Roman Primacy. Of these the first in point of time is the Letter of Pope St. Clement to the Corinthians. St. Clement was third Pope in succession from St. Peter. I shall not delay more than a moment in noticing the silly error of imputing to Catholics a desire to place St. Clement second on the list of Popes.

In a former lecture I quoted a classic passage from St. Irenæus in proof of the Primacy of the Sovereign Pontiff. It has been suggested that I did not quote at full length, because that would disprove the immediate succession of St. Clement from St. Peter, which, we are told, Catholic writers seek to establish. But the prayer-books, which are constantly in the hands of the laity, and the Missal, which is in daily use amongst priests, contain a sufficient refutation of this senseless statement. For, in the Canon of the Mass, which is found in both, the order of succession of the Roman Pontiffs is precisely the order given by St. Irenæus, "*Memoriam venerantes . . . beatorum apostolorum ac Martyrum tuorum, Petri et Pauli . . . Lini, Cleti, Clementis,*" &c., that is, "venerating the memory of thy blessed Apostles and Martyrs, Peter and Paul . . Linus, Cletus, Clement." The antiquity of the Canon of the Mass is recognised by many Protestant writers, who actually use it as an argument for the correctness of the order of the succession of Popes as recorded by St. Irenæus.

Dr. Salmon, we were told some time ago, is an unanswerable authority against Rome. It is a pity he was not consulted on this subject. He says:—

"Among the most authentic proofs of the connection of Clement with the Roman Church may be placed the mention of his name in its liturgy. . . Now, the Roman Canon of the Mass to this day, next after the names of the Apostles, recites the names of Linus, Cletus, Clemens; and we shall presently see

reason to think that the liturgy contained the same names in the same order so early as the second century."[1]

According to the most reliable authorities, St. Clement's Letter was written in the year A.D. 95 or 96, and after the inspired writings ranks next in antiquity. It was addressed to the Church in Corinth by the Church in Rome, and was intended to put an end to dissensions which had given grievous scandal on all sides. It would seem that a few unruly members had driven out probably their bishop and some of his priests or presbyters, and the Church of Rome came to the rescue. Though the authorship of the Letter is not disputed, it is yet the constant effort of Protestant writers to transfer from St. Clement to the Roman Church the claim which the Letter clearly sets forth to authoritatively interfere in the affairs of a distant Church.

It would be fatal to Protestant theories of primitive church government to allow that St. Clement, as Bishop of Rome, should assert his right to sit in judgment on the question whether the bishop and some of the priests or presbyters of the Church of Corinth should be deposed, and should actually pass judgment on this matter; that he should lay claim to submission and obedience on the ground that his words were the words of God, and were dictated by the Holy Ghost; that he should, after making a most solemn appeal to the Three Divine Persons, promise, on the one hand, benediction on the part of God to those who were obedient, and threaten, on the other hand, with the Divine displeasure those who resisted his sentence; that he should remind the Corinthians that it was better for them to be humble and approved in the sheepfold of Christ, than to be in high repute, but cast out from His fold, or forfeit the grace and promises of His Gospel; that he should teach the absolute necessity of Apostolical Succession for a legitimate ministry, mentioning explicitly the threefold order of bishops, priests,

[1] *Dict of Ch. Biog.*, i., 554.

and deacons; that he should, in fine, send his own legates in order to secure the acquiescence of the Church of Corinth to his will. We need only read the letter to see how thoroughly the Pope, St. Clement, or the Roman Church, exercises the Primacy of jurisdiction, and insists on the necessity of Apostolical Succession. I am following the translation given by the distinguished convert, Allies, in his *Church and State*.[1] Let us take, for instance, paragraph 44, where we read:—

"And our Apostles knew through our Lord Jesus Christ that there would be strife over the dignity of the episcopate. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and they established a succession, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their liturgic function. Those, therefore, that were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute, with the consent of the whole Church, and who performed their office blamelessly to the flock of Christ, with lowliness, gentleness, and a generous spirit, and for a long time have borne a good report with all, these we judge it not consonant with justice to deprive of their office. For it will be no light sin in us to deprive of the episcopate those who offer the gifts blamelessly and holily. Blessed are those presbyters who have gone before, seeing that their departure was fruitful and ripe, for they have no fear lest anyone should remove them from their appointed place. For we see that you are displacing certain persons who were living honourably from the office which they had blamelessly performed."

Comment on the meaning of these words, or on the authoritative claim St. Clement makes to jurisdiction over the Church of Corinth, would be superfluous.

Clement decrees in his right as Pope.—I shall next read for you from paragraphs 58, 59, 63, and I think you will agree with me that if these expressions were found without any clue to their authorship, they might be easily mistaken for passages from a decree of a General Council, or from an encyclical letter of a Pope of the nineteenth instead of the first century.

In paragraph 58 we read:—

"Receive our counsel, and you shall have no occasion of regret, For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect, so surely shall he who, with lowliness of mind and instant in gentleness, hath

[1] P. 188, Seqq.

without regretfulness performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through Whom is the glory unto Him for ever and ever. Amen."

In paragraph 59:—

"But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by Him (God) *through us*, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger, but we shall be guiltless of this sin."

Again, in paragraph 63:—

"For you will give us great joy and gladness if you render obedience to the things *written by us through the Holy Spirit*, and root out the unrighteous anger of your jealousy, according to the entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter."

With reference to these paragraphs, we may adopt the analysis of one who has devoted a life-long study to the subject of the Roman Primacy.[1] St. Clement, after invoking the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity as witnesses of the judgment he was about to promulgate, declares that "he who performs without regretfulness the ordinances and commandments that are given by God shall be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ." On the other hand, that those who are "disobedient unto the words spoken by Him through us will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger." He adds, moreover, "you will give us great joy and gladness if you render obedience to the things written by us through the Holy Spirit." From all which we learn that a decision of the Church of Rome, issued by its Bishop, as to whether the Bishop of Corinth was rightly or wrongly deposed, is declared after attestation of the Three Divine Persons, to be among the commandments and ordinances "spoken by God through us," that is, the Pope and the Church of Rome; to be things "written by us through the Holy Spirit," to which absolute obedience was due, and which could not be neglected without "no slight transgression and danger." The Pope, moreover, takes upon himself the power to deprive of the

[1] Mr. Allies.

exercise of the episcopate by issuing a judgment that an actual possessor of it is in his right, while he says at the same time that it would be "no light sin in us to deprive him of it unjustly."

In addition to the evidence which this Letter supplies to the Roman Primacy, it is specially valuable as a witness to the constitution of the Church and to the absolute necessity for an apostolic succession in its ministry. St. Clement could hardly have given clearer testimony on this subject than is to be found in paragraph 42, which I shall quote. He insists, with the greatest energy, on this condition in the transmission of spiritual power, namely, that it came altogether from above, and not from below. Authority in the kingdom of Christ, according to him, follows one order throughout. It comes from the mandate of superiors, not by the choice of inferiors.

"The Apostles," he says, "evangelised us from the Lord Jesus Christ; Jesus Christ, from God. So, then, Christ was sent forth by God, and the Apostles by Christ. Both, therefore, came of the will of God in the appointed order. Having therefore received a charge, and having been fully assured, through the Resurrection of our Lord Jesus Christ, and confirmed in the Word of God with full assurance of the Holy Ghost, they went forth with the good tidings that the kingdom of God was about to come. So preaching everywhere from country to country and from town to town, they went on appointing their first-fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons for those that were to believe. And this they did in no new fashion; for, indeed, it had been written concerning bishops and deacons in very ancient times: for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, I will appoint their bishops in justice and their deacons in faith."

This passage alone would suffice to overthrow the utterly un-Anglican and un-Episcopalian theory advocated by Lightfoot and endorsed by lesser lights, to the effect that the personality of Clement is absorbed in the Church of Rome, and that the letter does not proceed from the Bishop, but from the Church of Rome. The transparent object is to evade the strong proof of the Primacy contained in the whole epistle of St. Clement. Coming from a Congregationalist this class of argument would be intelligible and consistent, but, as used by the representatives

of a Church which is constantly flaunting its claims to an apostolic descent, the contention is at once destructive and discreditable. If in our day the Archbishop of Canterbury wrote a similar letter to another Church, what Anglican would think of asserting that the letter proceeded from the community, and not from the individual?

Renderings of the Text of St. Clement.—There is a passage in paragraph 57 which I quoted in a former lecture. It ran thus:—

"Do you, therefore, who laid the first foundation of this sedition submit yourselves to your priests and be instructed unto repentance. . . . Learn to be subject, laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues, for it is better for you to be found little, and approved in the *sheepfold of Christ*, than to seem to yourself better than others, and be *cast out of the fold*."

Exception has been taken to the translations "priest" and "fold," and to the argument built on the latter. It has been said that this is the true reading:—

"For it is better for you to be found little in the flock of Christ, and to have your name on God's roll, than to be had in exceeding honour, and yet be cast out from the hope of Him."

This is Lightfoot's translation, and though I cannot understand how *ellogimous* can be rendered "to have your name on God's roll," I otherwise make no objection, for, as to the argument drawn from the word "fold," it loses nothing by substituting "hope" instead, as in both cases the disobedient are threatened with severest punishment, viz., exclusion from the Church or from the promises of Christ. The substitution of "hope" for "fold" instead of weakening, will be regarded by many as strengthening the argument, as it gives to St. Clement's Letter a practical interpretation of our Lord's words to St. Peter—"Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound also in heaven." In regard to the translation, I followed Allnatt, whose standard work, *Cathedra Petri*, was before me, and, indeed, without adverting at the time that his translation differed from Lightfoot's. As a matter of fact he mentions Lightfoot's edition of St. Clement. I have since consulted

several editions, and find that *cpaulis*, which means *fold*, is given as a probable conjectural reading.[1] And I have found, moreover, that the translation of the Protestant Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Wake, is precisely the same as Allnatt's so far as the three disputed words, *priests, sheepfold*, and *fold* are concerned. The following is his translation of the text, and he tells us[2] that he compared it with the original Greek, and that he took all possible care to secure its perfect fidelity to the original.

"Do ye, therefore, who laid the first foundation of this sedition, submit yourselves unto your priests, and be instructed unto repentance, bending the knees of your hearts. Learn to be subject, laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues; for it is better for you to be found little, and approved in the sheepfold of Christ, than to seem to yourselves better than others, and be cast out of His fold."[3]

Those familiar with Catholic controversial literature need not be reminded how eminent Catholic writers, such as Waterworth and Allies, argue from the passage, as it is translated by Lightfoot, in proof of the Roman Primacy.

A Christian Priesthood and Sacrifice.—As to the use of the word "priest," I consider this a correct translation, for, as the Anglican writer, Blunt, says,[4] "We are dealing, not with words, but with living realities; and it is the priestly functions, not the titles given to those who were commissioned to perform them, that we have to deal with." "Three orders," the same writer observes [in the New Testament], "are discernible, but it was only after the Apostolic age that their nomenclature assumed a permanent form." Amongst several reasons which he gives for the fact that *presbuteros* and not *Hiereus* is applied to the Christian priesthood in the New Testament is this:—It was the object of the Apostles "to wean the mind of the Jew from

1 See *Cotelier's and Migne's* edition of St. Clement; also *Patres Apostolici*, pars. 2a, London, 1746, and *Patres Apostolici*, Vol. i., Oxford, 1840.

2 *Genuine Epist. of the Apost. Fathers*, pref. iii., Sixth Edition.

3 *Ibid.*, p. 114.

4 *Dict. Theol.*, Art. Priest.

the external associations of his ancient faith. The *temporary* disuse of the term was providentally ordered for this purpose to facilitate the progress of the Jewish mind to a clearer view of the spiritual realities of the new kingdom," and, he might have added, to intimate that the Christian priesthood was not an independent but a vicarious one, deriving all its efficacy from the priesthood of Christ. If, therefore, whilst the Jewish sacrifices continued to be offered, the Apostles had used the word *Hiereus*, there would have been danger of producing a false idea of the office of the Christian priesthood and of the nature of our sacrifice, whether we consider the Victim or the Chief Offerer.

We need not be surprised, then, that the word *Hiereus* was not employed until this danger had passed away and the true idea of the Christian priesthood had been established. But there was a return to the use of the word as soon as the fear about misunderstanding it had died out, and the true idea of the Christian priesthood had been established. But to argue against a Christian priesthood in the Catholic sense of the term, from the fact that the term *Hiereus* is not used of it by the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic writers, betrays a manifest unfamiliarity with their teaching. For instance, St. Ignatius, who was bishop in the lifetime of the Beloved Disciple, does not use the term *Hiereus* of the Christian priesthood, though he uses "bishop" and "presbyter" in the sense which they have since retained. But who will say that St. Ignatius could have more clearly expressed that power over the natural Body of Christ in which the essence of the Christian priesthood consists? The term *thusiasterion*, or *sacrificial altar*, is frequently found in his works. Is it not the Roman doctrine of the priesthood that finds expression in such passages as this? Addressing the Philadelphians, St. Ignatius tells them they must "partake of one Eucharist; since there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one

chalice which unites us to His Blood, *one altar*; as there is one bishop with the body of the presbyters, and with the deacons, my fellow-ministers."[1] Now, we must remember that St. Ignatius was a contemporary of St. Clement, and that on his own confession he was in perfect union with the Church in Rome.

But if there were no other evidence than that contained in St. Clement's letter we should believe in a priesthood instituted by Christ, with powers descending from the Apostles, and, therefore, altogether from above and not from below. If one is to credit the Book of Common Prayer, Anglicans profess a belief in such a priesthood, at least so far as the terminology is concerned. We find in that book "The Form and Manner of Ordering of Priests." So that, at least as far as the name is concerned, the term "priest" claims their recognition as well as ours. And if we are to accept the testimony of their own recognised and widely circulating organs of opinion, such as the *Church Times*, very many Anglicans claim the reality as well as the title. In the issue of that paper for 31st January of the present year it is stated that "between twelve and fifteen hundred of the clergy in England and Scotland are now engaged in hearing confessions, whilst the number so engaged fifty years ago might safely be reckoned under a score." We find in the same issue some strong animadversions on some Anglican clergymen for "omitting parts of the Mass," and a consideration of the question whether it is desirable "to reserve the Blessed Sacrament for the purpose of adoration." In an Anglican manual of instruction to which I referred in a former lecture, and which is known as *The Catholic Religion*, we find a vindication of the doctrine of the Sacrifice of the Mass. The writer teaches that each Mass is but a continuous memorial and representation of the one Sacri-

[1] See Lightfoot, *S. Ign.*, *S. Polyc.*, vol. ii., p. 257-8.

fice, deriving all its power from that one Sacrifice,[1] and explains that what the Article condemns is "the cumulation and repetition (of Masses) independent of the one and only availing Sacrifice of Calvary."[2]

Charles II. is credited with having said that Anglicans use Catholic arguments against Nonconformists, and Nonconformist arguments against Catholics, and every controversy in which Anglicans are engaged serves to verify the assertion of the Merry Monarch. If Anglicans, and indeed, non-Catholics generally, have a pet theory, it is this—that the Church was free from every serious error in the ante-Nicene period of her history. Let us see whether their practice be consistent with this theory. St. Clement, as is admitted, was dealing not with a question of faith, but with a matter of discipline, and there was no necessity for him to write a treatise on the validity of Orders. It is clear that his words were perfectly well understood by the Corinthians, and he distinctly mentions bishops, presbyters and deacons. The learned Harnack, however, tells us that in the second half of the third century the priesthood was substantially what it is to-day in the Catholic Church. And in the face of his testimony two questions at once suggest themselves. How could so gross an error, as Protestants declare the Catholic doctrine of the priesthood to be, find such universal acceptance in the purest ages of faith? And again, how can the utter absence of opposition in those same ages to so false and dangerous a doctrine be explained away? Those who attack the Catholic doctrine as a human invention must choose either horn of the dilemma. Here is Harnack's distinct pronouncement:—

"The definitive conclusion of the old Catholic Church idea, as it completed itself in the second half of the third century, is, perhaps, most distinctively exhibited in the quality of *priesthood* which was acquired by the clergy, and which gave to it the highest importance. . . . Its significance is shown by the use made of

[1] P. 252-3. [2] *Ibid.*

it in Cyprian, and the first six books of the 'Apostolical Constitutions.' The bishops (respectively also the Presbyters) are priests, inasmuch as they alone are empowered to offer the sacrifice as *representatives of the congregation before God*, and inasmuch as they, *as representatives of God before the congregation*, impart or refuse the divine grace. In this sense they are also judges in God's stead. . . . The divine grace already appears as a sacramental consecration of an objective kind, whose communication is reserved to *spiritual* persons chosen by God. . . . The 'serving at the altar and celebrating of divine sacrifices' (Cypr. ep. 67) is the distinctive function of the priest of God. But beyond this, *all* rites of worship belong exclusively to him; and, moreover, Cyprian understood how to derive the ecclesiastical government of the bishop from the priestly office, for as priest the bishop is *antistes Christi (Dei)*, and herein is the right and duty founded to guard the *lex evangelica and traditio dominica*. As *antistes Dei*, which the bishop becomes through the apostolic succession and the laying on of hands, he has also received the power of the keys, and therewith the right to impart or withhold the divine grace. In Cyprian's concept of the episcopal office the apostolic succession and the position of representative of Christ (*i.e.*, of God) balance each other; also, Cyprian sought to blend together these two elements." (Ep. 55, "Cathedra Sacerdotalis").

Primacy of Jurisdiction in St. Clement's Letter.—And now, returning to the subject of the authority asserted in St. Clement's Epistle, it is clear that, whether it resides in St. Clement or in the Roman Church, the Primacy of Jurisdiction which we claim for the Roman Pontiff is found in living form in St. Clement's letter. It is not a primacy of mere rank or honour, which exercises supreme authority and passes definitive sentence, and that, too, in the case of an Apostolic Church, and whilst the Beloved Disciple, St. John, still rules in the nearer Church of Ephesus. Little wonder that Lightfoot should characterise the tone of this letter as "urgent and almost imperious,"[1] "strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone it assumes,"[2] as speaking "with the authority of the Church," whilst St. Clement "was on any showing exceptionally prominent,"[3] " the chief ruler of the most important Church in Christendom,"[4] and that, in fact, "this noble remonstrance" is undoubtedly "the first step towards Papal domination"; or that Crutwell should speak thus:— .

1 *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 69.
2 *Ign. and Polyc.*, Vol. i., p. 398.
3 *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 58.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 61.

"But if the Bishop of Rome is lost sight of, the Church of Rome already assumes the *role* of leader and guide of other Churches. The tone of Clement's language is distinctly that of a superior offering counsel, exhortation, and reproof. The Christian Church of the capital of the world seems to have acknowledged from the first a more than local responsibility. This fact gives our epistle a high historical interest as the earliest and, as it were, spontaneous exponent of this consciousness of pre-eminence."[1]

And, again:—"In St. Clement's letter, an assumption, so natural as to be almost unconscious of the right to advise and interpose, underlies his pacificatory argument."

Rev. Mr. Gore[3] calls the epistle "an authoritative appeal," and speaks of "the teaching authority which breathes" in it.[4] And Fisher, whose Church history has had a very large circulation, thus expresses himself:—

"Even Clement, the first writer after the Apostles, speaking for the Church of Rome, chides the Corinthian Church in a tone of almost imperious admonition."[5]

Dr. Salmon is forced to recognise "how very noticeable is the tone of authority used by the Roman Church in making an unsolicited[6] (?) interference with the affairs of another Church," and he admits that the document

"Speaks in a tone of authority to a sister Church of Apostolic foundation, and thus reveals the easy and innocent beginning of the Papacy."

Harnack, who, by very reason of his Rationalistic tendencies, may be regarded as a much more impartial authority than Dr. Salmon, declares:—

"This is a most typical writing, in which the spirit of tradition, order, stability, and the universal ecclesiastical guardianship of Rome is already expressed."[7]

And Renan says:—

"Already the idea of a certain primacy belonging to his Church was beginning to make its way to the light. The right of warning Churches, and of composing their differences, was conceded to it. . . . The Roman Church was henceforth the Church of order, of rule, and of subordination. Its letter to the Corinthians is the first manifesto of the principle of authority made within the Christian Church."[8]

1 *Lit. Hist. of Early Christianity*, Vol. i., p. 32. 2 *Ibid.*, Vol. ii., p. 404.
3 (Now Bishop of Birmingham) *The Church and the Ministry*, p. 324.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 325. 5 *Dict. Christian Biog.*, Art. Clement.
6 *Church Hist.*, p. 52. 7 *Hist. Dogma* (Eng. trans.), Vol. i., p. 281.
8 *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 125-127.

We may not agree with all the conclusions arrived at by Dr. Schaff from his reading of the history of the first centuries of the Church's life, but his testimony goes to show that the Papacy was a concrete fact in those sub-Apostolic ages of unquestioned purity of faith and discipline. Here is Schaff's reading of St. Clement's letter:—

"Similar letters of instruction, warning, and comfort were written to other congregations by Ignatius, Polycarp, Dionysius of Corinth, and Irenæus. Nevertheless, it can hardly be denied that the document reveals the sense of a certain superiority over all ordinary congregations. The Roman Church here, without being asked (as far as appears), gives advice, with superior administrative wisdom, to an important Church in the East, despatches messages to her, and exhorts her to order and unity in a tone of calm dignity and authority as the organ of God and the Holy Spirit. This is all the more surprising if St. John, as is possible, was then still living in Ephesus, which was nearer to Corinth than Rome. The hierarchical spirit arose from the domineering spirit of the Roman Church rather than the Roman Bishop and the presbyters, who were simply the organs of the people. But a century later the Bishop of Rome was substituted for the Church of Rome, when Victor, in his *own* name, excommunicated the Churches of Asia Minor for a trifling difference of ritual. From this hierarchical assumption there was only one step towards the papal absolutism of a Leo and Hildebrand, and this found its ultimate doctrinal climax in the Vatican dogma of Papal infallibility."[1]

"It is very remarkable that a person of such vast influence in truth and fiction, whose words were law, who preached the duty of obedience and submission to an independent and distracted Church, whose vision reached even to unknown lands beyond the Western Sea, should inaugurate, at the threshold of the second century, the long line of pontiffs who have outlasted every dynasty in Europe, and now claim an infallible authority over the consciences of 200,000,000 Christians."[2]

You will observe that the writers whom I have just quoted are of the highest reputation, and that they represent all the schools of non-Catholic thought. Without an exception, they recognise the "authoritative," and some of them the "almost imperious," tone of St. Clement's Letter. But, in the name of common sense, what was St. Clement doing but exercising his primacy of jurisdiction when he wrote to a distant and Apostolic Church in an "authoritative" and "almost imperious" tone?

[1] *Ante-Nicene. Church*, Vol. i., p. 158. [2] *Ibid.*, Vol. ii., p. 639.

Objections answered.—(1) But Dr. Lightfoot lays stress on the fact that St. Clement's name does not appear, though he does not at all dispute the fact that Clement wrote the letter. We shall see again that St. Dionysius of Corinth attributes its authorship to him. Eusebius[1] is very emphatic in his language. "Of this Clement," he says, "there is one acknowledged Epistle extant, a great and wonderful one, which he wrote as from the Church of the Romans to that of the Corinthians. This, we know, was publicly read in many of the Churches, both in former times and in our own.

Many satisfactory reasons have been assigned for the omission of St. Clement's name in his Epistle. It may have been his humility, coupled with the desire to add the authority of the Church of the Prince of the Apostles to his own, for the Roman Church was confessedly free from every trace of insubordination, and its example might, therefore, be advantageously suggested for the imitation of the Corinthians. Secondly, in time of persecution such as that from which the Church had but just emerged, and to a renewal of which she was daily exposed, as St. Clement, himself, in the opening paragraph of his letter, reminds the Corinthians, it would be very unsafe to give the name of the head of an organised Christian Community in Rome. St. Peter, for the same reason, thought it advisable in his epistle to call Rome "Babylon"[2] as eminent Protestant writers admit. Those acquainted with Irish history do not need to be reminded of the pathetic ending of many a bishop's letter in the penal times:—"*E loco refugii nostri*," *i.e.*, "from our hiding place." Thirdly, it was by no means unusual then, and it is not unusual now, for the head of the Christian community to write officially in the name of the Roman See. Pope St. Soter admittedly wrote thus, and both Eusebius and St. Jerome tell us that St. Clement wrote in the name or in the person of the Church.

[1] *Hist. Eccles.* Lib. iii., c. 16. [2] 1 Pet., v., 13.

Even in the present day Catholics and Protestants alike speak of Rome doing such a thing or saying such a thing when they are really referring to the actions or words of the Sovereign Pontiff. Abuse of "Rome" is the staple of many a Protestant pulpit performance, and who is so simple as not to know that the blows are aimed at the Pope, though his name be not mentioned? To omit many illustrations found in the Councils, Creeds, and Fathers of the Church, suffice it to say that so late as the time of the Vatican Council we find the authority of the Roman Pontiff identified with the authority of the Roman Church. "We teach and declare," say the assembled Fathers, "that the Roman Church, by the ordinance of Christ *(disponente Domino)*, has the sovereignty of ordinary power over all other [Churches]." St. Cyprian's principle serves to explain the relations between a bishop and his Church—"You ought to know," he says, "that the bishop is in the Church, and the Church in the bishop."[1]

(2) Next it is attempted to destroy the force of St. Clement's action by contending that whatever pre-eminence the Roman Church claimed or exercised was due to the fact that Rome was the capital of the empire. Do the men who use this kind of argument really know what they are talking about? We need not go outside St. Clement's letter to find that, as far as connection with Imperial Rome was concerned, the only pre-eminence his Church could hope for was in the number of its martyrs, and in the duration of its agony. The letter opens with an expression of regret that, owing to the "sudden and repeated calamities which are befallen" the Church in Rome, he was "tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute," "to the detestable and unholy sedition"[2] that had arisen in Corinth. He proceeds to remind the Corinthians of those "champions who lived nearest to his own time," the examples which belonged to his own generation. He instances the martyr-

[1] Ep. lxix. [2] Par. 1.

dom of Saints Peter and Paul, and how "unto these men was gathered a vast multitude of the elect, who, through many indignities and tortures, set a brave example among ourselves."[1] In exquisitely tender accents he intimates that the contest was unfinished, and that he himself might any day be in the arena. *"We write not only as admonishing you, but also as putting ourselves in remembrance. For we are in the same list, and the same contest awaiteth us."*[2] Is it not an admitted fact that St. Clement wrote his letter in the lull of the storm, and is it not a desperate grasping at straws to assign the authority and pre-eminence of the Church in Rome to her imperial surroundings? Such a plea speaks badly for the historical knowledge of those to whom it is addressed.

(3) Again of precisely the same character is the argument which seeks to account for the Primacy of the Roman Church on the ground that it is "an entirely moral ascendency" resting on its "orthodoxy" and "practical goodness." Those who advance this plea must forget that there is a primacy of jurisdiction as well as of honour, and that moral worth or fraternal charity could give no support to the far-reaching claims contained in St. Clement's letter. With marvellous inconsistency many of those who make use of the "orthodoxy" and "moral worth" of the early Roman Church accuse the bishops of that same Church of having abandoned the traditions of the Apostles in their aggressive ambition before the close of the second century. And yet these were the centuries in which the faith and discipline of the Church, according to these writers' own admissions, have been preserved in all their apostolic purity.

(4) We have been lately informed that the legates whom Pope St. Clement sent to the Church at Corinth were mere laymen. It would be interesting to know on what grounds

[1] Par. 5. [2] Par. 7.

this statement rests, for so far as I have been able to gather there is not a scintilla of evidence to justify anyone in making such an assertion. It may, no doubt, be urged that there is no express statement that these legates were ecclesiastics. That they were so may be reasonably assumed, for this would only be in harmony with all that we read in the Church history of that period. I am not, however, pressing the matter further than to say that the unqualified statement that these legates were laymen is nothing more than the conjecture of the writer. But I cannot regret that the statement has been so emphatically made, for it illustrates fairly well how some Anglicans write ecclesiastical history.

Papal Supremacy in the First Century.—Viewing St. Clement's letter in its parts and as a whole, and taking account of the circumstances in which it was written, when, as Lightfoot says, the Church had just "issued from the fiery furnace of persecution, after experience of a cruel and capricious tyrant like Domitian;"[1] when, as we have already heard from the saint's own lips, he was constantly expecting the fate of his martyred predecessors; when, too, notwithstanding the perils of his position, he wrote with the calm dignity that belonged to one conscious of his world-wide jurisdiction, I now, with even greater emphasis, ask the question which I asked in a former lecture, and to which exception has been taken—"Is it possible to have clearer evidence of the Papal Supremacy in the very first century of the Church's existence?"

It will seem to many that I have deliberately put myself at a disadvantage in quoting so exclusively from Protestant authorities regarding St. Peter's relations with Rome. But it must not be forgotten that there is no controversy on the subject amongst Catholic writers, who are unanimous in asserting the Roman Primacy of the Prince

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 384.

of the Apostles. And, as the Anglican Bishop Pearson tells us, "in the primitive Church it was never looked upon as a question, but as a real and indubitable truth." More than eighteen hundred years have passed since St. Peter's martyrdom, and yet the visitor to the Eternal City feels the very atmosphere redolent of his Apostolic labours. *Si monumentum requiris circumspice.* The spot where he resided, the altar where he sacrificed, the place where he baptized the senator Pudens, the prison in which he was confined, the chains by which he was bound, the site of his crucifixion, the tomb that contains his remains—these and many other memorials are pointed out to the pilgrim in the nineteenth century as they were pointed out to pilgrims in the ages long ago. *But it is only in Rome that they are pointed out, for no other city has ever disputed Rome's claim to them.* And why this unbroken association of Peter's name with Rome? Why, for instance, did not Antioch, the scene of his earlier labours, and admittedly Rome's elder sister church, claim a share in the glory which Rome was monopolising? Why, in fine, was all Christendom unanimous in allowing such signal glory to Rome, except for the simple reason that the head of the Apostolic College had fixed there the Chair of Authority, and that he still ruled and taught through his successors?

CHAPTER XIV.

TESTIMONY OF ST. IRENÆUS (140-202 ?) TO THE ROMAN PRIMACY.

(Second Lecture.)

Recapitulation.—In my last lecture I quoted exclusively Protestant testimony to prove (1) that St. Peter was in Rome; (2) that he finally fixed his see in Rome, and was martyred there; and (3) that his primacy was not temporary, but was continued after the admission of the Gentiles into the Christian Church, and was transmitted to his successors in the Roman See. I next addressed myself to the testimony in favour of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, which is contained in the first uninspired document that has come down to us in connection with Christian history, namely, the letter of St. Clement to the Corinthians. No one now doubts the authenticity of this letter, and since 1875, by a fortunate discovery, we have it in its entirety. As its witness to the Primacy had been questioned by Protestant writers, I thought it well to examine their statements, and to show that, antecedently, we had no right to expect such clear-cut evidence as it affords of the exercise of supreme jurisdiction on the part of the reigning Roman Pontiff in the affairs of a distant and Apostolic Church.

It was written, as you will remember, about the year A.D. 95 or 96, while St. John, the Beloved Disciple, still ruled the Church in Ephesus. And though Ephesus was nearer to Corinth than Rome was, still, when dissensions arose amongst the Corinthians, their eyes turned not towards the Beloved Disciple, but towards the successor of

St. Peter. If we suppose, as the first paragraph of his letter seems to suggest, that St. Clement's authority was invoked by the Corinthians, such action on their part would imply a recognition of the supreme authority of the Roman See. If, as Protestants more commonly conjecture, St. Clement's interference was unsolicited, then the proof would be all the stronger that he claimed the right and recognised the obligation of exercising jurisdiction whenever the spiritual needs of particular dioceses demanded the interference of the supreme ruler of the Church. When, as he himself implies, the fires of the Domitian persecution were still smouldering in Rome, it was only a deep sense of the responsibilities of his office that could move St. Clement to direct his attention to the troubles that threatened the legitimate government of the distant Church of Corinth. After invoking the Three Persons of the Blessed Trinity, he demands, under the most solemn sanctions, submission to his authority, and pronounces a definite sentence on the question at issue, namely, the deposition or recognition of the bishop and some presbyters of the Church of Corinth.

The attempt to controvert the evidence of these concrete facts by the evasions to which Protestant writers have recourse manifests a determination to put aside even the plainest proof of the exercise of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff in the first centuries of the Church's existence.

I promised to deal to-night with the testimony of St. Irenæus, not because it comes next in strict historical sequence, but because, like that of St. Clement, its meaning and force have been recently challenged. And, first, we shall hear what Irenæus has to tell us about Clement and his Epistle to the Corinthians. His words are free from ambiguity, and do not need any comment. It is clear that the Corinthians considered the Epistle authoritative, for

dissensions amongst them ceased after they received it. Some eighty years after St. Clement had written, St. Irenæus bears this testimony:—

"In the third degree," he writes, "from the Apostles Clement received the Bishopric, who had both seen the blessed Apostles and lived with them, having their preaching yet sounding in his ears, and their tradition before his eyes; not alone in this, for there were still many left at that time who had been taught by the Apostles. In the time, then, of this Clement, no slight dissension having arisen among the brethren at Corinth, the Church in Rome sent a most adequate letter to the Corinthians, *drawing them together into peace, and renewing their faith, and recording the tradition recently derived by it from the Apostles.*"[1]

Unique position of St. Irenæus—He testifies for Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul.—It is a matter for congratulation, however, that, as in the case of St. Clement's letter, there is no attempt to question the authenticity of the works of St. Irenæus. I may observe, in passing, that we have the greater part of the saint's works only in a Latin translation from the original Greek. There is no room, however, to doubt that this translation dates back almost to the life-time of St. Irenæus himself. There is good reason for believing that it was well known to Tertullian, who was a contemporary of the saint. Massuet[2] distinctly asserts this, and Lachmann[3] and the Anglican bishop, Westcott,[4] consider that the arguments he adduces prove the correctness of his assertion. It is the most faithful of translations, for it is literal almost to barbarism, as is evident by comparing it with the large fragments of the Greek text which have been preserved, as for instance in the writings of other Fathers. Additional proof of its fidelity to the original is obtained by reference to a Syriac version made from the original Greek. Of the Syriac Fragments, published by him in 1857, Harvey says that there is an almost universal agreement between them and the Latin text. "This unexpected testimony to the genuineness of the Latin version would be greater," he adds, "if a doubtful cause needed support."[5]

1 *Ad Hær.* Lib. iii., c. 3.
2 Diss. ii., 53.
3 N. T. Græce et Latine, pref. p. x.
4 N. T. Can., p. 280.
5 *Irenæus*, Vol. ii., p. 431.

According to St. Jerome, St. Irenæus was a pupil of Papias, a disciple of the Apostles; and Tertullian, a contemporary, styles him "the most diligent searcher of all doctrine." From his own writings we learn that as St. Clement was the intimate friend of the founders of the Roman Church, SS. Peter and Paul, so, too, did St. Irenæus through his master St. Polycarp, receive the tradition and imbibe the spirit of the Beloved Disciple.

It would be difficult to find in biographical literature so pathetic a word picture as St. Irenæus has painted of the relations between St. Polycarp, his own master, and St. John, who was in turn master of St. Polycarp. He reminds a former friend, Florinus, of the teaching which both of them had received from the lips of the aged saint.

"I saw you," he writes, "in lower Asia with Polycarp, while I was still a boy, and you were distinguishing yourself in the imperial court and trying to win Polycarp's good opinion. I remember those times better than the things of to-day (since the instruction we get in youth grows with the soul and becomes one with it), so that I can tell even the very place where the blessed Polycarp was wont to sit and discourse; and also his comings in, his walks, the complexion of his life, and the form of his body, and his conversations with the people, and his familiar intercourse with John, as he was used to tell of it, as also his intimacy with those that had seen the Lord. How also he used to relate their discourses, and what things he had heard from them concerning the Lord. Also concerning His miracles, His doctrines; all these were told by Polycarp in consistency with the Holy Scriptures, as he had received them from the eye-witnesses of the doctrine of salvation. These things, by the mercy of God, and the opportunity then afforded me, I attentively heard, noting them down, not on paper, but in my heart; and these same facts I am always in the habit, by the grace of God, of recalling faithfully to mind."[1]

Amongst these traditions which St. Polycarp received from St. John and handed down to St. Irenæus were a tender devotion to our Blessed Lord in the sacrifice and sacrament of His love,[2] as well as to His Immaculate Mother, whose glory St. Irenæus has proclaimed in

[1] *Iren. ad Florin. apud Euseb.* v. 20.

[2] See v.g. *Iren. adv. Hær.* iv., 18. 4; 33. 2; V. 2. 2; 2. 3.

language remarkable for its scientific precision, and yet glowing with filial affection.[1]

Even Protestant writers of eminence have recognised the identity of the doctrine of St. Irenæus, so clearly set forth is it in his writings, with the doctrines of the Catholic Church of to-day. Thus Dr. Grabe, a learned Protestant divine and commentator of St. Irenæus, who has made the writings of the Fathers his more particular study, observes:—

"It is certain that Irenæus and all the Fathers, either contemporary with the Apostles or their immediate successors, whose writings are still extant, considered the Blessed Eucharist to be the *sacrifice* of the New Law, and offered bread and wine on the altar as sacred oblations to God the Father; and that this was not the private opinion of any particular Church or teacher, but the public doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, which she received from the Apostles, and they from Christ, is expressly shown in this place by Irenæus, and before him by Justin M. and Clement of Rome."[2]

And in this connection it is worthy of note that some Rationalistic writers, whilst admitting that the Church in her struggle with the Gnostic heresy was contending for the very existence of Christianity, yet recognise in that heresy the forerunner of Protestantism. It is not Catholic writers, remember, who are making these comparisons, but men who have no sympathy whatever with Catholicism. Lipsius says that Marcion represents "the Protestantism of ecclesiastical antiquity,"[3] and Neander, though taking exception to some parts of Marcion's teaching, still speaks of his exclusive attachment to St. Paul and his opposition to the hierarchy as animated by "the spirit of a genuine Protestantism."[4]

The importance of the testimony of St. Irenæus cannot be too highly estimated. He speaks for the East and for the West, for he had spent his early years in Asia Minor; he was for many years bishop of Lyons; twice at least he came into close relations with Rome, and he made a visit

1 iii. 22, 4; v. 19, 1.

2 Note in *Irenæum*, p. 323.

3 *Gnosticismus*, p. 165.

4 *Kirchengeschichte*, ii., p. 162.

to the Roman Church just before he undertook his episcopal charge. He was in the forefront of the three chief controversies of his age—on Gnosticism, on the Montanist prophecies, and on the celebration of Easter. Amongst the Fathers of his day he alone, as Cardinal Newman tells us,[1] can be included in what may be called the Apostolic family. And so closely was he bound to the Apostolic age, that he may be rightly said to sum up in his single person the tradition of the Church in the century in which he lived.

Let us now consider the testimony borne by St. Irenæus to the Primacy of the Roman See. Bishop Lightfoot attaches great importance to him as a witness to the Christian belief in the second century. He lays emphasis on "the historical background" which brings that testimony into bold relief. St. Irenæus, he reminds us, "was connected directly with the Apostles and the Apostolic age by two distinct personal links, if not more." "His testimony must be regarded as distinctly representing three Churches at least"—Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul. Thus "he is backed by a whole phalanx of past and contemporaneous authority."[2] It is well, then, to attend to the witness of one who had such splendid opportunities of learning the traditions of the Apostolic Church. I have been charged with curtailing quotations from the writings of St. Irenæus. Curiously enough, Catholic writers recommend us to always quote St. Irenæus fully, so saturated is he with Roman doctrine.

Text and Argument of St. Irenæus.—Writing against the Gnostics, who pretended to possess a private tradition, in virtue of which each of them, "depraving the rule of the truth, was not ashamed to preach himself," he sets forth the one original tradition which the Apostles, "only when

[1] *Tracts Theol. Eccles.*, p. 200.

[2] See Lightfoot on Irenæus in *Essays on Supernatural Religion*, pp. 264-268.

they had first been invested with the power of the Holy Ghost coming down on them, and endued with perfect knowledge," delivered to the Churches founded by them:—

"And this tradition of the Apostles," he writes, "manifested in the whole world, may be seen in every Church by all who have the will to see what is true, and we can give the chain of those who were appointed by the Apostles bishops in the Churches, and their successors down to their time, who have neither taught nor known such delirious dreams as these imagine. For, had the Apostles known any reserved mysteries, which they taught to the perfect, separately and secretly from the rest, assuredly they would have delivered them to those especially to whom they intrusted the Churches themselves. For very perfect and irreprehensible in all respects did they wish those to be whom they left for their own successors,[1] delivering over to them their own office of teaching, by correct conduct on whose part great advantage would accrue, as from their fall the utmost calamity. But since it were very long, in a volume like this, to enumerate the succession of all the Churches, we take the Church the greatest, the most ancient, and known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, and pointing out the tradition which it has received from the Apostles, and the faith which it has announced to men, reaching down to us by the succession of its bishops, we confound all those who form societies other than they ought, in any way, whether for the sake of self-fancied doctrines, or through blindness and an evil mind. For, with this Church, on account of its superior principate, it is necessary that every Church agree, that is, the faithful everywhere (every Church), in which by the (faithful) everywhere the apostolic tradition is preserved."[2]

Let us analyse this last sentence with the help of the whole context. Here are the words of the old Latin translator:—"*Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potentiorem (al. potiorem) principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio.*"[3] I may observe that some read "*potiorem*" instead of "*potentiorem.*" Amongst Protestant commentators of St. Irenæus we have Stieren and Harvey preferring the

1 "Quos et successores relinquebant, suum ipsorum locum magisterii tradentes."

2 *Adv. Hær.* lib. iii., c. 3.

3 The literal translation is given above. The meaning of St. Irenæus may be better grasped by following the suggestions of Grotius, Döllinger, and Davidson, and translating as follows:—"For with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority, every Church, that is to say, those who are everywhere faithful, must agree, seeing that in communion with it the Tradition handed down by the Apostles has ever been preserved by the faithful everywhere."

latter, whilst Salmaise and Griesbach prefer the former. Catholic authorities are equally divided. The great Benedictine Massuet and the editors of *Migne's Patrologie* read "*potiorem.*" But, whichever reading we follow, the sense is admittedly the same.

The argument of St. Irenæus is that all the Churches, directly or indirectly, can trace their tradition and the succession of their bishops to the Apostles. He is fighting the Gnostics on their own battle-ground. They contend that truth cannot be found by those who are ignorant of tradition, and he accepts their challenge, with the proviso that the tradition must be apostolic. " We challenge them," he says, "to the tradition which comes from the Apostles,"[1] who "were thoroughly furnished in all things, and had perfect knowledge."[2] But the Apostles were rulers as well as teachers, and each one of them was bound to his fellow-Apostles, who, with the other disciples of the Lord, formed the Church.[3] Thus the Church, "although scattered throughout the world, is yet as if occupying but one house. She believes her doctrines just as if she had but one soul, and one and the same heart, and she proclaims them, and teaches them, and hands them down with perfect harmony, as if she possessed only one mouth."[4] Heresy is constantly varying. "Forming one set of doctrines out of a totally different system of opinions, and then, again, others from others, they (the heretics) insist upon teaching something new, declaring themselves the inventors of any sort of opinion which they may have been able to call into existence."[5]

But, on the other hand, the tradition of the Church is one and unchanging, and is its own witness to the truth. "For, although the languages of the world are dissimilar, yet the import of the tradition is one and the same. For the Churches which have been planted in Germany do not

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, lib. 2, 2. [2] *Ibid.*, 1, 1. [3] *Ibid.*, 12, 5.
[4] *Ibid.*, i., 10, 2. [5] *Ibid.*, i., 28, 1.

believe or hand down anything different, nor do those in Spain, nor those in Gaul, nor those in the East, nor those in Libya, nor those which have been established in the central regions of the world."[1] No pretence can be offered as an excuse for perverting the faith. There is no such thing as a secret tradition, to which the Gnostics lay claim. "Nor will any one of the rulers in the Churches, however highly gifted he may be in point of eloquence, teach doctrines different from these (for no one is greater than the Master); nor, on the other hand, will he who is deficient in power of expression inflict injury on the tradition. For the faith being ever one and the same, neither does one who is able at great length to discourse regarding it make any addition to it, nor does one who can say but little diminish it."[2] Unity of faith is, with St. Irenæus, a bulwark against heresy, and to secure that unity he, in the words of the Protestant Ziegler, "makes the preservation of sound doctrine and the presence of the Holy Ghost dependent on the bishops who, in legitimate succession, represent the Apostles." To preserve the unity of the Church, and to hold office by legitimate, instead of by schismatical succession, is, St. Irenæus says, "præcipuum dilectionis munus."

A Standard and Centre of Unity.—But to stop here with the assertion of the unity of the Church would be to leave his argument incomplete. There must be some supreme authority to which, in all difficulties, recourse may be had as the centre of unity and the indefectible guardian of apostolic tradition, and the Church of Rome, he asserts, is this supreme authority. He mentions only three Churches by name, Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, and these Churches received their bishops from the Apostles—a fact which explains why these three were specially selected by him, for he teaches with marked emphasis that "we should recur to the most ancient Churches in which

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, lib. i., 10, 2. [2] *Ibid.*

the Apostles dwelt."[1] When he comes to the Roman Church he immediately changes his language, and in the most emphatic manner attributes to it a singular and incommunicable prerogative. "Every other Church must agree with it," or "must resort to it." He does not take the Roman Church as a sample of apostolic Churches, but as the centre of unity, in which all the Churches of the world are gathered into one. And we must keep in mind that St. Irenæus testifies for both East and West, for, himself an Eastern, he filled a Western See. And, besides, the other Churches he mentions are Asiatic. When he has proved that the tradition of the Roman Church is apostolic, his proof is complete for the apostolic character of tradition for the whole world, and one has only to point to the faith of the Roman See to confound all heretics. "Is your faith the same as the faith of Rome?" is substantially his test of orthodoxy.

"Propter potentiorem principalitatem." "Because of the more powerful principality which belongs to the Roman Church, all other Churches," says St. Irenæus, "are bound to be in agreement with it." Now, what is this *principalitas* of which he speaks? Well, in the first place, it cannot mean the antiquity of the Roman Church, as some Protestants assert, for the simple reason that it was not the most ancient Church. St. Irenæus himself brushes away such interpretation, for he calls Jerusalem "the mother city for the citizens of the New Testament," since there "every Church took its rise."[2] And as regards the antiquity of their foundation, other Churches, such as that of Antioch and of Corinth, were not in any way inferior to the Church of Rome.

Nor can the *potentior principalitas* mean simply the apostolic origin of the Roman Church. Anglicans are constantly telling us that the Churches of Jerusalem,

[1] "Nonne oportet ad antiquissimas recurrere ecclesias in quibus Apostoli conversati sunt?"—*Ibid.*, 4, 1. [2] *Adv. Hær.*, lib. 12, 5.

Antioch, Alexandria, etc., were of apostolic origin as well as the Church of Rome, and the early heretics would have made the same reply to St. Irenæus.

Secondly, *principalitas* does not mean the singular purity of the Roman Church, whereby that Church was a model to all others. The purity of faith of the Roman Church is freely conceded by many Anglicans, but the theory which certain writers build on this historical fact may be speedily dismissed, for it is a pure figment of the imagination. But did not heretics flock to Rome as well as the genuine faithful, and what security could there be that the faith of Rome would remain unstained by error? "In Rome," the Protestant historian, Milman, tells us, "every heresy, almost every heresiarch, found welcome reception."[2] But whatever the word *principalitas* means, it most assuredly does not mean purity of faith. Nor can the *principalitas* of which St. Irenæus speaks mean the imperial power of Rome. He does not make the most remote allusion to the civil authority of Rome; he compares Church with Church, not city with city; he looks specially to the Churches of apostolic foundation, and teaches that the Roman Church has the *principality* among all, because Peter and Paul, "the most glorious Apostles," "having founded and established it," entrusted the ministry of the episcopate to the Roman bishops.

The meaning of Principalitas.—St. Irenæus, however, will himself tell us what he meant by *principalitatem*. Unfortunately the Greek text of this passage is lost. In twenty-three passages of the Latin translation the word *principalitas* or its synonym, *principatus*, occurs, and in each one of them it means *power, authority*, especially supreme and divine. Besides this passage, there are ten others in which the word occurs, and in each of these passages it means "authority" or "supremacy." In two of

[1] *Lat. Christianity*, Vol. I, p. 38.

them it refers to the supremacy of God in all things—*principalitatem quidem habet in omnibus Deus*.[1] And, again, "God is above every principality and domination and power."[2] In the eight remaining places it refers to the supreme God of the Gnostics. Now, of at least four of these eight passages we have the original Greek, and in three of these we find that *principalitas* is the translation of *αὐθεντία*, which has no meaning except *supremacy*. Referring to Liddell and Scott's Greek Lexicon, we find "absolute sway" given as its equivalent. Suicer quotes from a number of the Fathers who use the term *principalitas*, and he maintains that *auctoritas*—"authority"—is the proper rendering. In the Revised Version (1 Tim., 2, 12) *αὐθεντεῖν*, the corresponding verb, means *to have dominion over*. *Principalitas* is once used as a rendering of *ἀρχή*, but in this passage it is manifest that *ἀρχή* can only mean *supreme power*. One would think that St. Irenæus had actually anticipated the Anglican difficulties in the interpretation of the text, for he defines *principalitas* as a *universal supremacy*. "*Principalitas*," he says, "*quæ est super universa*."[3]

If we turn to a contemporary of St. Irenæus, and most probably, too, of the Latin translator of his works, we shall find that by *principalitas* he means *supremacy* or *essential superiority*, to quote the very words of the Protestant translator of Tertullian, in Clarke's *Ante-Nicene Library*.[4] And we shall have no difficulty in understanding the connection between the "more powerful principality" of the Roman See and the circumstances of its foundation if we call to mind how Tertullian, after lapsing into heresy, ridicules the "peremptory edict" of Pope Zephyrinus, and the claim to speak as "bishop of bishops." "I want to know," he exclaims, "how you usurp this authority over the Church?" And then he proceeds to answer his own

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, lib. iv., 38, 3.
[2] *Ibid.*, 11, 30, 9.
[3] Lib. 1, 26, n. 1.
[4] Vol. xv., p. 437.

question by suggesting that the Pontiff does so because of our Lord's promise to St. Peter—"On this rock I will build my Church—To thee I have given the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, etc."[1] Tertullian, though asking the question in contempt, has proved that in his time the Popes claimed that the words of our Blessed Lord had a personal application to them, and asserted that claim in the government of the Church.

The "more powerful principality," then, of which St. Irenæus wrote is and cannot be anything else than this fact, that the Roman Church is the centre of unity, and the bulwark of defence against all heresies. That Church does not derive her principality from the assent of the faithful. It is "*because* of her more powerful principality" all other Churches must agree with her, and in union with her (*in quâ*) "the faithful on all sides have ever preserved the apostolic tradition."

On the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, as on that of the Real Presence, Catholics and Protestants hold diametrically opposite views, and just as the words of Institution of the Blessed Eucharist, so simple and intelligible of themselves, are interpreted in an almost countless variety of ways by Protestant writers, so, too, it is marvellous to what devices those same writers resort in order to minimise the force of the plain teaching of St. Irenæus. But it is the strongest evidence of the correctness of the translation I have given that, whilst Catholic writers unanimously accept it, Protestant interpretations have been mutually destructive, and the precise point which one Protestant translator has urged against the Catholic view has been freely conceded to it by another. Thus, to mention a few out of the many distinguished names, Canon Bright,[2] Regius Professor at Oxford, and Gieseler, admit that the words *convenire ad* mean *to agree with*. The learned

[1] *De Pudic.* 21. [2] *Roman Claims*, p. 8.

Calvinist Salmaise admits that *ad hanc convenire ecclesiam* is a Grecism for *cum hâc convenire ecclesiâ*, which, as he says, means to agree in matters of faith and doctrine with the Roman Church.[1]

Renderings of the Latin Version of St. Irenæus.—It is worthy of special notice that the Protestant translators of St. Irenæus in the *Library of the Fathers* (standard edition, published by Clark) render the disputed text of St. Irenæus as follows:—"For it *is a matter of necessity* that every Church should agree with this Church, on account of its pre-eminent authority." In a note the translators remark that "it is impossible to say with certainty of what words in the Greek original *potiorem principalitatem* may be the translation. We are far from sure that the rendering given above is correct, but we have been unable to think of anything better." In plain terms, then, these Protestant translators are driven to confess that the Catholic translation holds the field.

As I have been charged with mistranslation regarding this particular passage of St. Irenæus, I am examining it word by word, and am calling most eminent Protestant scholars as witnesses to the correctness of my rendering. Coming, then, to the word *undique*, let us first consult some reputable Latin Dictionary. In WHITE and RIDDLE we find the following:—"Undique: *Whencesoever;* hence, *From all parts, sides, or places; from every quarter, on all sides, on every part, everywhere.*" Little wonder, then, that we have a number of Protestant writers, such as Beaven in his *Life of St. Irenæus,* Thiersch, and Stieren, allowing

[1] The testimony of Salmaise is very clear:—"Necesse est, dicit, omnem ecclesiam convenire ad Romanam, id est, ut Græce locutus fuerat Irenæus, συμβαίνειν πρὸς τὴν τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἐκκλησίαν, quod significat *convenire et concordare in rebus fidei ac doctrinæ cum Romanâ Ecclesiâ.* . . . . Συμβαίνειν πρὸς τίνα æque usitatum Græcis ac συμβαίνειν τίνι. Unde apud Thucydidem, συνέβησαν πρὸς τοὺς Δακεδαιμονίους, "*convenerunt cum Lacedæmoniis pactum fecerunt.*" Ita in loco quem supra adduximus, quem malus auctor Latinitatis Græcissans dixit, *ad hanc* . . . pro *cum hac convenire.*"—*De Primatu Papæ*, c. 5, p. 65.

that *undique* is here equivalent to *ubique*, and means *everywhere*. The translators of St. Irenæus already mentioned render *undique, everywhere*. St. Irenæus himself refers to the four Gospels as "breathing or blowing incorruptibility *everywhere*, and revivifying men."[1] The same word is used there for *everywhere*, as in the passage with which we are dealing, and it is clear that it means an influence proceeding from a centre to a circumference, and not from a circumference to a centre. Zeigler almost surrenders to the Catholic interpretation. He admits that St. Irenæus "passing as it were, in prophecy beyond himself, anticipates a Papal Church of the future"—that he marks out Rome "as the chief seat of the apostolic tradition, as the centre which sustains and unites the whole Church—a centre which she would not have required had it been a matter to take for granted that the apostolic tradition was everywhere established, and beyond doubt in the Church herself."

But, amongst the many devices to elude the force of the words of St. Irenæus, there is one which calls for a brief analysis. This particular translation has the merit of being, perhaps, the most absurd and illogical of the many renderings of the celebrated passage from the saint's work. It is not at all original, but it has been presented to us lately with a parade of pedantic erudition. Early Protestant writers had been completely perplexed by the concluding clause of the passage—*in quâ semper*, etc., so they make the saint say that every Church must agree with Rome, since the faithful come to it from all quarters, each bringing with him the tradition of his own Church, and that in Rome all the streams of apostolic tradition meet, and that in this way the faith of Rome *was kept orthodox*. Against this attempt at translation it is enough to say that St. Irenæus was giving an unmistakable rule by which heretics are to be put to silence, and he was

[1] *Adv. Hæres.*, iii., 2, 8.

bound to express himself in precise terms. In the preface of the very book in which this much-discussed passage is found, he writes:—"Call to mind, then, the things which I have stated in the two preceding books, and, taking these in connection with them, thou shalt have from me a very copious refutation of all heretics; and faithfully and strenuously shalt thou resist them in defence of the only true and life-giving faith which the Church has received from the Apostles and imparted to her sons." Had he, then, thought the chance confluence of strangers to Rome a guarantee for its faith, he would have said so in intelligible terms. The clause in question would then run, "Because in it the Apostolic tradition is preserved by those who come there from all quarters"; moreover, the words *potentior principalitas* would have been omitted, or at least connected beyond the possibility of mistake with the last clause.

St. Irenæus does not represent the other Churches as bringing traditions to Rome, but says that they "agree with" the Roman Church, and that thus they "preserve" the deposit of faith. He nowhere gives the remotest hint that the crowding of the Christians to the Roman Church is the reason why "every Church—that is, the faithful on every side"—must agree with her. He does not tell us that the orthodox tradition was preserved *through* the tourists who came to Rome, but *by* them, which shows that he is not referring to persons coming to Rome, but to those by whom the Roman tradition was preserved in every place.

But even if we translate *convenire ad* as *resort to*, the Roman Primacy will still be established, as the necessary resort of *all Churches* to the Church of Rome involves the supremacy of the latter.

Unity by Communion with Peter in Rome.—The words *in quâ* are well explained by Döllinger, to the effect that the faithful throughout the world were *in* the Roman

Church, *i.e.*, in communion with it as the centre of unity. Schneeman quotes a completely parallel passage from St. Optatus—"*In quâ unâ Cathedra (Sancti Petri) unitas ab omnibus servarctur*,"[1] that is, "in union with the one Chair (St. Peter), unity is preserved by all." The Latin translator of St. Irenæus frequently uses the word *in* for *per* when the sense is "in union with," and the passage here is parallel with such Scripture expressions as *in Christo, in Domino*—that is, *in union with*, or *incorporated in*.

It was not possible for St. Irenæus to state more distinctly the reason why every Church must be in agreement with the Roman Church. It is "propter potentiorem principalitatem"—"With this Church, because of its more powerful principality, every Church—that is, the faithful everywhere—must agree." And when he has thus clearly stated the reason for it, he immediately adds the result of this agreement with the Roman See—"In it or in union with it (*in quâ*) the tradition of the Apostles has been preserved on every side."

Again, the saint is arguing from the apostolic foundation of the Churches to the apostolic purity of their tradition. He has mentioned the apostolic foundation of Rome, and he keeps to the same subject exclusively through four chapters. It is worse than absurd, then, to maintain that he is arguing from the imperial position of the city, or the visit of Christians there. It is the principality of the Roman Church, and of the Roman Church alone, that he is speaking of, and this is based on its foundation by SS. Peter and Paul. In interpreting this passage of St. Irenæus we must have regard to the circumstances of the Christian community in Rome. Some writers seem to imagine that perfect peace prevailed, and that the Messrs. Cook and Sons of the period were offering most

[1] *De Schism.*, tom. ii., 2.

liberal terms to Christian travellers who desired to gather up the traditions in Rome, but it is an incontestable fact that the Christians who went to Rome, whether on mercantile or legal business, did so at the peril of their lives. As a matter of fact, is it not the common opinion that St. Irenæus wrote his work on Heresies in the time of Pope Eleutherius, that is, between the year 177, when Marcus Aurelius was persecuting the Christians, and 192, the last year of the Emperor Commodus, and does he not distinctly describe the age as one of persecution?[1]

I fear that I am taxing your patience by this scholastic treatment of the argument. But it is really unavoidable, as the translation of the historic passage of St. Irenæus, which is universally accepted by Catholics, has been disputed. I was, therefore, under the necessity of showing you how far really learned Protestants are in accord with our interpretation.

But over and above the perversion of history which this theory necessitates, there is this more serious difficulty for non-Catholic controversialists, that by substituting tradition for the Scriptures, it involves the abandonment of the fundamental principles of Protestantism.

Teaching of St. Irenæus.—Put into popular phraseology, the testimony of St. Irenæus may be summed up in these four propositions—(1) There *exists* a universal communion (in faith) of all Catholics with the Roman Church; (2) this communion is *necessary;* (3) the cause of this necessary communion arises from the fact that the Roman Church is at once a centre of unity and a model in doctrine to all other Churches: (4) the reason of these various prerogatives is found in the peculiar *principalitas* or "pre-eminent authority" which she possesses.

With St. Irenæus the readiest way to prove the orthodoxy of any particular Church is to show that it is in union

[1] *Adv. Hær.*, iv., 33, 9.

with Rome, because the faith of the Roman Church is the fountain-head of the Apostolic doctrine, and is, therefore, the standard by which the faith of every other Church is to be tested. In one word, his argument is—Whoever submits to the teaching of the Roman Church is certain to receive the doctrine of the Apostles.

The authority of St. Irenæus has been quoted against what someone has been pleased to call "the Roman fiction of St. Peter having been the first bishop of Rome," on the ground that "the enumeration of Irenæus knows nothing whatever of an episcopate of St. Peter." But a little learning is a dangerous thing. As the writer of that phrase would not deliberately falsify the testimony of St. Irenæus, it is clear he knew nothing of the saint's second enumeration of the line of Roman bishops. He has yet to learn that St. Irenæus does two things—(1) he traces the succession of the Popes from the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, and (2) he gives a line of Roman bishops which includes St. Peter. In regard to the first he says:—"We are in a position to reckon up those who were by the Apostles instituted bishops in the Churches, and (to demonstrate) the successions of these men to our own times." Of these bishops he further says, that the Apostles "were leaving them behind as their successors, delivering up their own place of government to these men."[1] Amongst the successors of the Apostles, Clement is, of course, named in the third place. "The Apostles committed into the hands of Linus the office of the episcopate. . . . To him succeeded Anacletus, and after him, in the third place, from the Apostles, Clement was allotted the bishopric."[2] In this enumeration of the successors of the Apostles, Hyginus is reckoned the *eighth*. But when St. Irenæus comes to give the whole line of Roman bishops, Hyginus is in two places[3] reckoned the ninth bishop, showing clearly that the Apostles are counted in this

[1] *Adv. Hær*, iii., 3, 1. [2] *Ibid.*, 3. [3] Lib. i., 27, 1. iii., 4.

enumeration. "Cerdo," he tells us, "Marcion's predecessor, arrived (in Rome) in the time of Hyginus, who was the ninth bishop." In this reckoning Clement would be fourth bishop of Rome.

This interpretation of the words of St. Irenæus is confirmed by a contemporary writer. St. Epiphanius, in the fourth century, gives precisely the same line of succession from the Apostles—with him, too, it is Linus, Cletus (who was admittedly the same as Anacletus), Clement. He tells us, moreover, that St. Clement was ordained by St. Peter, and St. Epiphanius, though writing in the fourth century, is bearing witness for St. Hegesippus, who wrote in Rome in the second century—"When I was in Rome," the latter writes, "I compiled a succession of Bishops in that See to the time of Anicetus."[1] The Anglican bishop, Lightfoot, distinctly maintains, as we shall see again, that the list given by St. Epiphanius is no other than the list made out by St. Hegesippus. Tertullian, too, who lived in the time of both St. Irenæus and St. Hegesippus, records the fact of St. Peter ordaining St.Clement, and places Hyginus ninth in the list of Popes, exactly in the same way as did St. Irenæus.

But even if St. Irenæus had only given us the first list, his meaning would be unmistakable. We should know that it was the list of the *successors* of the Apostles, which, as a matter of course, could not include the Apostles themselves, just as one, in proving the present English sovereign's right to the throne, would say that Queen Victoria is the fifth in succession from George I., the head of the Hanoverian line. And, as in the latter case, George I. is not excluded from the line of English sovereigns, so in the former case the Apostles are not excluded from the line of Roman Bishops. The mention of two Apostles is not incompatible with the special relation of one of them

[1] *Euseb. H.E.*, lib. iv., c. 22.

to the Roman See. Some Catholic writers unhesitatingly include St. Paul amongst the Bishops of Rome, but even in this supposition St. Peter is assuredly not less the predecessor of Linus.

St. Irenæus admonishes Pope St. Victor.—We have had the controversy between Pope St. Victor and St. Irenæus brought forward once more. With a certain class of controversialists it is *l'audace, toujours l'audace.* They think that anything will serve as an argument against Rome. Put in its strongest light, such attempt at argument is neither more nor less than this: St. Irenæus cannot have considered the Roman Pontiff supreme teacher in matters of faith, because in a matter which, as St. Irenæus himself emphatically declares, had no connection with faith, he exhorted the Roman Bishop to proceed with moderation and charity, and not to cut off whole Churches from his communion.[1] Eusebius says, "Irenæus *becomingly admonished* Victor not to cut off whole Churches who observed the tradition of an ancient custom." Lightfoot tells us that the Churches ranged on different sides on this question of ritual are, nevertheless, substantially agreed on all important points of doctrine and practice. . . It is distinctly stated by Irenæus when he remonstrates with Victor for disturbing the peace of the Church by insisting on non-essentials. (In *Euseb. H.E.*, v. 24.)[2]

Neither in the writings of St. Irenæus himself nor in the account of his controversy with Pope Victor, as given by the ecclesiastical historian, Eusebius, who lived in the third century, is there a single word in denial of the supreme authority of Pope Victor. On the contrary, the whole aim and effort of Irenæus was to dissuade Victor from using the power which it was clearly implied that he possessed, particularly as the question at issue was not one regarding faith or necessary discipline. The controversy regarded the observance of Easter. The Asiatic

[1] H. E. Bohn's trans., p. 197. [2] Dissertations, p. 101.

bishops, following the tradition of St. John, observed the feast on the fourteenth day, corresponding with the Jewish celebration of the Passover, no matter on what day of the week the fourteenth might fall. In the other parts of the Church the Paschal solemnity was invariably celebrated on the Sunday. St. Irenæus, it is admitted, advocated the Roman custom, but knowing the tenacity with which the Asiatics clung to the customs hallowed by sacred traditions, he pleaded with the Pope the diversity in matters of discipline, such as in the observance of the fast, which prevailed in different parts of the Church, without interfering with any principle of faith.

Perhaps this will illustrate the position taken up by St. Irenæus. A short time ago we had many surmises of what could be conceded in case a re-union of the Anglican with the Catholic Church would be effected. It was said, for instance, that the Pope would dispense with the law of celibacy. As this is only disciplinary, he could dispense; but, if he did dispense, though we know he has no thought of doing so, we may be confident that the cardinals and bishops throughout the Church would protest in strongest and loudest terms, and yet, for all the strength of their protest, they would admit his Primacy in all its integrity.

St. Irenæus, then, did no more than has been repeatedly done by bishops, individually and collectively, in the history of the Church. As I have already, in a former lecture, more than disposed of this difficulty, I shall on this occasion merely repeat the words of a distinguished Protestant, Professor Harnack. "Pope Victor," he writes, "ventured by an edict to declare that any Church which did not observe the Roman method (of observing Easter) was excluded as heretical from the communion of the one Church. How could Victor have ventured on such an edict . . . if it was not already established and recognised that it belonged to the Roman Church as its distinctive prerogative to determine the condition of the

κοινὴ ἕνωσις when essential doctrines of the faith were in question?"[1] Will any person of ordinary intelligence presume to question Harnack's view? To bring it home to our minds we have only to consider what would occur if, in our day, the reigning Pontiff, Leo XIII., addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his obedience under pain of being cut off from the unity of the Church. The reply would be a vehement denial of the authority of the Pope. All England would ring with denunciations of Rome, and history would record the clear and emphatic repudiation of the Pope's authority. Until a repudiation of such kind can be produced, it is trifling with the question to bring forward instead some scattered instances of opposition to the exercise of an admitted authority. If isolated opposition to the exercise of authority presuppose its non-existence, or is sufficient to set it aside, then no authority, human or divine, could long subsist.

Here, then, I close the examination of the testimony of St. Irenæus to the supremacy of the Roman Pontiffs, and I have no fear about the verdict on his evidence. His testimony, supporting that of Clement, is a strong link in the chain which reaches back to the Prince of the Apostles and to those momentous days when from the lips of Him who spoke as never man spoke there came the words—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build My Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it, and I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."[2] "I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not, and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren;"[3] and again, "Feed My lambs, Feed My sheep."[4] Apart from all historical evidence—and, indeed, independent of St. Peter's connection with the See of Rome—these words are the warrant of the Primacy of Peter and of his successors. On next Sunday evening we shall consider their full import and the irrefutable Scripture proof that is built upon them.

1 *Dogmen.* i., p. 368.
2 Matt. xvi., 18-19.
3 Luke xxii., 32.
4 John xxi., 15, 16, 17.

CHAPTER XV.

SCRIPTURE PROOF OF THE PRIMACY.

The Name and the Promise:—Matthew xvi., 18-19.

(Third Lecture.)

Recapitulation.—Having examined the testimony of St. Clement and St. Irenæus in proof of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and having disposed of the difficulties raised in connection with their witness, I purpose to direct your attention this evening to the creative words of the Christ's founder, which form the first link in the unbroken chain of evidence that indissolubly connects the Primacy of Peter with the Primacy of Leo the Thirteenth. I will not delay to notice any misunderstanding or misrepresentation of what I have already stated in intelligible language, and on undisputable authority. No criticism is worthy of consideration unless it be based on at least an average knowledge of the bearings of the subject, and evince, besides, a disposition to weigh the arguments dispassionately. I have gone to the original sources; I have placed St. Clement and St. Irenæus in the witness-box, not only for direct testimony, but, if I may reverently say so, for cross-examination. If, in addition, I have quoted modern authorities, it must not be forgotten that they were almost exclusively Protestant, and that their witness was not merely personal, but was founded on the unanimous belief of the primitive Church.

Three Centuries of Prejudice.—Nothing can more clearly establish the strength of the Catholic position than the fact that we can summon a multitude of adverse witnesses, whilst on the other side not a single Catholic authority can be quoted. To appreciate the import of this Protestant testimony in favour of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff we must always bear in mind that this Primacy is the cardinal point of modern controversy, and that around it have accumulated the prejudices of more than three centuries. To what an extent such an accumulation interferes with a calm consideration of the question we may learn from a distinguished convert, who, both before and after his conversion, has made the Roman Primacy the special object of his studies. He thus explains how it was that he himself had been unable to see for a considerable time the convincing force of the Scripture argument in its favour. He says:—

"In point of fact a modern contradictory tradition, inculcating as a first principle of belief that the Primacy of St. Peter, as continued in the Pope, is a corruption of Christianity, had then possession of my mind, as it has possession of so many Protestant minds at present, and prevented my even studying what was said in Holy Writ with regard to this particular subject. Such a tradition makes a mind incapable of exercising candour, however it may desire to do so. Though Protestants profess to go by the Bible alone, probably not one Protestant in a million has ever attempted to judge dispassionately of what is said in Scripture to Peter and to the other Apostles as to their power of governing the Church. It was already a ruled point in their minds."[1]

With this statement before us we can easily understand how it is that the strength and clearness of the proofs derived from Scripture in favour of the Primacy fail to convince or even to touch so many Protestant minds. Still the proof, if impartially considered, is, in its cumulative force, most convincing. Before proceeding to analyse the various texts on which this proof rests, let me premise what will be generally admitted, namely, that Christ our

[1] Allies, *Per Crucem ad Lucem*, Vol. i., p. 157.

Lord came on earth for two great but distinct purposes. The first was to redeem the world by offering to the Eternal Father abundant and superabundant satisfaction for the sins of men, thus repairing the dishonour which sin had offered to God. The second was to re-open for man the gates of heaven by providing him with the means of sanctification and reconciliation. To dispense these means of sanctification, to preserve the deposit of faith, and guide men by salutary laws, He established His Church on earth. That Church is exhibited in the New Testament as the special object of Christ's predilection. It was to last as long as the world itself should last. "Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."[1] In its extension it was to embrace all nations. "Going teach all nations."[2] It was to be a visible body seated like a city on the mountain top.[3] It was to be a kingdom governed by a constitution and by rules given and provided by Christ Himself. But the mark or note of His Church on which Christ specially dwelt was its *unity*. For that unity He prayed long and earnestly in the solemn and efficacious prayer He poured forth immediately before His passion had begun.[4] In it there was to be, as the Apostle says, "one body and one Spirit, one Lord, one faith, one baptism."[5] It was to be a reflection of the union between the Eternal Father and His well-beloved Son. It was, by this gift of union, to be a perpetual proof of the divine mission of its Founder.

"That they all may be one, as thou, Father, in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us: that the world may believe that thou hast sent me."—John xvii., 21.

It was to be "the Kingdom of God" on earth, "the Kingdom of Heaven," "the house of God," "the pillar and ground of truth."[6] It was to be the "sheepfold," for He was the Shepherd who gave His life for His sheep;[7] nay,

[1] Matt. xxviii., 20. [2] *Ibid.*, 19. [3] Matt. v., 14. [4] John xvii.
[5] Eph. iv., 4-5. [6] I Tim. iii., 15. [7] John x., 11.

it was to be His spouse, and His love for the Church was to be the model of purest marital love.[1] All this was Christ to His Church while He lived on earth, the visible King, Lord, Shepherd, Master, Father, Spouse, and Head.

But He also promised that His care of the Church would never cease till the consummation of all things. He should be no longer visible on earth, but He would make provision for those who were to represent Him, and govern the Church *visibly* in His name. Accordingly we find Him during the course of His public ministry making fullest provision for the future government of His Church. To this end He chose from amongst the disciples His twelve Apostles. "And going up into a mountain, He called unto Him whom He would Himself: and they came to Him. And He made that twelve should be with Him, and that He might send them to preach."[2]

The name Cephas.—One of these twelve was already marked out by Christ for singular distinction. Amongst the first acts of our Lord's ministry after His baptism by John was to do, in regard to one of the future Apostles, that which in Scripture is full of significance—namely, formally to change his name. When Simon was introduced by his brother Andrew to "the Lamb of God," Jesus, looking on him said: "Thou art Simon the son of Jonas; thou shalt be called Cephas, which is interpreted Peter, or Rock."[3] God had of old changed the names of those who were to do a special work, or to bear a representative character in the dispensation to which they belonged; thus He changed the name of Abram to Abraham. We find in Scripture three classes of names conferred on men. The first may be called *commemorative*, because they recorded some remarkable fact connected with the bearer of the new name. Thus Isaac was so called from the *laughter* of his

[1] Eph. v., 23-31. [2] Mark iii., 13-14. [3] John i., 29-42.

father and mother;[1] so, too, Manasseh, meaning "God hath made me to forget my labours."[2] The second class may be termed *significative*, as intended to distinguish their bearers by some special quality which appertained to them. Thus Jacob was so called from being the *supplanter*;[3] Moses from being *taken* or *saved*.[4] The third class are *prophetic*, and, therefore, conferred by God, to Whom alone the future is known. Such are those which point out the office destined for their bearers. Thus Abraham received his name because God had made him "the father of many nations,"[5] and Christ changed Simon's name to Peter, because he was to be the Rock on which His Church was to be built.

In the case of Peter it is significant that the name given to him was one by which Christ Himself was known in prophecy, and in its fulfilment. He was the "stone in the foundation of Sion, a tried stone, a precious stone founded on the foundation,"[6] the stone "which the builders rejected,"[7] which "is become the head of the corner," "a corner-stone," in whom, says St. Paul, "all the building, being framed together, groweth up into a holy temple in the Lord;"[8] finally "the Rock"—and "the Rock was Christ."[9]

It is very significant, therefore, that by this change of name Christ thus early in His public ministry marks out Peter specially for a participation in His own name and office.

As far back as the fifth century St. Leo brings out with much force and beauty of expression the relation established between Christ and Peter by this change of name. "While I am the inviolable Rock," he represents our Lord as saying, "the Corner-stone, who makes both one, the foundation beside which no one can lay another,

1 Gen. xvii., 19. 2 *Ibid.*, xxx., 18. 3 *Ibid.*, xxv., 25.
4 Exod. ii., 10. 5 Gen. xvii., 5. 6 Isa. xxviii., 16.
7 Ps. cxvii., 22. 8 Eph. ii., 21. 9 I. Cor. x., 4.

yet thou also art the rock, because by thy virtue thou art established so as to enjoy by participation the properties which are peculiar to Me."[1]

The promised change of name was actually made in the second year of our Lord's ministry, when He selected the twelve Apostles from the rest of His disciples. Then, as St. Mark tells us, "to Simon He gave the name of Peter,"[2] or *Rock*. From this time forward Peter is always named first in the enumeration of the Apostles.[3] No fixed order is observed in regard to the other Apostles, but St. Peter is ever afterwards, in the Gospels, consistently and always *the first*. St. Matthew calls him simply and absolutely 'the first.'[4] When the Evangelists refer to the whole Apostolic College they often do so by naming Peter only, and speaking of the others as "having been with him," a marked distinction which is given to no other Apostle. Recognising his pre-eminence, the angel at the sepulchre, on the first Easter Sunday morning, said to the women, "Go your way, tell His disciples and Peter."[5]

Special Promise to Cephas.—But it is when we come to the third year of our Lord's public ministry that we find the full meaning of the change of Simon's name to Peter, or Rock, and recognise the efficacious provision which Christ made for the unity, visibility, catholicity, and indefectibility of His Church. Before conferring great and extraordinary favours, our Lord was wont to prepare the minds of His hearers by a special promise of the future gift. The institution of Baptism and the Blessed Eucharist, as well as the sending of the Paraclete, will occur to the mind at once.

In the case of Peter and of the other Apostles we find that our Lord observed the same rule. Some *promises*

[1] Serm. iv. in *Natal. Ord.*, c. 2. [2] iii., 16.
[3] Matt. x., 2-5; Mark iii., 16-19; Luke vi., 14-17; Acts i., 13.
[4] Matt. x., 2. [5] Mark xvi., 7.

He made to all the Apostles in common, some to St. Peter alone. It will be useful to distinguish these promises, and again to distinguish the *promises* in each case, from their *fulfilment*. To do so more clearly let us follow the convenient arrangement of bringing together, in parallel columns, the *promises* made to Peter *separately*, and those made to all the Apostles *in common*, including Peter.

To Peter alone.	To the Apostles, including Peter.
1. "I say to thee, that thou art Peter; and upon this Rock I will build my Church."	
2. "And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."	
3. "And I will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."	
4. "And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth it shall be bound also in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth it shall be loosed also in heaven."—Matt. xvi., 18-19.	"Verily I say unto you, whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."—Matt. xviii., 18.

The use of the parallel columns brings out the fact clearly that four promises are here made to Peter, the fourth, only, of which was afterwards made to the Apostles conjointly with Peter. This fourth promise was subsequently fulfilled in favour of all the Apostles when, Peter being present, Christ appeared to them after His Resurrection and said to them, "Peace be to you: as the Father hath sent Me, I also send you. And when He had said this, He breathed on them, and saith unto them: Receive ye the Holy Ghost; whose sins you shall forgive, they are forgiven them; and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained."[1]

Besides this power over the mystical body of Christ, all the Apostles in common received at the Last Supper power to consecrate and offer the Blessed Eucharist. "This do for a commemoration of me"[2]—or power over

[1] John xx., 21-23. [2] I. Cor. xi., 25.

the natural Body of Christ. These two powers made up their Priesthood.

In addition they all received power to baptize, to administer all the other Sacraments, to teach, to secure obedience to their teaching, and to bind by laws and inflict censures—"Whatsoever ye shall bind," etc.; and to all was promised the presence and assistance of Christ in exercising their ministry; and these powers made up their Episcopate. The Apostolate, as distinguished from the Episcopate, included immediate institution by Christ—"As My Father sent Me, I send you," etc.—universal mission—"Go ye into all the world"—and personal infallibility.

But, in addition to these, which Peter shared with the other Apostles, there was conferred on him the further prerogative of being (1) the Rock on which, after Christ, the Church was to rest—"Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build My Church"; (2) the strong defence of the Church, so that not even "the gates of hell should prevail against it"; (3) the steward or guardian of Christ's Church, an office of which the Keys were the recognised symbol—"And I will give to thee the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven"; (4) the chief legislator, who, over and above the power given to all the Apostles, was specially empowered to "bind and to loose"; (5) the pastor of the whole flock, lambs and sheep—"Feed My lambs"; "Feed My sheep": (6) the confirmer of his brethren, so that Satan's assaults should not prevail against them:—

"And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have *you* that he may sift *you* as wheat. But I have prayed for *thee* that *thy* faith fail not; and *thou*, being once converted, confirm *thy* brethren."[1]

Thus we find that, in addition to the powers which Peter received in common with the other Apostles, he received distinct and plenary prerogatives which we maintain go to make up his Primacy or Supremacy.

[1] Luke xxii., 31-2.

The other Apostles were equal to him in regard to the powers of the Priesthood, and of the Episcopate, and of the Apostolate, but he was superior to them in the powers of the Primacy. For he received all the powers they received, and more in addition. His powers were to be exercised by one—their powers by many. His powers included theirs—theirs did not include his. He was the Head—they were a part of the body.

By the employment of parallel columns we have been able to indicate more clearly the *promises* made to Peter, exclusively, on the one hand; and, on the other, those made to all the Apostles, including Peter. A similar arrangement of texts will show at a glance the *powers* granted to St. Peter singly, and those granted to the Apostles and him collectively.

To all the Apostles, including Peter.	To Peter alone.
1. "This do for a commemoration of me."—I. Cor. xi., 24.	1. "Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not; and thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren."—Luke xxii., 31-32.
2. "Whose sins ye shall forgive they are forgiven unto them, and whose sins ye shall retain they are retained."—John xx., 23.	2. "Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He said to him the third time: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he had said to him the third time: Lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things, thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: Feed my sheep."—John xxi., 15, 16, 17.
3. "Teach ye all nations."—Matt. xxviii., 19.	
4. "Baptising them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."—Matt. xxviii., 19.	
5. "Lo, I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world."—Matt. xxviii., 20.	
6. "As the Father hath sent me, I also send you."—John xx., 21.	

Plain meaning of the Promise:—Peter the Foundation Rock.—The whole question then resolves itself into this—Did our Blessed Lord, in dealing with the constitution and future government of His Church, on the most solemn occasions, at different times, and in different places, using words of startling significance, mean anything at all by these magnificent promises and various powers, of which Peter alone was the recipient? Or, are these solemn and apparently creative words of His to be read only as an unmeaning enigma? Are we to suppose that He did not foresee that these words of His would prove a fruitful source of error to His Church, and a snare to innumerable souls? If He did not mean that they should be understood in their plain and obvious sense, would He have allowed His Church from the very beginning to entirely misunderstand the form of government which He established, and the centre of unity which He founded, and the source of perpetuity which He provided?

Let us, then, lay aside all subtleties of controversy and suppose that we were present when Christ spoke these words to Peter, and that our minds were unbiassed by any preconceived opinions, is there any of us who, after hearing these magnificent promises and witnessing their fulfilment, would not look on Peter as the one amongst the Apostles who was to be the strong foundation, the great high steward, the chief shepherd, the invincible guardian of the Church after Christ's ascension into heaven? The exigencies of controversy have led many to attempt to obscure our Lord's clear and momentous words to Peter, but these words will ever remain proof against the violent and unnatural torsions to which they have been subjected.

We shall now examine, in detail, the first text in which the *promise* of the Primacy is made to Peter.

"Thou art Peter (or Rock), and on this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The first question to be decided is—Who or what was the *rock* on which Christ here promises to build His Church?

We must remember that it was our Lord who had changed Simon's name to Peter, or Rock, and that the reason of the change is at once suggested in this verse. Again, it is well to know that in the language which our Lord spoke, the same word precisely is used in both clauses of the sentence, *i.e.*, for Peter and for Rock, so that the sentence would run: "Thou art Kepha, *i.e.* Rock, and on this Kepha I will build My Church." The same identity of terms occurs in the Syriac and other Eastern languages, as well as in the French language, in which *Pierre* signifies both Peter and Rock.

For a long time Protestant writers, rather than admit the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy, maintained that the rock on which Christ promised to build His Church was not Peter, but either Christ Himself, or the objective or subjective faith of Peter, or the body of the Apostles, or the whole body of the faithful.

Modern Criticism admits that Peter is the Rock.—But the more impartial criticism of modern times has compelled Protestants to abandon their former forced and contradictory interpretations, and to admit that the Rock on which Christ promised to build His Church is no other than Peter. If I quote the authority of Bloomfield, Marsh, Stanley, Meyer, Rosenmüller, Gerard, Thompson, Salmon, Weiss, Alford, Hammond, Bengel, and Whitby it will be sufficient, and save me the trouble of giving the names and statements of less eminent modern scholars.

Bishop Bloomfield (in a note on the text), alluding to the other interpretations considered and rejected by him, says:—

"Others again—and, indeed, almost every modern expositor of note—refer it to Peter himself; and with reason."

And again—

"Indeed, the first interpretation certainly (referring Petra to Christ), and the second *probably* (referring to Peter's confession) —however plausible—seem to have been forced upon the passage for the purpose of avoiding the difficulty thought to arise from taking it in its obvious sense, which is: Thou art by *name Rock* (*i.e.*, thy name means Rock), and suitable to that shall be thy work and office; for upon *thee*," etc.

Webster and Wilkinson, in their remarks on the text of St. Matthew, write thus:—

"The distinction between πέτρος (stone) and πέτρα (rock) is untenable, as no such distinctions existed in the Aramæan dialect, which our Lord used, and the language of which is best represented by the French version, in which the common and proper names are the same—que tu es Pierre, et que sur cette pierre je batirai," etc.[1]

Dr. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, observes:—

"But though it was easy to confute the argument of the Romish writers on this subject, both the Lutheran and Calvinist divines, from the very commencement of the reformation, had recourse to the uncritical expedient of torturing the words of our Saviour to a meaning which they cannot convey. . . . . And as the words of the Latin Vulgate, *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam,* were so interpreted by the Romish writers, as if that Church were the only Church to which the words applied, the Lutheran and Calvinist divines saw no other expedient of confuting their adversaries than by asserting that the latter part of the passage applied not to St. Peter at all."

Further on he adds:—

"It seems a desperate undertaking to prove that our Saviour alluded to any other person than to St. Peter; for the *words* of the passage can indicate no one else."[2]

Stanley (in his *Sermons and Essays* on the Apostolic Age, p. 118), writes:—

"That it was in consequence of the confession (of Peter), and in reference to it, that the name was bestowed, thus agreeing with the probable origin of the only other surname bestowed in like manner on any of the other Apostles (Luke ix., 54), there can be little doubt. But as the name Cephas has regard not merely to this particular act, but (John i., 42) to the general character, of which it was the expression, it seems certain that the words themselves (ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῇ πέτρᾳ) though occasioned by the confession, refer to Peter himself."

Alford, commenting on the text of St. Matthew, writes:—

"The name πέτρος (not now first given, but prophetically bestowed by our Lord on His first interview with Simon—John i.,

[1] Note in loc. [2] *Comparative View*, Appendix, Note D.

43) or Κηφᾶς signifies a Rock, the termination being only altered to suit the masculine appellation."[1]

Fuller, the most recent Anglican authority against the Catholic doctrine, has yet to make this most important admission:—

"It must be remembered," he writes, "that our Lord spoke in Aramaic, and that in that language the word for Peter and the word for rock are identical. Our Lord's words may be represented thus:—'Thou art Cepha, and upon this Cepha I will build My Church.'"[2]

And, again, pp. 121-3, the Dean of Westminster, commenting on our Lord's words, writes:—

"The Church . . . is represented as a house; not a temple so much as a beleaguered fortress, according to the figure frequently used by the prophets immediately before the captivity. . . . It is of this fortress . . . that Peter is to be the foundation-rock. *It was no longer to be reared on the literal rock of Zion, but on a living man.* . . . And against this new theocracy . . . *as so founded and supported* . . . it is declared that the gates of the grave shall not prevail. . . . The promise *is clear* that, vehement as may be the struggle for its very existence . . . which the . . . Church will have to maintain, yet *such will be the strength of Peter* that, through Christ's blessing, it will survive the shock triumphantly."

This is very valuable testimony, both because of its distinctness and because nothing but the plainest meaning of the Scripture text could induce a man of Dean Stanley's Low Church views to support the Petrine claims. Meyer is equally emphatic in his exposition of the text. He writes thus:—

"Thou art Peter, *petros*, appellative: thou art a rock. The form petros is also used by classical authors, and that not only in the sense of stone , . . but also of rock. But the gospels knew for the appellative only the form *petra*, and the consequent slight difference of form was absent only in the Aramaic original, in which the words were both times read Kepha. *And upon this rock.* The emphasis lies on *this*, pointing to Peter: on no other than upon this rock, *i.e.*, upon this rock nature which as the rock in the parable (vii. 24-5), could ensure the existence of the house, the continuance and cohesion of the new community. *I will build my Church.* The Primacy among the Apostles is here undoubtedly awarded to Peter. With this accords also his appearing first in the lists of the Apostles, and the actual superiority in which we find him throughout the New Testament in the circle of the Apostles."[3]

[1] Note in loc. [2] *Primitive Saints, etc.*, p. 108.

[3] *Kirtisch Exeg. Komm.* 1, pp. 333-4.

Rosenmüller, the German rationalist commentator, is very explicit:—"The rock," he says, "is neither the confession of Peter, nor Christ, pointing out Himself by His finger, or by a shake of the head (which interpretation the context does not admit), but Peter himself. The Lord, speaking in Syriac, used no diversity of name, but in both places said Cephas, as the French word *pierre* is said both of a proper and appellative noun. He pointed out Peter, therefore, either by His finger or nod; for the gesture suited His purpose, to explain the reason of giving him this name. So it is said of Abraham: 'Thy name shall be Abraham, because I have made thee father of many nations.' So Christ says: 'Thou art called by Me Peter, because thou wilt be a rock.' And He promises that He will build His Church on Peter. Allusion is made to the custom prevailing in Palestine of building houses, that are exposed to floods and whirlwinds, on a rocky soil, that they may be able to resist the violence of waters and winds (Matt. vii. 24-5). 'Therefore whosoever thinks of building a durable house, should above all look around for a rock, or firm ground: the rock is the first thing whence the work is to be begun.'" (*Scholia in Novum Test.*, tom. I., p. 336.)

Gerard, in his *Institutes of Biblical Criticism*, having laid it down as a canon (511) that "the most obvious and natural sense is to be set aside only when it is absolutely contradictory to something plainly taught in Scripture," goes on to say that "the opposite way has been taken by all the sects," and then gives as an illustration the very text with which we are dealing. "Building on Peter is explained by some," he says, "as contrary to the faith that Christ is the only foundation (I. Cor. iii., 11), and as favouring the succession of Peter and his successors; but the connexion shows that *Peter is here plainly meant.*"

Thompson, in his *Monatessaron*, having put aside two other interpretations, continues: "The third opinion is,

that both the words *petros* and *petra* are here used as appellatives of the Apostle; and, consequently, Peter was the rock on which Christ said His Church should be built. . . . There seems something forced in every other construction. Protestants have betrayed unnecessary fears, and have, therefore, used all *the hardihood of lawless criticism* in their attempts to reason away the Catholic interpretation."[1]

Dr. Salmon, in his work on *The Infallibility of the Church*, acknowledges that "it seems to him the most obvious and natural way of understanding our Lord's words to take them as conferring a personal honour in reward for that confession. Thy name I have called Rock: and on thee and on this confession of thine I will found My Church."[2]

Puller, in his *Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, is constrained to admit that the Catholic interpretation of St. Matthew's text is "decidedly the more common opinion, and the oldest."

I might quote to the same effect the authority of many more modern Protestant commentators, such as Kuinoel, Dodwell, Michaelis, Parkhurst, Bengel, Whitby, Hammond, S. Clarke, Lightfoot, and Fritzsche. Fritzsche's words are worth quoting for their very plainness and Catholic sense:—"Haud dubie hoc dicit Jesus: *tu es Petrus et in hac rupe* (quam Petri nomen portendit) *extruam coetus mei ædificium* (h.e. tu tam insignis eris doctor, ut mei coetus quasi columen futurus sis) *cui destruendo ne fortissima quidem vis par est futura.*" "Without doubt Jesus says this:—Thou art Peter, and upon this Rock (for Peter means Rock) I will erect the edifice of My Church, for the destruction of which not even the strongest power will prevail," etc. But I have given quite enough testimony

[1] Balt. Edit., p. 194. [2] P. 340.

to claim that the rock referred to is not to be identified with Christ.

The Fathers teach that Peter is the Rock.—I need not delay, then, in giving the practically unanimous testimony of the early Fathers and the traditional teaching of the Church, which identify Petros and petra, or Peter and the Rock, and declare that the Church was founded on him.

Tertullian, amongst others, teaches this twice; Origen, four times; St. Cyprian, nine times; St. Hilary, once; St. Ephraim, once; St. Gregory, Nyssa, once; St. Gregory, Nazianzen, three times; St. Basil, twice; St. Pacian, once; St. Epiphanius, twice; St. Ambrose, four times; St. Jerome, three times; St. Chrysostom, twice; St. Augustine, twice; St. Maximus, twice; St. Cyril of Alexandria, once; St. Leo, five times.

Nothing shows this moral unanimity of all the early writers more clearly than the avidity with which Protestant controversialists seize on and distort any passage of the Fathers which seems to contravene the common and Catholic interpretation. But we must remember that the Fathers frequently interpreted particular texts of Scripture, not in their literal, but in a secondary or accommodated sense, and attribute to the *meritorious* cause that which is literally true only of the *formal* cause. Hence we may find in one part of their writings the primary, and in another part a secondary sense of the same text or texts. In this way we can easily reconcile the passages from St. Cyril, St. Augustine, St. Jerome, St. Ambrose, and Origen which are usually relied on by our adversaries to minimise the force of the text of St. Matthew. These Fathers, in particular passages, interpret the *rock* of Christ as well they might, for Christ is, as St. Leo says, the fundamental and independent rock, while Peter is the secondary and dependent rock. But if these Fathers did not believe that

in its literal sense the *petra* or rock was identified with St. Peter, they never could have spoken of him as the rock foundation of the Church in such terms as we find them repeatedly using.

Indeed, St. Augustine is perhaps the only one amongst the Fathers who appears in two passages to interpret in a literal sense the *petra* or Rock of Christ. But against this we have the following facts:—1. That St. Augustine had previously interpreted the *petra* or rock literally of Peter. 2. That where he departs from the commonly received interpretation he gives not the traditional meaning of the text, but his own private interpretation. 3. That later in life, in what is sometimes incorrectly referred to as his "Retractations," St. Augustine gives expression to his doubts as to the correctness of his later opinion, and he leaves his readers to judge for themselves. "Harum autem duarum sententiarum quæ sit probabilior eligat lector": that is, let the reader choose whichever of the two opinions he reckons the more probable. 4. That St. Augustine's private opinion on the literal meaning of the text of St. Matthew counts for very little, as he was ignorant of Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic, and, therefore, as such well-known Protestant writers as Neander, Rosenmüller, and Kuinoel frankly admit, based his opinion on the distinction which appears in the Greek and Latin text between Petros, or Petrus, and petra. "Non enim," he writes, "dictum est illi, Tu es petra: sed, Tu es Petrus." (*L. Retract.* C. 21, n. 1.) If he had known the language in which our Lord spoke and St. Matthew wrote his Gospel, the difficulty would have at once been removed. For, as we have already observed, in the original the very same word Kepha is used both for Peter and for rock. "Thou art Kepha, and on this Kepha I will build my Church." 5. That, as far as the doctrine of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff was concerned, it had not, as we shall see hereafter, any more loyal or consistent advocate than St.

Augustine was. Thus there is an end to the difficulty arising out of St. Augustine's varying interpretation of the *petra* or rock, which has been put forward with much elaboration in a recent work of an Anglican parson whom his admirers and copyists delight to style "Father" Puller.

One would think that an Eastern Father who could testify against the Catholic interpretation of St. Matthew's text would be in evidence; that is, of course, supposing such a Father at all procurable. As against the quotation from St. Augustine, the value of which we learn from the saint's own lips, may we not set a couple of quotations from St. Ephrem, the great glory of the Eastern Church? He knew the language in which our Lord spoke the words to Peter, and this is his comment on the text:—

"But you, what say you of Me that I am? Simon, the head and chief, said: Thou art Christ the Son of the Living God. And he answered: Blessed art thou, Simon. And the gates of hell shall not conquer thee; *i.e.*, that his faith will not be destroyed. For what the Lord builds who can destroy, and what the Lord overthrows who can repair? The Assyrian wished to destroy the Temple which the Lord had built, but the Lord destroyed his throne. . . . When the Lord built His Church He built a tower *the foundations of which could support all that was to be built thereon.* . . . Thou art the rock, that rock which He raised for Satan to dash against. On the other hand, Satan wished to set this rock against the Lord for Him to strike against, when Peter said to the Lord: Far be it from Thee, O Lord," etc.[1]

Again:—

"Peter, who was called Cephas, and who received a testimony from the Great Pastor, that '*upon this Rock I will build My Church*,' by means of the Priesthood, received also 'the Keys of the Kingdom,' as worthy of them."[2]

Failing to procure an Eastern Father who would testify to the incorrectness of our interpretation of our Lord's words to Peter, perhaps the Ancient Liturgies of the Eastern Church may be of some service. And so they are, but in a very different sense, for they afford the strongest evidence to the Catholic doctrine. Here is their testimony. In the Syro-Chaldæan Liturgy we read:—

[1] *Evang. Concord*, pp. 153-154.

[2] *De Sacerd.*, Tom. iii., p. 434.

"Jesus, in the Gospel, said to Peter: *Thou art the Rock upon which My Church shall be built.*"[1]

"Blessed art thou, Simon, dispenser of the Divine Treasurer, who holdest the Keys of the Kingdom, *on whom the building of the Holy Church is placed. Thou art the Rock (Kipho) of firmness which the Lord has placed in the foundation of His Churches*, that those who work in thy ministry may build up a true confession of faith free from all doubt."[2]

"Sing, O Holy Church, praises in commemoration of *Peter, Head of the Apostles, upon whose faith Christ hath established thy foundations, and whom He constituted Head of His own Flock.*"[3]

In the ancient Syriac Liturgy we find the following passages:—

"Upon Simon Peter the Lord built His Church."[4]

The Church says: *"Upon that Rock of the household of Simon I am built up, and have nothing to fear."*[5]

"To Simon His Lord said: Thou art the Rock of strength, and upon thee I will found My Church."[6]

"The greatest blessing was given by our Saviour to Peter, Prince of the Apostles, *whom He constituted Foundation of the Church.*"[7]

And, in connection with these ancient Liturgies of the Eastern Church, it is interesting to note that in the very ancient Syriac version of the New Testament, known as the *Peschito*, which has been "in common use amongst the Syrians—Orthodox, Monophysite, or Nestorian—from the fifth century and onward,"[8] we have the words of St. Matthew thus—"ANATH CHIPHA VEHALL HADA CHIPHA." Here the corresponding word for πετρος and πετρα is the same, and it is to be remembered that some claim for this old Syriac version an antiquity going back to the second century.[9]

The Unanimous Consent of the Fathers.—I must ask your indulgence while I interrupt the course of the argu-

1 Sy.-Chald. Lit., in Off. Pet. et Paul, Noct. 2°, Cod. xli.

2 *Ibid.*, Noct. 1°. 3 *Ibid.* 4 Ed. Rom., 1853, p. 363.

5 In hora 1ma. Sabbati, *Ib.*, p. 409.

6 In Fest. Pet. et Paul, Noct. ii., Cod. lxiv., p. 141.

7 In Off. Fer. vi.°, Auri, 1ma. post Pent.

8 Smith, *Dict. Bib.*, Art. Versions.

9 See Allnatt's *Cathedra Petra*, pp. 6-7, where the above quotations from the Eastern Liturgies are found, the original Syriac and Syro-Chaldaic being given, he says, in the Appendix to Bp. David's work.

ment to notice a much more frivolous objection recently raised for the purpose of blocking the Scriptural and Patristic proofs, the urgency of which the objector foresaw and feared.

We are seriously told that Catholics are precluded from interpreting this text of St. Matthew in favour of the Roman Primacy, on the ground that we have not the unanimous consent of the Fathers in favour of our interpretation, and that we are forbidden by the Council of Trent to interpret any text of Scripture "save in accordance with the unanimous consent of the Fathers."

Then, with the confidence that accompanies superficial knowledge, the Vatican Council is set against the Council of Trent, as if they were at variance one with the other. In this fanciful difficulty we can easily recognise the deceptive diplomacy of our familiar friend, "the unanswered because unanswerable" Dr. Littledale, though, to do him justice, he does not stray so far from historical truth, at least in this instance, as some of his copyists do.

Would it be too much to ask those who copy Dr. Littledale to read the canons of the Council of Trent for themselves before they undertake to pronounce so dogmatically upon their meaning. It so happens that the Vatican Council is in perfect accord with the Council of Trent, each prohibiting the interpretation of Scripture "*contra unanimem consensum Patrum.*" The Council of Trent (Sess. IV.) decrees that no one . . . . shall in matters of faith or morals . . . dare to interpret the Sacred Scripture contrary to that sense which Holy Mother Church . . . hath held and doth hold; *or even contrary to the unanimous consent of the Fathers.*"

The Vatican Council (Sess. III., Cap. 2) decrees in precisely the same terms:—"That is to be regarded as the true sense of Scripture which Holy Mother Church hath held and doth hold . . . . and therefore it is not

lawful for anyone to interpret Sacred Scripture against this sense, or even *against the unanimous consent of the Fathers.*"

The Decree of the Council of Trent was directed against some men of restless disposition (*petulantia ingenia*), who held that it was lawful, in expounding Scripture, to propose a new interpretation at variance with the unanimous opinion of the Fathers, whenever such new interpretation agreed with the text, and did not contradict any defined doctrine.

Both Pallavicini and Sarpi state that this was the error condemned by the Council. Soon after the close of the Council, Pius IV., who himself had confirmed the decrees of the Council, and was not likely, therefore, to require anything inconsistent with their teaching, issued a form of Profession of Faith which was to be made by those entering on any ecclesiastical charge, or obtaining any academic degree. In this creed the positive side of the Decree of the Council of Trent is enforced in these words:—"Sacram Scripturam . . . admitto nec eam unquam nisi juxta unanimem consensum Patrum accipiam et interpretabor." "I admit the Holy Scripture . . . nor will I ever understand or interpret it except according to the unanimous consent of the holy Fathers."

But it is obvious that, before either the negative or the positive *norma* prescribed by the Council of Trent and the Profession of Faith of Pius IV. is violated, a unanimous consent of the Fathers must be present.

If this unanimous consent of the Fathers in the interpretation of Holy Scripture, and in any matter of faith or morals, be found to exist, then we must take their testimony, not as expressing individual opinions, but as reflecting the doctrine of the Church in the different periods to which they belonged. And as the Church is *infallible* in her doctrine in every age, we are bound to follow the unanimous consent of the Fathers in which it is reflected. But

if there be not a unanimous consent of the Fathers in a particular interpretation, and on a particular point of faith or morals, then Catholics, so far as the consent of the Fathers is concerned, are quite free to adopt such interpretation of any text of Scripture as may seem to them more probable.

I make no apology for having dwelt at such considerable length on this first erroneous interpretation, which identifies the *petra* or rock with Christ instead of with Peter, because its refutation practically disposes of the other erroneous interpretations which makes the *petra* or rock refer to the abstract faith of Peter, whether subjective or objective, or else to the body of the Apostles, or to the whole body of the faithful.

These *"forced"* interpretations, as Bloomfield styles them, are now generally abandoned by Protestant writers who make any claim to exegetical scholarship, and are, moreover, clearly excluded by the structure of the text itself. For in the text the same word Kepha or Rock is applied in the same context, connected with the copulative conjunction *"and,"* to Peter and to the Rock. Moreover, the same connecting particle *"and"* occurs not less than five times besides in the two verses under consideration, and in each of these—*"and* I say to thee,"—*"and* on this rock,"—*"and* the gates of hell,"—*"and* I will give to thee the keys," —*and* whatsoever thou shalt bind,"—*"and* whatsoever thou shalt loose,"—the reference is admittedly to Peter.

"And on THIS Rock."—Again the demonstrative pronoun *this* identifies the *petra* or rock with Peter. Christ does not say:—Thou art "Rock" and on *a* rock, or on *some* rock, but "on *this* rock I will build My Church." *This* rock must refer to the only rock of which there was question in the sentence, namely, Peter. Hence Meyer, probably the most eminent Protestant N. Test. scholar, writes:—"The evasion often taken advantage of in controversy with Rome—viz., that the rock means not Peter

himself, but the firm faith, and the confession of it on the part of the Apostle—is incorrect, since the demonstrative expression *'on this rock'* can only mean the Apostle himself." Finally the following words:—*and I will give to thee the keys*, etc., show that Peter must have been promised some previous distinction from Christ. But unless Peter was promised that he should become the rock foundation of Christ's Church, there was no favour conferred in the previous sentence.

To suppose, therefore, as some Protestant interpreters do, that in pronouncing these words:—*and on this rock I will build my Church*, Christ pointed to Himself, is, as Bloomfield admits, a wholly gratuitous supposition.

We may take it for granted, therefore, that Christ promised to constitute Peter as the rock foundation of His Church, and we have, then, next to enquire what this promise implies.

The language is metaphorical. But metaphorical language, so far from being less definite, is amongst all nations, and practically amongst Eastern nations, even more determinate in meaning than language that is not metaphorical. The foundation of a metaphor is some prominent quality which is common to two objects, and which therefore leads men to call one by the name of the other. Thus a lion has great strength and courage, and hence we are justified in calling a strong, brave man a lion. A fox, on the other hand, is reputed to be very cunning, and hence we call a crafty man a fox. These qualities of courage or of craft are brought out much more tersely and vividly by the use of the metaphor than by a long description given in unmetaphorical language.

Christ named Peter a rock, and said He would build His Church on that rock. The prominent qualities of a rock, when viewed as the foundation of a building, are strength and firmness in itself—immovable as a rock—and

the strength, unity, and endurance which it imparts to the superstructure. This is obvious from the common use of language, and is forcibly illustrated in the words of our Lord given in the 7th chapter of the Gospel of St. Matthew, where He tells of the wise man who built his house on a rock, and the rain fell and the floods came, and the winds blew and they beat on that house, and it fell not, for it was founded on a rock. On the other hand, the house built by the foolish man fell because it was built on sand.

Again, when we speak of a house built on a rock we imply not only that it will not fall, but that there will be no rent, fissure, or settlement which would weaken the house or expose it to the danger of falling.

We judge, too, of the strength and solidity of a house by the skill of the architect. If he be very eminent in his profession we know that he will lay the foundation securely, and watch over the superstructure with the greatest care.

Now let us apply these principles to the text. "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." Here, then, Peter is the rock, the symbol of strength, security, and durability. On Peter, as a foundation, Christ builds His Church so that it may participate in the firmness and solidity of its foundation. The Church so built is preserved, not only from utter ruin, but from injury by rain or wind or flood—that is, from every assault. Finally, the builder is no other than Christ Himself, whose work will endure for all time.

"The Gates of Hell."—We next come to the second clause of the first verse:—"And the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Here we have the result of the strength and stability and unity which the Church derives from her rock foundation. Our Blessed Lord frequently referred to the perils and conflicts in which His Church

was to be placed. At the very beginning of His public life He had encountered the prince of darkness, who is constantly represented in the New Testament as the great adversary of Christ and of His followers. By "the gates of hell," then, we must understand every agent and instrument employed by Satan for the ruin of souls. Therefore, St. Ambrose includes *sins*, St. Epiphanius *heresies*, St. Chrysostom *persecutions*, St. Leo *sinners* and *heretics*. Of old the strength of a city lay in its gates. Hence the gates are the symbol of power and of strength, and thus the Turkish power is designated "The Sublime Porte." At the gates, too, the councils of the citizens and the courts of justice were held. But the gates referred to in the text are "the gates of hell." They represent, therefore, the power and the craft of the visible and invisible enemies of Christ's Church on earth. In whatever way we render Hades, whether as *death* with some Protestant commentators, or *the nether world* with others, or *the hell of the wicked spirits*, the argument in favour of the Primacy of Peter and his successors will be fully established. The language is metaphorical, and whatever the literal meaning of *Hades* may be, its metaphorical meaning here is the perpetual conflict which is carried on against the Church by her most formidable visible and invisible foes.

In that conflict victory will lie with the Church because of her rock-built foundation. Peter, as we have seen, is that foundation. To say, therefore, that he is appointed to protect the Church of Christ against the incessant and powerful attacks of its enemies, to defend the faith, to safeguard morals, to recall sinners, punish schism and heresy, to provide for every want, and ward off every danger, is to proclaim his Primacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church.

"The Keys of the Kingdom."—The second prerogative given to Peter was promised in the following words:

—"And I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven."[1]

There can be no question that whatever power or authority is indicated by "the keys of the kingdom of heaven," is here promised to Peter, and to Peter alone. "I will give to *thee*." We have to enquire, then, what was symbolised by the *keys*. From the earliest times, and amongst all nations, keys have been regarded as the symbol of authority. The metaphorical use of the word *keys* occurs in at least seven passages of the Bible. In one of these (St. Luke xi., 52) there is reference to the "key of knowledge," which is emblematic of the authority that the lawyers usurped and exercised. In the five other passages, besides the text of St. Matthew, the term distinctly implies the possession of supreme authority. It will be enough to quote two of these passages. Speaking of the deposition of Sobna from his office or authority, and the substitution of Eliacim in his stead, God, through the prophet Isaias, says of the latter:—

"I will clothe him with thy robe . . . and will give power into his hand . . . and *I will lay the key of the house of David upon his shoulder;* and he shall open, and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open."—Isaias xxii., 21-22.

It is evident that the office to which Eliacim was to be chosen was one of very high authority. The prophecy predicting his election, and the phrases constantly used through it, are clear proof of this. He was to be clothed strengthened, invested with the *robe*, the *strength*, the *power* of his predecessor; he was to be a *father* to the inhabitants of Jerusalem and the house of Juda; he was to be for a *throne of glory* to the house of his father; he was to be the stay and support of others, from the least to the greatest. And this is the sort of authority that is symbolised by *the key*, the *key*, too, of *the house of David*, giving Eliacim great

[1] Mat. xvi., 19.

power over that people. The whole passage of Isaias has a remarkable resemblance to the text of St. Matthew.[1]

Again in the Apocalypse (i., 17-18) we read the following:—

"I am the first and the last, and alive and was dead, and behold I am living for ever and ever, and have *the keys of death and of hell.*"

It is Christ who speaks here, and by employing the metaphor of having the keys of death and of hell, He signifies His supreme power over both, having by His death and Resurrection vanquished both. He is thus represented in Scripture as the conqueror of Death and Hell.

The symbolical meaning of *the keys* is not confined to spiritual authority. Everyone knows that the legal possession of a house is given or surrendered by the delivery of the keys. When a chief steward is appointed to manage the household or business affairs of his master, his entry on the discharge of his office is indicated by the delivery of the keys. The surrender of a town or of a fortress is consummated by the governor or commander delivering up the keys to the general of the victorious army. Even still there is kept up the custom of presenting the keys of the city when the sovereign publicly enters it, and the ceremony is evidence of the symbolic meaning formerly attached to the keys as emblems of supreme authority. It is unnecessary to multiply examples, as the metaphorical meaning of the keys, especially among Oriental nations, is not questioned.

Assuming, then, that keys were a common symbol of power and authority, and that presenting keys was a form of investiture, of what kind of power or privilege is there question of in the case of St. Peter? "Of the whole administration of the Gospel and the dispensing the ordi-

[1] See Murray's *Essays*, Vol. iii., p. 339-44.

nances of it,"[1] answers Cruden. Clavis symbolum erat curæ et administrationis, *etiam summæ rerum potestatis.* Itaque verba nostra (Matt. xvi., 19) hoc sibi volunt: *"Committam tibi curam civitatis meæ, summam rerum in Ecclesia Mea,"* says Kuinoel. "The keys," writes Whitby, "is the power of making laws to govern Christ's Church."[2]

Peter, then, receives or is promised the keys of the kingdom of heaven. By "the kingdom of heaven" is understood in Scripture sometimes the kingdom of God's glory in heaven, sometimes the kingdom of His Church on earth, and sometimes the spiritual kingdom of grace in the souls of each of the just. Here, as is obvious from the context, and, indeed, as is generally admitted, it signifies the kingdom of Christ's Church on earth. Of this kingdom Peter receives the keys, is constituted the chief steward, and is made the chief ruler and watchful guardian. There is nothing in the words of our Lord to suggest any limit to this power, which is over the universal Church—the kingdom of Christ. "I will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of Heaven." The power is to last as long as that kingdom lasts, as long as there are souls to save; and it is to extend to every matter and cause that regard the interests of that kingdom. But what is this except to have conferred on him a primacy of jurisdiction over the universal Church?

"Binding and Loosing."—The third prerogative promised to St. Peter is contained in the remaining words of the texts I have quoted:—"And whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."

What we remark about this prerogative at first sight is its universality and its supremacy. Its universality is indicated by the word *whatsoever*, without any limitation as to

[1] See *Concord.* Word *keys.*

[2] Quoted by McCarthy. St. Matt. *in loc.*

persons, or subject matter, except such as is imposed by the nature of the power conferred. Its supremacy is indicated by the fact that all its decrees are ratified in heaven, and therefore, are not subject to any earthly power. It is therefore supreme, *in genere suo*, in its own sphere.

As to the extent of the power promised to Peter in these words there are three opinions. Some would limit it to the power of retaining and of forgiving sins, others to the power of declaring some things lawful and other things unlawful, and others finally binding men by laws, censures, penalties, or of dispensing from them—in a word, of legislating for the whole Church on all matters which affect the welfare of the whole body and of individuals. The third opinion is certainly much more consistent with the context, with Scriptural, Rabbinical, and profane usage. I need only quote the testimony of Bengel:—*Ligandi et solvendi* verbis comprehenduntur omnia ea, quæ Petrus in virtute nominis Jesu Christi et per fidem in illud nomen apostolica potestate gessit, docendo, prohibendo, permittendo, puniendo, remittendo."[1] In profane literature we find that the words translated *binding and loosing* have the same comprehensive meaning. Thus Josephus writes:—"But these Pharisees artfully insinuated themselves into her favour (Queen Alexandra's) by little and little, and became themselves the real administrators of the public affairs; they banished and brought back whom they pleased; *they bound and loosed* at their pleasure." On this passage of Josephus, Whiston, his translator, remarks:—"Here we have the oldest and most authentic Jewish exposition of binding and loosing, for punishing and absolving men, not for *declaring lawful or unlawful*, as some modern Jews and Christians vainly pretend."[2]

Here the context requires the most extended sense which the words will bear. That sense, as we have seen,

[1] *In loco;* quoted by McCarthy. [2] Jos. B.J.I. 52.

includes legislating, as well as providing, in various other ways, for the welfare of the Church, and consequently includes supreme authority or Primacy of jurisdiction over the entire Church.

I have limited the proofs derived from *the power of the keys*, and from *the power of binding and loosing*, within the narrowest compass. Time will not allow even a cursory view of the remaining texts from which the Primacy of Peter and his successors is proved. We shall, therefore, devote the next lecture to a consideration of the further proofs which the Holy Scriptures give in support of the Catholic doctrine. The more thoroughly we examine the grounds on which that doctrine rests, the warmer will be our devotion, and the more unshrinking our loyalty to the Supreme Pastor who sits on Peter's chair, and rules with Peter's authority.

CHAPTER XVI.

SCRIPTURE PROOF CONTINUED.

Fulfilment of the Promise:—Luke xxii., 31-32, John xxi., 14-17. Acts i.-xii.

(Fourth Lecture.)

Recapitulation.—Last Sunday evening we considered the *promises* made by our Blessed Lord, on the one hand, to Peter separately and specially, and on the other, to all the Apostles collectively—Peter included. We have seen that, over and above the promises made to all the Apostles, (1) Peter was to be the rock foundation on which the Church of Christ was to be built; (2) he was to communicate to the Church so built such unity and perpetuity that the gates of hell, representing its visible and invisible enemies, should never prevail against it; (3) that he was to obtain the Keys of Christ's Kingdom on earth, and with its Keys all the plenary powers which they symbolised in regard to the whole Church; (4) that he was to possess the power of binding and loosing to such an extent that his decrees and his prohibitions, his punishments and his pardons, would be ratified in heaven.

It is true that this last-named power or prerogative was subsequently promised to all the Apostles, including Peter. But the previous special privilege granted to Peter was not invalidated by a subsequent extension of a part of the same privilege to all the Apostles. All the Apostles received a commission to preach the gospel to every creature, beginning with Jerusalem and Samaria, unto the utmost bounds of the earth. But this general commission

did not prevent St. Paul from claiming to be, in a special sense, the Apostle of the Gentiles; nor did it interfere with Saul and Barnabas being separated from the rest, by direction of the Holy Ghost, for the work whereunto they were called.[1] This distinction between the special power of "binding and loosing" conferred on Peter and the general power, similar in kind, but different in degree, granted to all the Apostles collectively, attracted the attention of Origen in the third century. "What," he writes, "was before granted to Peter seems to have been granted to all; but as something peculiarly excellent was to be granted to Peter, it was given singly to him."[2] Thus instead of three, we have, in reality, four distinct and special promises of power and authority made to Peter, so that the whole Church, from its foundation to the highest exercise of its jurisdiction, should be dependent on him.

Each of these four regulations, viz., of *rock foundation*, of *unconquerable defender*, of *key-bearer*, and of *legislator*, points unmistakably to the Primacy of Peter, and to the unfailing unity and perpetuity which that Primacy was to secure to the Church of Christ.

The Primacy as a factor in European history.—Many who have looked at the Catholic Church only from the outside, and not as members of the household of faith, have been deeply impressed with this unity which she derives from Peter's Primacy. "If there is one thing," says Matthew Arnold, "specially alien to religion, it is divisions; if there is one thing specially native to religion, it is peace and union. Hence the original attraction towards unity in Rome, and hence the great charm for men's minds of that unity when once attained. I persist in thinking that Catholicism has, from this superiority, a great future before it; that it will endure while all Protestant sects dissolve and perish."[3] In the same strain

[1] Acts xiii., 2. [2] Com. in Matt., T. iii., p. 612.

[3] Quoted by Lyons, *Christianity and Infallibility*, p. 64.

Mallock, after observing of Protestantism that "criticism has washed away, like sand, every vestige of its supernatural foundation," writes as follows of the foundation and framework of the Catholic Church:—"With so singular a firmness and flexibility is her frame knit together, that none of her modern enemies can get any lasting hold on her, or dismember her, or dislocate her limbs on the racks of their criticism.[1] "We, Protestants as we are," says another Protestant writer, speaking of the Catholic Church, "when we take in view this wondrous edifice, from its base to its summit, must acknowledge that we never beheld a system which, the foundations once laid, is laid upon such certain, secure principles; whose structure displays in its minutest details so much art, penetration, and consistency, and whose plan is so proof against the severest criticism of the most profound science."[2] Referring to the assaults which the Catholic Church has withstood, though not recognising the secret of her success, Lord Macaulay writes:—"Four times since the authority of the Church of Rome was established in Western Christendom has the human intellect risen up against her yoke. Twice that Church remained completely victorious. Twice she came forth from the conflict bearing the marks of cruel wounds, but with the *principle* of life still strong within her. When we reflect on the tremendous assaults she has survived, we find it difficult to conceive in what way she is to perish."[3]

And Ischakert bears like testimony. "When the flood of barbarian irruption," he writes, "began to sweep away the social and political framework, the Roman chair alone stood firm as a rock in the sea. Odoacer, Alaric, Attila, Theodoric—they came and went; but the See of Rome, besides standing firm as the rock of the Christian Church,

[1] *Is Life Worth Living?* c. xii., pp. 308-17.

[2] *Marheineke Symbolik*, p. 705—quoted by Lyons, *Ibid.*

[3] *Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes.*

also became the harbour and refuge of Greek and Roman culture. Add to this, that in all dogmatic controversies the Roman bishop, with the shrewd practical sense of the Romans, has generally known how to keep the golden mean. When Athanasius was persecuted in the East he found support in Rome, and the Council of Chalcedon was simply building dogmas upon the mind and thoughts of Leo."[1]

These writers bear witness to the effect, yet fail to recognise the Church's rock foundation as the cause, of what seems to them so inexplicable an enigma.

"Without Rome," says still another Protestant writer, "it would have been impossible to rear our mediæval culture upon the ruins of the Old World. The Church would have been splintered up into so many national Churches, and Christianity would have been still further paganised."[2]

If these writers would only take into account the promises made to Peter regarding the unity and indefectibility of the Church, as founded on him, they would find an easy and rational explanation of a phenomenon which, without that key, must ever seem so strange and so perplexing.

But the explanation is at hand if we remember that, in order that His Church should be *one* through all time, He built it on *one* person, to *one* He gave the keys of His kingdom, for *one* He prayed that his faith should not fail, and to *one* He committed the care of His whole flock—lambs and sheep. In a word, as Christ's Church was to have one earthly, as well as heavenly rock foundation, so also was it to have *one* visible head and *one* centre of unity. The words of Leibnitz will bear repetition:—"It was necessary . . . . that one among the Apostles, and the successor of one among the bishops, should be invested with pre-eminent power, in order that by him, as the visible centre of unity, the body of the Church might be bound together;

[1] P. 48. [2] *Loos. Theol. Leit. Zeit.*, 1817, No. 8.

the common necessities be provided for; a Council if necessary be convoked, and, when convoked, directed; and that, in the interval between Councils, provision might be made lest the commonwealth of the faithful sustain any injury." *(Syst. Theol.)*.

The Primacy of the Holy See is, as Moehler well expresses the idea, only "the personified reflection of the unity of the whole Church." And the unity of the whole Church is, as St. Cyprian insists on so strongly in his treatise, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, a reflection of the unity of the Three Persons of the Most Holy Trinity:—"The Lord says: I and the Father are one. And again, of the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit it is written: And these three are one. And does anybody believe that this unity, coming from the divine solidity, cohering by means of heavenly sacraments, can possibly be divided in the Church, and divorced by the collision of wills?" And again: "He cannot have God for his Father who has not the Church for his mother." And again: "Unity cannot be severed, nor the one body be divided by disintegration of its structure" (*discidio compaginis*). A type of that unity is found in the seamless garment of our Lord, which even the Roman soldiers respected. But St. Cyprian is not content with pointing out the unity of the Church; he is very precise in insisting on the source of this unity:—"The Lord saith unto Peter: Thou art Peter, etc. Upon him, being one, He builds His Church." . . "In order to manifest unity, he has, by his own authority, so placed the *source* of the same unity as to begin from one." "He who holds not this unity of the Church, does he think that he holds the faith?" "As when many streams flow down from one source . . . unity is preserved in the source itself; cut the stream from the fountain, the remnant will be dried up." "The Church pours abroad her beautiful streams, etc. Yet there is one Head, one Source, one Mother, abundant in the results of her fruitfulness." And in his

Epistles St. Cyprian's language is not less clear or explicit: —"There is one God, and one Christ, and one Church, and one Chair founded upon the rock (*super petram*) by the voice of the Lord." That Church and that Chair of Peter is "the principal Church, from which the unity of the priesthood took its rise." "It is the root and womb (*radix et matrix*) of the Catholic Church." (*Epist.* xl., lv., xlv.)

The Promises of Christ must needs be fulfilled.—Here we might stop, as far as the sufficiency of our argument is concerned. If, as we have shown, Christ promised a Primacy of jurisdiction to St. Peter, that promise was surely fulfilled. "Whatsoever He hath promised, He is able also to perform" (Rom. iv., 21). And if that promise was fulfilled, so far as it regarded the constitution of Christ's Church, it affected not only Peter, but that unbroken line of successors in the Roman See who were to bear the same relation to the Church that he bore.

For, first, Peter was, as we have seen, constituted by Christ the immovable foundation and insuperable defence of the Church, so that not even the united and deadliest assaults of her enemies will overcome her. They may, of course, prevail against individual members or separate parts of the Church, but not against the Church itself. But the appointment to such an office brings with it, by its very nature, supreme authority to provide for the stability, unity, and perpetuity of the Church. The Church of Christ is a spiritual society which is sustained and perpetuated by the profession of the true faith, by the observance of God's law, and by subjection to legitimate authority. He, therefore, who is appointed to support, to consolidate, to unite the Church, and to make it victorious over its enemies, must have power to adopt the means that are necessary to attain these ends. To preserve the faith of the Church, which is her very life, he must have power to teach with authority. To safeguard morals within the

Church, he must have power to legislate with such sanctions as will be ratified in heaven; and to preserve discipline, he must exercise a coercive authority over all the members of the Church. Hence the conclusion is inevitable that St. Peter was appointed supreme Teacher, Pastor, and Ruler of the Church, and this is only saying in other words that he received from Christ a Primacy of jurisdiction over all the faithful.

Secondly, without any additional proofs beyond those already given, it follows that the Primacy first given to St. Peter was not to cease either after the admission of the Gentiles into the Church or after Peter's death, but was to remain permanently in the Church. For the Church itself was to remain to the end of time. Whatever, therefore, formed a part of the constitution of the Church, must have the same perpetuity as the Church. What God has joined together no man has power to separate. And as the rock on which a material edifice rests is necessary for the permanence of the structure, so the moral rock of a moral edifice, which is to last for ever, must be as enduring as that edifice which it sustains. Again, to the end of the world the gates of hell shall war against the Church. To the end of the world, therefore, shall the Rock, according to Christ's promise, secure victory in the continued conflict.

Finally, Peter was made the Rock of the Church, not for his own benefit, but to secure the unity and for the general benefit of the Church. This is obvious from the words of our Lord: "Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build my Church." Christ was contemplating the building of His Church, His *one* Church—"My Church"—and it was in connection with this work, which was to last through all time, that He appointed Peter to an office which, as has been shown, involved the prerogatives and the duties of the Primacy. The Primacy of Peter, therefore, must ever remain in the Church. This serves to

explain the meaning of those expressions which are to be met with so frequently in the decrees of Councils and in the writings of the Fathers, such as "Peter lives in his See"; "Peter speaks by the mouth of Leo"; "Where Peter is, there is the Church," etc.

If, then, the Primacy of Peter continues in the Church, it is unnecessary to prove that it exists in the Roman See. No other See ever claimed it. In all the controversies that have taken place, baseless and preposterous as many of the statements made have been, no controversialist ever yet claimed that Peter's Primacy has descended through any other line of successors than the Roman Pontiffs.

Hence, if Peter obtained the Primacy of jurisdiction, and if that Primacy was not temporary, but perpetual, we need no further proofs than those contained in the promises made to Peter in the 16th chapter of St. Matthew, to establish the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

But it will be both instructive and interesting to carry our enquiry some steps further, and to observe the fulfilment of these promises in Scripture, in the exercise of Peter's Primacy during the lifetime of the Apostles, and in the subsequent history of the Church.

Proof from Luke xxii., 31-32.—The twenty-second chapter of the Gospel of St. Luke contains these words:—"And the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee that thy faith fail not: and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren."

The chapter opens with the account of the Last Supper (1-20), the prediction of the betrayal of Judas follows (21-3), then mention is made that there was a strife amongst the Apostles as to which of them should seem to be greater. Our Lord corrects their worldly ideas, and places before them the Christian principle of humility, enforced by His own example (24-27). He next announces to them that he

was about making them rulers of His kingdom on earth: "And I dispose to you, as my Father hath disposed to me, a kingdom." (28-30.)

But the rulers of that kingdom, far from glorying in their high position, should walk in humility and fear, for they were to be surrounded by watchful, powerful, and implacable enemies.

Still, the Apostles need not despair. The kingdom of Christ's Church was to last to the end of time notwithstanding the opposition it should always encounter. He was about to appoint a supreme ruler of His Church, one whose faith would be indefectible, and whose duty it would be to confirm his brethren, so that they, too, and those whom they represented, should be sound in faith and secure against the assaults of his and their adversary. Hence, singling out Peter, "the Lord said: Simon, Simon, behold Satan hath desired to have you (all) that he may sift you as wheat. But I have prayed for thee (singular number) that thy faith fail not, and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren."

Satan's seeming victory was near at hand. He would soon strike the shepherd, and the sheep would be scattered. That would be his hour and the hour of darkness. Many would be scandalised in the passion and death of Christ. But even in that hour of darkness a light is made to shine on the Apostles, and their question as to precedence is answered, and their position in Christ's kingdom is regulated, and the permanence of that kingdom is assured by the provision which Christ here makes with respect to its supreme ruler. Satan seeks the utter ruin of the Apostles and of the Church of Christ. "Satan hath desired to have you." He tries to have them under his feet, as the corn was placed under the hoofs of oxen to separate the grain from the stalk. But, to avert this threatened ruin, Christ does two things—(1) He prays with

an efficacious prayer for the faith of Peter that it may never fail; "but I have prayed for thee"; and (2) He appoints Peter to the office of confirming his brethren against the assaults from which they should never be entirely free. "And thou, being once converted, confirm thy brethren." As long, therefore, as these assaults continued, so long should Peter's office continue for safeguarding the faith and general welfare of the Church. But the institution of such an office involved the Primacy of Peter. For it involved the right and duty of confirming, strengthening, and consolidating the Church—pastors and people—against her spiritual enemies. To do this he should teach the true faith, and condemn false doctrine. He should enact wise laws, select worthy pastors, and punish wrong-doers. But this is only another form of words for expressing the Primacy of jurisdiction with which he was invested. The office, too, should last in the Church as long as Satan should continue to seek the ruin of the Apostles, and the indefectible faith of the Chief Pastor be needed for the confirmation of the brethren—that is, as long as the world lasts.

The parallelism between this text and that of St. Matthew (xvi., 18), of which it is the complement, is very striking. In the texts of St. Matthew "the gates of hell" are represented as warring against the Church; here Satan is exhibited as seeking the utter overthrow of the Apostles. There Christ promises that Peter will become the *rock* from which the Church will derive strength and unity; here, He prays efficaciously that Peter's faith may never fail. There the safety of the Church is provided for by being built on its rock foundation; here the safety of the "brethren" is to be secured and confirmed by Peter's indefectible faith.

By the "brethren" we are to understand the Apostles themselves, and, for an *a fortiori* reason, the other Pastors

of the Church: all those whom Satan desired "to have" and "to sift as wheat."

Proof from John xxi., 14-17.—"This is now the third time that Jesus was manifested to his disciples, after he was risen from the dead. When, therefore, they had dined, Jesus saith to Simon Peter: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me more than these? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him again: Simon, son of John, lovest thou me? He saith to him: Yea, Lord, thou knowest that I love thee. He saith to him: Feed my lambs. He saith to him the third time: Simon, *son* of John, lovest thou me? Peter was grieved, because he had said to him the third time, Lovest thou me? And he said to him: Lord, thou knowest all things: thou knowest that I love thee. He said to him: Feed my sheep."[1] The Beloved Disciple had recorded the promised change of Simon's name to Peter or Rock; but as he had not recorded the promise of the Primacy related by St. Matthew,[2] or the fulfilment of that promise, suspended as it was in its operation pending Peter's conversion, as given in St. Luke,[3] he here supplies, as was his wont, what had been omitted by the other Evangelists, namely, the final, absolute, and complete appointment of St. Peter to the Primacy of honour and of jurisdiction, or to the office of feeding, ruling, and protecting the whole flock of Christ, sheep as well as lambs.

(1) Regarding this text of St. John a few preliminary observations will be useful. It is manifest that the words of our Lord are addressed to Peter personally and exclusively:—"Simon, *son* of John, lovest *thou* me?" For (*a*) Christ mentions Peter by his own name, and by the name of his father, and even distinguishes him from all the other Apostles by demanding of him greater love:—"Lovest thou me more than these?" But the commission

[1] St. John xxi., 14-17. [2] xvi., 18-19. [3] xxii., 31-2.

to feed and rule the flock was unquestionably given to him from whom Christ demanded greater love. (*b*) Amongst the Apostles present on this occasion was the Beloved Disciple, St. John. They were almost still within the shadow of the supper-room, where St. John had received such deathless token of his Master's love when he was permitted to lay his head on His bosom, till he must have heard the pulsation of the tormented Heart; and the shadow, too, of Calvary was still upon them, and our Lord must have remembered the undaunted loyalty of the brave Apostle who had followed Him along the *Via Dolorosa*, whilst Peter had forsaken Him in the face of danger. That very morning John had given proof how inseparably his heart was united with his master's. "When the morning was come, Jesus stood on the shore: yet the disciples knew not that it was Jesus."[1] But the Evangelist tells us that "the disciple whom Jesus loved" at once recognised Him, "and said to Peter: It is the Lord."[2] Yet, notwithstanding all these proofs of mutual love, it was to Peter, and not to John, that the charge was given. (*c*) St. Cyril and St. Augustine say that St. Peter was three times interrogated regarding his love, in order that by his threefold profession he might make amends for his threefold denial. And as the denial was peculiar to Peter, so, too, was the threefold profession of love demanded of him, before the threefold commission was given him to feed and rule the flock of Christ. (*d*) We are told that Peter was grieved when asked a third time if he loved Christ. But as this grief and the motive of it were personal in Peter's case, so, also, was the commission which was given after this exhibition of grief and of love. (*e*) Again, our Lord's words, "Feed my lambs, feed my sheep," were addressed to him whose martyrdom was foretold in the next verse:—"But when thou shalt be old, thou shalt stretch out thy hands, and another shall gird thee."[3] But this prophecy regarded Peter personally, as was proved by the event of his crucifixion.

[1] John xxi., 4. [2] John xxi., 5. [3] John xxi., 18.

(2) We may also notice that there are some slight differences between the Vulgate and the Greek text. Thus, while the Vulgate has lambs in the first and second charge to Peter, and sheep in the third, the Greek text has *lambs* in the first and *sheep* in the second and third commission given to Peter. But, from a doctrinal point of view, it is obvious that the meaning is the same in either rendering. Again, the word *feed,* which occurs three times in our translation from the Vulgate, represents two different Greek verbs, one signifying *to feed*, but the other much stronger, and signifying "to shepherd," "to tend as a shepherd," or "to discharge the duties of a shepherd." However, when used in a metaphorical sense in the same context, and with reference to the same object, it is manifest that both verbs are synonymous, or, at least, that we are to retain the signification of the stronger.

(3) It is sufficiently obvious that by *my lambs* and *my sheep* we are to understand all those who belonged, or were to belong, to the fold of Christ's Church. And "Other sheep I have that are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd."[1] All, therefore, who were to be included in the one fold, and ruled by the one pastor, are identified with the sheep and lambs committed to St. Peter's care. It is not at all necessary to insist on the distinction between the *lambs* and the *sheep* which are mentioned in the text to show that Christ included all—the weak and the strong, the young and the old, the ruled and the rulers of His Church. Still, we can hardly suppose that the distinction was made without a meaning. But, from a doctrinal point of view, the argument would be quite conclusive, even if only the one word, whether *lambs* or *sheep*, were used in each of the threefold charges given to Peter. As a matter of fact, the rulers of the Church, as well as the ruled, are designated in Scripture as *lambs*. "Behold, I send you as lambs among wolves."[2]

[1] John x., 16. [2] Luke x., 3.

Meaning of Metaphor "to Shepherd."—We have next to inquire what is meant by the metaphor of *feeding* the lambs and sheep. There is perhaps no metaphor more common in Scripture than that of *feeding*, or *tending*, or *acting as a shepherd towards* men. In a few instances it is used with a restricted meaning, as in Jeremias iii., 15, where it is said—"And I will give you pastors according to my own heart, and they shall feed you with knowledge and doctrine." There it indicates specially authority in teaching. But when the metaphor is used, as here, without any restriction, it always means *to rule with authority*. I select a few examples from the Old and from the New Testament. With reference to David we read, in the 2nd Book of Kings—"And the Lord said to thee:—Thou shalt *feed* (ποιμανεῖς) my people Israel, and thou shalt be prince over Israel." And, again, in Psalm lxxvii., 70—"He chose his servant David, and took him from the flocks of sheep . . . *to feed* (ποιμαίνειν) Jacob his servant, and Israel his inheritance; and he *fed* (ἐποίμανεν) them in the innocence of his heart." In the New Testament we read—"Take heed to yourselves and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath placed you bishops to rule the Church (ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν) of God."—Acts xx., 28. And in I. Peter v., 2—"*Feed* (ποιμάνατε) the flock of God among you, taking care [of it], not by constraint, but willingly." And in the Apocalypse xii., 5—"And she brought forth a man-child who was to *rule* (ποιμαίνειν) (so in the Revised Version) all nations with an iron rod." But it is unnecessary to multiply quotations, for throughout both the Old and the New Testament the authority of God Himself over men, the authority of kings, and of prophets raised up by God, is constantly indicated by this metaphor. Nor is the metaphor of *feeding, acting as a shepherd*, confined to scriptural usage. The classical student will remember that in the language of Homer, which comes nearest to the language of the Old Testament, the metaphor is repeatedly

found. The Grecian leaders, Agamemnon, Menelaus, Achilles, Hector, and Nestor, are represented as the "shepherds of the people," to such an extent, indeed, that ποιμήν, *a shepherd*, is, by the expositors of Homer, regarded as equivalent to Βασιλεύς, a king. We may adopt, then, the language of Arnold,[1] and say that "this term of 'feeding as the shepherd feeds his flock' is one of the oldest and most universal metaphors to express a *supreme* and, at the same time, a beneficent government." When, therefore, Christ committed to St. Peter the duty of feeding His *lambs* and *sheep*, He committed to him the office of ruling them with authority. This office was, as we have seen, to be exercised over the whole flock of Christ—that is, over His whole Church—pastors and people. It was to embrace, in a spiritual sense, all the duties which the shepherd discharges towards his sheep—namely, leading them to wholesome, and withdrawing them from noxious pastures, keeping them under his own observation, or under the observation of others who should act in his stead, guarding them against the attacks of thieves and wolves, bringing back those that may have strayed from the flock, and healing those that may have received injury.

But if St. Peter was appointed to supply wholesome pasture to the whole Church, and to preserve it from dangerous doctrine, to watch over, and to rule the entire flock, to correct, to restrain, and to restore to the fold those that had strayed from it, he was invested by Christ with supreme authority over His Church, or, in other words, he received from Christ a Primacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church.

We have had St. Augustine quoted against Peter being the rock foundation of the Church; let us hear what he says regarding this text, which is the actual fulfilment of the promise made in St. Matthew:—"For also Peter

[1] *Fragment of the Church*, etc., p. 26.

himself, to whom He commends his sheep *as another self* (actually admitting in clearest terms that St. Peter was the Vicar of Christ on earth), He wished to make one with Himself, that so He might commend the sheep to him: that *he might be the head*, he bear the figure of the Body, that is, of the Church, and as husband and wife be two in one flesh."[1] It is unnecessary to call attention to the very wonderful simile of husband and wife that St. Augustine made use of to illustrate the relation of Peter to the Church of Christ. What more could the most outspoken Ultramontane claim for Peter than that he was *Christ's other self*, that he was *one with Christ*, that he was the *head*, and bore the *figure* of the Church, of which, like His Divine Master, St. Augustine represents him as spouse? Granted that the rock means, primarily, our Lord, surely St. Peter must be "another rock" in the mind of St. Augustine, if he is, as the saint contends, "the other self" of his Lord. Language has no meaning if this is not the fullest and most complete declaration of the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy of Peter, and we shall see hereafter that St. Augustine claims for the successors of St. Peter all the privileges he recognises as belonging of right to St. Peter himself.

St. Peter rebuked by our Lord.—Some difficulties have been raised, not regarding the proofs I have given, but regarding the proposition which I have undertaken to establish. Two of these, as they are founded on the same principle, may be considered together. One is derived from the words of our Lord to St. Peter (Matt. xvi., 22-3): "And Peter, taking him, began to rebuke him, saying: Lord, be it far from thee: this shall not be unto thee. Who, turning, said to Peter: Go behind me, satan, thou art a stumbling-block unto me: for thou savourest (or mindest) not the things of God, but the things of men." The second is found in St. Paul's Epistle to the Galatians,

[1] Sermo. 46.

where the Apostle of the Gentiles tells us that he withstood Cephas, to his face, because he was to be blamed.[1]

In regard to this class of difficulties I may repeat the words of an eminent commentator on St. Matthew's Gospel. He declares that it is characteristic of Protestant writers to find fault with nearly every person named in the New Testament. "I cannot suggest a reasonable motive," he adds, "for this censorious spirit, but the fact is no less true. I need but allude to what Protestant commentators, almost without exception, say of the Blessed Virgin, St. John the Baptist, St. Peter," etc.[2]

Now, Anglicans, as well as Catholics, admit that St. Peter was a priest, a bishop, and an Apostle; therefore, whatever difficulties of this class they raise against his Primacy tell just as much against his undoubted Apostolate, and, as Anglicans profess to believe in the latter, they are bound by every obligation of conscience to try to answer their own difficulties against it.

In regard, then, to the first of the objections referred to, it is quite sufficient for us to answer that, as St. Peter had not as yet received the Primacy, but only the Apostolate, it is for Anglicans to lay the phantom which they have raised.

But even if St. Peter had at the time *received* the Primacy there would be no difficulty. We know that at a much later time, and up to the descent of the Holy Ghost, the Apostles were dull of comprehension regarding the spiritual nature of our Lord's kingdom on earth.[3] Peter is here corrected, and, we may say, without difficulty, reproved by his Master for what St. Jerome calls his too loving, but human, affection for his Lord. We need not, as some Protestant commentators do, take the clause to be referred, not to Peter, but to Satan, as present in men,

[1] *Gal.* ii., 11. [2] McCarthy *Ep. and Gosp. of the Sundays*, p. 430.
[3] See, *inter alia*, Luke xxii., 24.

and tempting them to evil.[1] It will be enough to remember that *satanas*, or "satan," is a Hebrew word signifying *adversary*, and is found in this sense in the Septuagint,[2] and, according to Schleusner, is applied even to those who, with a good or humane purpose, oppose the designs of others, as in this passage. That this is the meaning here is evident from the subsequent words of our Lord:—"Thou art a scandal"—*i.e.*, hindrance to me. "If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross and follow me."

Calvin, in words which I forbear quoting, says that any other name but *Satan* would be too mild an appellation for Peter, and when Protestants insist, as some of them do, that the same words are applied to Peter here as to Satan in chapter iv. of St. Matthew, Catholics may well ask them:—If their interpretation of the text be the correct one, what had St. Peter done to draw down such awful malediction from his Master? Did not, as St. Jerome says, the strong expostulation which he had just made proceed from the most intensive love of his Master? And do not some Protestant commentators, such as Grotius, see in it nothing but a mere explanatory phrase—"May it not be"; while other Protestant commentators, such as Fritzsche, consider it an earnest, loving prayer—"This, I pray and hope, may never be."

St. Peter resisted by St. Paul.—As to St. Paul's *resistance*[3] to St. Peter, let it be borne in mind that they were both Apostles, both personally infallible, as Protestants commonly admit, and, therefore, the difficulty, such as it is, will lie more against the Apostolate than against the Primacy of St. Peter. As far as the Primacy is concerned there is no real difficulty, unless we suppose that it is never lawful for an inferior to correct or admonish a

[1] *Robinson's Lexicon, in loc.*

[2] III. Kings xi., 14, 23, 25.

[3] Gal. ii., 11.

superior. But surely such is not the case. There are circumstances in which a child may admonish a parent, a servant his master, a subject his ruler, a parishioner his pastor, a priest his bishop, and a cardinal the Pope. Ecclesiastical history supplies several illustrations where bishops wrote strong letters of admonition to Popes without abating an iota of belief in their primacy or of reverence for their office. We have already seen how St. Irenæus wrote to Pope St. Victor, and the earnest expostulations of St. Bernard to Eugene III., and the strong remonstrance of the great English bishop, Grosseteste, are familiar to many of you. And I need not remind you how these expostulations are couched in terms of the most filial love and devoted loyalty to the Supreme Pontiff.

I am answering the difficulty on the supposition that the Cephas, or Peter, mentioned by St. Paul, was the Apostle Peter, though some of the ablest commentators deny this.[1] But if we attend to the circumstances in which the correction was given we shall find that, instead of being opposed to, it was really confirmatory of, St. Peter's Primacy. Amongst the Galatians there were some teachers who industriously spread amongst the people that St. Paul was not a true Apostle, and that his teaching differed from that of the true Apostles. St. Paul repels these accusations in two or three ways:—(1) He shows that he was called to the Apostolate and taught by God Himself; (2) that he visited the other Apostles, and particularly Peter, and that his doctrine was the same as theirs; and (3) that on one occasion, when there was no question of faith, but of *expediency*, he resisted the line of action adopted *even by St. Peter*, the Prince of the Apostles.

It must be said that this objection to the Primacy of St. Peter comes with charming inconsistency from Anglicans, who make repeated proclamation of the identity

[1] Vid. Collet. *Theol. Mor. de Leg.*, c. 4, s. 9, p. 4. Neubauer, *Theol. de Leg*, iii., p. 258, ed. 1852.

of their belief with that of the early Fathers. Fortunately, we have the testimony of many of these Fathers on this very matter, and which of them, Greek or Latin, has referred to the statement of St. Paul without admitting in the fullest sense the Primacy of St. Peter? St. Augustine, speaking for the Latin Fathers, has only voiced their unanimous mind when he declared that "Paul has the praise of just liberty," but "Peter *of holy humility*," because "he had given to posterity a rarer and nobler example that they should not disdain . . . *to be corrected by their juniors*, that even *inferiors* might confidently venture to resist *superiors*, maintaining brotherly charity, in the defence of evangelical truth."[1] And St. Cyprian, a century and a half earlier, had declared the same truth in, if possible, more emphatic language: —

"Not even Peter," he says, "whom first the Lord chose, and upon whom He built His Church, when afterwards Paul disagreed with him respecting circumcision, claimed aught proudly, or assumed aught arrogantly to himself, *saying that he held the Primacy*, and that obedience rather was due to him by those younger and later."[2]

Weizsächer, who may be taken as a representative of the modern school of higher criticism, and is free from any leaning towards Catholic teaching, thus describes the relations between St. Paul and St. Peter:—

"When Paul had gone over to the Christian cause, he first settled everything in his own mind, and with Him who called him. . . . But having done this, he tried, as everyone would naturally have done, to put himself in touch with the existing Apostolic community. Not, indeed, with the entire community . . . . but with Peter, and this was sufficient. Nothing more was needed. He, therefore, went to Jerusalem solely for the purpose of seeing and knowing Peter, for in Peter he saw the embodiment of all Christianity, as it then was. The position of Peter had been recognised by the Master (Christ) Himself, who had distinguished him above all the others. It is equally plain that in the sequel Peter maintained his prominence; he held his position, not in a false tradition only, but, as far as we can see, in history itself."[3]

I may observe, in passing, that the principle which underlies this objection is the same as that which the Rationalists of the early centuries, as of to-day, apply in their

[1] Ep. 82, n. 22. [2] Ep. 71. [3] *Apostol. Zeitalter*, p. 12.

efforts to destroy the authority of revealed truth. This very objection was a favourite one, not only amongst the Gnostics and the Marcionites, but also with such haters of the Christian name as Porphyry the philosopher, and Julian the apostate. We must bear in mind that it was urged by them, not against the Catholic Church, but against the Christian religion. Like the Rationalists, Protestant writers, when they wish to make a point against Rome, conveniently ignore what at all other times seems to be their fundamental doctrine, namely, that "ALL *Scripture* is inspired."[1] Now, clearly, it is not lawful to overthrow one passage of the inspired writings by another. The Catholic Church, which is the watchful guardian and faithful interpreter of the Scriptures, therefore receives all passages, not only as *inspired*, but as in *perfect harmony* with one another.

St. Peter and St. James.—The Judaizing controversy has supplied Protestant controversialists with what they seem to think are unanswerable arguments against the Primacy of Peter. We have had served up anew the old objection drawn from the contention that St. James presided at the Council of Jerusalem and promulgated the Apostolic decree. But we have only to look carefully at the facts recorded in the Acts of the Apostles (chapter xv.), and the so-called difficulty at once vanishes. The matter to be settled was one which was threatening the unity of the Church, and causing bitterest dissension; it was the question whether Gentile converts were bound to obey the Mosaic ritual law. We there find that there were two Apostolic pronouncements—(1) the definition of faith, and (2) the disciplinary decree. St. Peter, as the authoritative head of the Church, most fittingly pronounces the former, which concerns the whole body of the faithful. And, observe in what clear terms he asserts his claim to authority, and how submissively that claim is acknow-

[1] II. Tim. iii., 16.

ledged. "*And when there had been much disputing,* Peter rising up, said to them: 'Men and brethren, you know that in former days God made choice among us, that *by my mouth* the Gentiles should hear the word of the Gospel, and believe.'"[1] He appeals to the knowledge of all who were assembled in the Council that God had elected him to the singular privilege of receiving the Gentiles into the Church, and by right of this election he asserts his authority and pronounces severest censure upon those who maintained the opposite view. And though we are told "there had been much disputing" before Peter spoke, St. Luke, recording Peter's pronouncement, makes this significant statement—"All the multitude held their peace."[2] And when the question of faith had been settled, and after "they had held their peace," James, as the Bishop of Jerusalem, just as congruously pronounces the second decree, which is disciplinary, and which is for the protection of the Jewish converts. "That which was required to be established by a law, namely, that the Law was not to be kept, was introduced by St. Peter," says St. Chrysostom, "but about the domestic practice (which concerned the converts from the Synagogue) and which was received from olden times, he (James) speaks."[3]

Döllinger, in his *First Age of the Church,* puts the matter with great clearness and accuracy. He writes:—

"The sentence of St. James could not but have great weight at that Synod, for St. Peter, like St. Paul, was in a manner a party concerned in the question. St. James, *who, with his community, was so faithful to the law,* was the best and most convincing judge in this strife . . . in that matter; and *for persons who appealed unhesitatingly to the example of the Mother Church,* the example of James had more weight than that of Peter, just as afterwards the Ebionites endeavoured to make his authority appear the highest in the Church."

But of St. Peter Döllinger observes:—

"He was at the head, as always and everywhere else, in the assembly of Jerusalem, which freed the Gentiles from observing the ceremonial law; he opened it, and his motion was carried, with the conditions added by St. James."

[1] Acts xv., 7. [2] Acts xv., 12.

[3] Quoted by Rivington, *Authority,* p. 74.

Now, if Peter received from Christ the leadership amongst the Apostles, we should expect that he would discharge those functions that are peculiar to the office of head and supreme ruler, whenever the occasion for the exercise of his office might demand it. As has been well observed, he should always lead; he should when necessary close dissension, decide on controversies, punish offences, maintain discipline, and be ready to give counsel, or assert authority, in case of need. And in the general history of the Apostles we find precisely these things recorded of Peter, and that, not in a fragmentary way, but in an unbroken, complete series. This is all the more remarkable if we bear in mind the important fact that the commission of the Apostles was not restricted to particular places, but that each was an Apostle for every part of the Church. Christ immediately sent them to preach *everywhere*, to found churches and ordain pastors *everywhere*, and *to legislate everywhere*. Yet the record of their ministry bears constant testimony to their law of subordination to Peter.

St. Peter in Acts of the Apostles i.-xii. (a Primacy naturally assumed).—St. Luke, in the Acts of the Apostles, gives a general history of the Church in the first twelve chapters. The remaining portion deals with the life of St. Paul, and it is worthy of special notice that, in the narrative concerning the universal Church, Peter, singly, is mentioned more frequently than all the other Apostles put together. Peter's name occurs more than fifty times; John and James are, after him, the oftenest mentioned, but the mention of both together does not exceed twelve times. Yet this is a history of all the Apostles, and why should Peter be named so often, and the rest so seldom, unless that he was the head and they the members under him of the Apostolic College? And the Acts of the Apostles bring out the pre-eminence of Peter not more emphatically than the three Gospels do. The

prominence which the Evangelists, too, give to St. Peter's name is, surely, most significant. St. John is mentioned more frequently than the rest, yet his name occurs only thirty-eight times in the whole New Testament. But omitting the Acts and the Epistles, we find Peter mentioned twenty-three times by St. Matthew, eighteen by St. Mark, twenty by St. Luke, and thirty by St. John[1]—in all, we have mention of St. Peter ninety-one times in the Gospels alone.

And as it is in the Gospels, so is it in the Acts. When they mention Peter, in connection with the other Apostle, he always, without a single exception, gets the first place and the leading part. It was not possible for St. Luke, the writer of the Acts, to refute more clearly the doctrine about the *universal* equality of the Apostles than by the form which he follows in mentioning Peter *directly*, and the others *in a mass*. Take these instances: "In those days Peter, *rising up in the midst of his brethren*, said";[2] Peter, *standing up with the eleven*, lifted up his voice";[3] "They said *to Peter and to the rest of the Apostles*",[4] "Peter *with John*, fastening his eyes upon him, said: Look upon us";[5] "Peter *and the Apostles* answering said."[6] And St. Luke represents St. Peter as answering when the occasion seems to call equally upon the other Apostles to state their views. The false charges of the unbelieving Jews affected the whole Apostolic body,[7] yet Peter alone raises his voice and undertakes the defence of the whole Apostolic College, and in a long discourse brings them to a right conclusion. The multitude ask not only Peter, but the rest: "What shall we do, men and brethren?"[8] And it is immediately added: "But *Peter* said to them."[9] On the occasion of the miracle by which one, who had been lame from his mother's womb, was cured, we are told "all the people ran together to them"[10] (both Peter and James),

1 *Passaglia*, p. 134. 2 Acts i., 15. 3 ii., 14. 4 ii., 37. 5 iii., 4. 6 v., 29. 7 ii., 13. 8 ii., 37. 9 ii., 38. 10 iii., 11.

but Peter alone speaks. "Peter seeing, made answer to the people."[1] Other instances are recorded of Peter being the spokesman of the Apostles, giving his own mind as conveying that of the rest.

And there is still another way in which St. Luke emphasises the pre-eminence of Peter. He describes at length his actions, whilst he makes the briefest possible references to what concerns the other Apostles. He gives Peter's five discourses entire. These seem to be the warp and the woof of his history, whilst he merely leaves it to be understood that the other Apostles also spoke. He records Peter's miracles minutely, and simply suggests that miracles were wrought by the others. He tells very fully the marvellous success of Peter's labours, and is, at least, by contrast, almost silent regarding the exertions of the others. In fact as the Gospels may be called the history of our Lord, so the first twelve chapters of the Acts may be called the history of Peter. What St. Peter did to build up the Church and propagate the faith is narrated as the common history of the Apostles, and for what other reason can St. Luke's record be called the Acts of the Apostles than that it is the Acts of the head, and, therefore, to be credited to the whole body?

St. Peter in Acts of Apostles i.-xii. in detail.—So far we have been taking a general view of St. Luke's narrative; let us now consider it in detail.

(1) After our Lord's Ascension a matter of most pressing urgency had to be immediately settled. One had to be elected to take the place of Judas in the College of the Apostles, one who should have a share in the mission of Christ Himself, according to the words, "As the Father hath sent Me, I also send you." The dignity of the Apostolate was the highest rank in the Church, and to this dignity one was to be elected. Now, observe how St. Luke,

[1] Acts iii., 12.

in his history of the Acts, records that St. Peter alone spoke on the subject of this election: he alone proved its necessity from Scripture, as he alone prescribed the conditions of qualification, set forth the form of procedure, and presided over and directed the whole election.[1] And his hearers, "the number of persons together about an hundred and twenty,"[2] unanimously accept his proposals. One has only to read the account which St. Luke gives of this election to realise that Peter speaks to the assembly as the highest interpreter of Scripture and the appointed teacher of all, and that this twofold office is recognised by the disciples as unquestioned and unquestionable.

(2) A blasphemous charge is made against the whole body of the Apostles. Some, "mocking, said: These men are full of wine," and, thereupon, "*Peter standing up with the eleven*, lifted up his voice and spoke to them."[3] and the eleven stand aside whilst he vindicates their reputation. He is the leader of the band, and he, alone, speaks in defence of the Apostles. After vindicating the body of the Apostles, Peter proceeds to preach to the crowd, explaining prophecies and unfolding the truths of the Lord's Resurrection and Ascension. His hearers, sorrow-stricken, "said *to Peter and the rest of the Apostles*, men and brethren, what shall we do?"[4] And Peter alone answers their entreaty. He alone sets forth the law of Christ, and it is of his ministry alone St. Luke adds: "They, therefore, that gladly received his word were baptized: and there were added that day about three thousand souls."[5]

(3) St. Peter was the rock on which Christ had built His Church, and it was fitting that he should make the first beginning of the superstructure. St. Luke again writes:— "Many of them who had heard the word believed, and the number of the men was made five thousand."[6] Here, you observe, it is still the preaching of Peter. And a third and

[1] Acts i., 15, 25. [2] i., 15. [3] ii., 14.
[4] ii., 37. [5] ii., 41. [6] iv., 4.

fourth time it is Peter who is building the edifice of the Church. On the third occasion to which St. Luke refers,[1] he mentions Peter and John together, but he mentions Peter alone as urging the Christian truths on the minds of the Jews.

(4) And on the fourth occasion John, too, is present, for St. Luke tells us that "the priests and the officers of the Temple, and the Sadducees"[2] "laid hands upon *them* and put *them* in hold till the next day."[3] But the sacred writer notes how "Peter, filled with the Holy Ghost, said to them."[4] And, as St. Chrysostom observes,[5] John is always silent when Peter is present, and why should one so favoured by his Divine Master thus consistently act unless Peter was appointed head and leader? Besides, the office of authoritative teacher is, in Scripture, closely connected with the power of working miracles. "If I had not come and spoken to them, they would not have sin; but now they have no excuse for their sin," says Our Blessed Lord of Himself and His hearers. And He immediately adds: "If I had not done among them the works that no other man hath done, they would not have sin: but now they have both seen and hated both Me and My Father."[6] Faith comes by hearing, and Our Lord tells His Apostles to preach the Gospel, "saying the kingdom of Heaven is at hand."

(5) But faith is confirmed by sight, and He endowed them with the fullest miraculous powers. He gave them the command: "Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the lepers, cast out devils; freely have you received, freely give."[7] If any one of the Apostles, then, was invested with a Primacy at the commencement of the Church, how should we identify him among the company of the Apostles? St. Luke gives us a criterion. He is continually representing one as pre-eminent amongst the

[1] ii., 11, 26. [2] iv., 1. [3] iv., 3. [4] Iv., 8.
[5] Acts, Hom. 8, n. 2. [6] John xv., 22-24. [7] St. Matt. x., 7-8.

Apostles in preaching the Gospel and attesting the truth of his preaching by signs. In the Acts of the Apostles Peter is the first to preach, and almost the only one to confirm his preaching by miracles.

(6) When the Church was being established outside Jerusalem, Peter is the chief instrument in the work. Philip, the deacon, had preached in Samaria, and when "the Apostles who were in Jerusalem had heard that Samaria had received the word of God, they sent unto them Peter and John."[1] I am aware that an argument against Peter's Primacy is taken from the word "sent," as if sending may not be the result of entreaty as well as the exercise of authority. But follow St. Luke's narrative—Though St. John, too, the Beloved Disciple, is sent, *St. Peter is named before him*, and his superior dignity is maintained throughout the record of their mission. It is Peter who answers Simon Magus, and who, as supreme ruler, teaches, commands, judges, and condemns him.

(7) Again, Our Lord's prophecy regarding the other sheep that were not of His fold receives its chief fulfilment through the instrumentality of Peter, to whom He had committed His own office of universal, visible shepherd. God sends His Angel to "a certain man in Cæsarea named Cornelius, a centurion of that which is called the Italian band, a religious man, and fearing God with all his house, giving much alms to the people, and always praying to God."[2] And the angel says to him, "Thy prayers and thine alms have ascended for a memorial in the sight of God. And now send men to Joppa, and call hither one Simon, who is surnamed Peter: he will tell thee what thou must do."[3] And as the messengers of Cornelius are "drawing nigh to the city" of Joppa, "there came upon him (Peter) an ecstasy of mind; and he saw the heaven opened," and there was disclosed to him the dispensation of the first principles on which the

[1] Acts viii., 14. [2] x., 1. [3] x., 4-5-6.

Church was to be propagated.[1] "And as Peter was thinking of the vision, the spirit said to him: Behold three men seek thee. Arise, therefore, get thee down, and go with them, doubting nothing, for I have sent them."[2] Accompanying the messengers he finds Cornelius, "his kinsmen, and his special friends," to whom he sets forth the heads of Christian doctrine. "While Peter was yet speaking these words the Holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the word."[3] "And he commanded them to be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ."[4] Thus Peter is chosen among all the Apostles as the one to offer to God the first fruits of the Gentiles, and from him as their appointed teacher the Apostles learn that God gave to the Gentiles the same graces as He gave to the Jews.[5] "Having heard these things, they held their peace, and glorified God, saying: God then hath also to the Gentiles given repentance unto life."[6] Is not Peter's Primacy written in large letters throughout this narrative of St. Luke?

(8) Once more, though the other Apostles possessed the judicial authority to bind and to loose, though they were present, and concerned, for "Ananias bringing a certain part, laid them at the feet of *the Apostles*,"[7] not of Peter only, yet it was Peter alone who heard the cause, examined the statements, and pronounced sentence on Ananias and his wife Sapphira.[8]

(9) St. Peter, as the universal pastor, should have a care of all the Churches, and St. Luke does not omit to tell how "it came to pass *that Peter, as he passed through, visiting all*, came to the saints who dwelt at Lydda." St. Paul proposes to St. Barnabas to visit "our brethren *in every city in which we have preached*."[9] St. John, according to Eusebius,[10] visited the Churches of Asia, which he had either founded or specially attended to, and that, too, when he was, most probably, the only surviving Apostle. But their pastoral visitations were *local;* the pastoral visita-

[1] Acts x., 11-17; xi., 5-18. [2] x., 19-20. [3] x., 44. [4] x., 48.
[5] xi., 17. [6] xi., 18. [7] v., 2. [8] *Ibid.*, 3-5, 8-10.
[9] xv., 36. [10] *Hist. Ecc.*, Lib. 3, c. 23.

tion of Peter, the supreme ruler, was *universal*, for he visited *all*.

Such in outline most incomplete is St. Peter, as we see him in the Acts of the Apostles, exercising the prerogatives of the Primacy. Peter is everywhere in those chapters in which St. Luke records the labours of the Apostolic College. His pre-eminence and his authority, *magisterial, judicial, legislative,* are unquestioned as they are unquestionable. He is always mentioned first when his fellow-Apostles are named, and he is mentioned individually when they are referred to in a body. But let us sum up: Peter receives into the Church the first converts, both Jews and Gentiles; he works the first miracle; he punishes the first persons guilty of disrespect and disobedience; he casts out of the Church the first heretic; he makes the first Apostolic visitation of all the churches; he presides at the first Council of the Church; he pronounces the first dogmatic decision.

Conclusion from Scripture.—I have now completed my Scriptural proofs in favour of St. Peter's Primacy. No Christian doubts the authenticity of the inspired documents I have quoted from, and the testimony they supply is peremptory in its clearness and conclusiveness. My proofs have not been confined to a few detached passages of Holy Scripture, but have extended over a lengthened chain of texts which bring out in full light the whole history of the Primacy from its foreshadowings and promises to its institution and exercise. Analyse these proofs, and, then, judge for yourselves whether the Primacy or Supremacy which the sacred writers testify was given to Peter was simply one of honour, and nominal, or one of *jurisdiction*, and *real*. It only remains for me to establish this further fact, that the Primacy has continued on through all the centuries since Peter's time, and that it belongs of right to the Roman Pontiff. This fact I hope to prove to demonstration from the history of the Church, as found in the decrees of her Councils, and in the writings of her Fathers and historians.

CHAPTER XVII.

FIRST TWO CENTURIES TESTIFY TO THE EXISTENCE AND EXERCISE OF THE ROMAN PRIMACY.

(Fifth Lecture.)

Recapitulation.—On last Sunday evening I concluded the proofs from Scripture in favour of St. Peter's Primacy. These proofs rest on an impregnable basis, and, in their cumulative force, they seem to the Catholic mind irresistible. To many non-Catholics, I am aware, they may be addressed in vain. Still, the controversies, to which the Petrine texts give occasion, establish this truth beyond the shadow of a doubt. God does not mean the Scriptures, without authoritative guide or interpreter, to be our rule of faith. Looking at the Catholic position from even the most prejudiced stand-point of Protestantism, it must be admitted that many Catholic writers of conspicuous ability, and great piety, have devoted many sleepless nights, and years of calm reflection and study, to the elucidation of the texts regarding Peter's position in the Apostolic College. Now, if these men, who devoted themselves to the study of these Scriptural passages with a sincere desire to ascertain their genuine meaning, cannot agree with Protestant commentators about their sense, or if, as we have seen, learned Protestant commentators cannot agree on the subject among themselves, it is surely clear that God never intended the Scriptures, as interpreted by the private judgment of each one, to be the appointed means of ascertaining the truths of revealed religion.

We have already dealt with the evidence of Scripture as witnessing both to the existence of Peter's Primacy and to its vigorous exercise during the lifetime of the Apostles. We have seen, too, as well from the plain and obvious meaning of the Scripture texts, as from the nature of the office and its relation to the whole Church, that the Primacy first given to Peter should continue in the Church for the purpose of maintaining its unity and indefectibility. We now turn to the evidence for the *existence* and *exercise* of the Primacy in the government of the Church, from the death of the Apostles down to a period when, even on the admission of Protestants, the Roman Pontiffs were universally recognised as the successors of St. Peter, and, by right of such succession, as exercising a primacy of jurisdiction over the entire Church. As St. John lived till the close of the first century, and the Fourth General Council, which is the last recognised by Anglicans, was held in 451, we shall confine our attention to the second, third, and fourth centuries, and to the first half of the fifth one.

Permanence of the Primacy and the Sacraments.—In dealing with those early ages two things are to be borne in mind. The first is that the evidence of the early Fathers and General Councils is recognised by Anglicans, who, in common with Catholics, admit that the true faith was preserved in the Church in those primitive times. The second is, that, given the Primacy of Peter, the denial of that Primacy to Peter's successors is logically a repudiation of the whole sacramental and hierarchical system of the Church. We have not more direct Scriptural evidence for the permanence of Baptism or the Eucharist, for instance, after the Apostolic age than we have for the perpetuity of the Primacy. This may be seen at a glance by placing in parallel columns the texts which regard the Primacy on the one hand, and those which regard the sacraments and the hierarchy on the other.

THE PRIMACY.	HIERARCHY AND SACRAMENTS.
"Thou art Peter, and on this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it."—Matt. xvi., 18.	Going, therefore, teach all nations, baptising them. . . . Behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world.—Matt. xxviii., 19-20.

Here the provision made for the perpetuity of the Church through her rock foundation, Peter, is to be as lasting as will be the divine assistance promised to the Apostles in the fulfilment of their teaching and pastoral duties.

The one shall last as long as the gates of hell assail the Church—that is, whilst the world endures; the other is promised for the same time—*i.e.*, "to the consummation of the world."

"I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven."—Matt. xvi., 19.	Receive ye the Holy Ghost. Whose sins ye shall forgive, they are forgiven them.—John xx., 22-23.

Again, the texts in these parallel columns indicate powers which, as in the case of the Apostles, were admittedly not to be confined to them, but were to descend to their successors. So, also, in the case of Peter, his powers were not to die with him, but were to be transmitted to those who were to sit in his chair.

"Feed my lambs: feed my sheep."—John xxi., 15-16-17. "And thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren."—Luke xxii., 32.	Do this for the commemoration of me.—I. Corinth. xi., 24.

Looking at the words of these texts, there is no more reason for saying that the commemoration of Christ's action in the institution of the Blessed Eucharist was to be continued after the life-time of the Apostles than for saying that the commission of feeding the flock, and confirming his brethren, given to Peter, should continue after his death in the person of his successors.

The powers referred to in the above parallel texts were directly conferred, in each case, on the individuals whom

our Lord addressed, and it is only from the subject matter, and the circumstances, we know that these powers and prerogatives, intended for the good of the Church, were to be perpetual.

When we come to deal with the evidence in favour of the Roman Primacy which meets us in the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, we shall find that, in its frequency, strength, and clearness, it is simply overwhelming. But we are now about to examine the documentary evidence which has come down to us from the second century, and Protestant writers fully admit that much of the patristic literature of this age of the Church has perished. Bishop Lightfoot bewails the loss "of the vast volume of Christian literature which, with a few meagre exceptions, has altogether perished."[1] And herein lies the explanation of the loud talk we hear of Rome's pretensions. Judging from the writings we have of that century, we may safely conclude that, if the rest had not perished, the second century literature would have supplied us with an irrefutable proof of the Primacy.

Still, however, we may hazard these two statements without the least misgiving. (1) Wherever doctrines are referred to in the writings of the Fathers of the second century, those doctrines are emphatically Roman, and (2) whenever there is mention of Rome in connection with doctrine or discipline, there is a recognition of the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome. A few of the writings of that distant period have survived, and these few deal with such questions as had most practical bearing on the every-day life of the early Christians. We need not, therefore, expect lengthened or frequent references to the exercise of the Primacy. Whilst the Church was in the Catacombs it would be perilous to flaunt her claims to world-wide jurisdiction in the face of the imperial power. We are to

[1] *Hist. Essays*, p. 3.

remember that it was a martyr age, and that most of the great names which have come down to us are of those whose testimony was written in their blood. Unless one were dealing with a question immediately concerning spiritual authority, there would have been no reason then, any more than now, for making special mention of it. And in that age there were fewer occasions for its exercise than in succeeding centuries, for the voice of the Apostles and of their immediate disciples was still echoing in the ears of the faithful.

How to read the Fathers.—The evidence which comes to us from these early ages is derived principally from the writings of the Fathers, and from the Acts of Councils. In regard to the testimony of the Fathers, we must bear in mind that they may be consulted with much or with but little profit, according as we approach them with a desire to learn what they teach, or to make them teach what we desire.

Cardinal Newman, with a touching candour, tells us how for years he read the writings of the Fathers without profit. He says:—

"When I first began to read their works with attention and on system, I busied myself much in analysing them, and in cataloguing their doctrines and principles; but, when I had thus proceeded very carefully and minutely for some space of time, I found, on looking back on what I had done, that I had scarcely done anything at all; I found that I had gained very little from them, and I came to the conclusion that the Fathers I had been reading, which were exclusively those of the ante-Nicene period, had very little in them. . . . I had read them simply on Protestant ideas, analysed and catalogued them on Protestant principles of division, and hunted for Protestant doctrines and usages in them. . . . . I sought what was not there; I laboured all the night, and caught nothing."[1]

On the other hand, he proclaims the feeling of rapturous joy with which, as a Catholic, he felt that he now, in veriest truth, belonged to the Church of the Fathers.

"I recollect well," he writes, "what an outcast I seemed to myself when I took down from the shelves of my library the volumes of St. Athanasius or St. Basil, and set myself to read

[1] *Anglican Difficulties*, pp. 324-5.

them; and how, on the contrary, when at length I was brought into Catholicism, I kissed them with delight, with a feeling that in them I had more than all that I had lost, and, as though I were directly addressing the glorious saints who bequeathed them to the Church, I said to the inanimate pages, 'You are now mine, and I am yours without any mistake.'"[1]

With what varying moods and results even the same person may consult the testimony of the Fathers, I have had a somewhat amusing illustration in immediate connection with the present course of lectures. You may remember the laboured efforts that were made to eliminate from the evidence of St. Irenæus all sanction of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The old translation of the original Greek was quoted against me with such unusual precision that the very quantity of the vowels was marked with their appropriate signs. But no sooner had I proved that the meaning attempted to be fastened on St. Irenæus could not bear examination than a total change of front was shown. All at once the admittedly faithful Latin translation—in which we have St. Irenæus' writings enshrined—was denounced as the work of "a clumsy unknown, and not very reliable translator," whilst the identical Greek word *αὐθεντία*, used at least three times by the saint where the Latin translation has *principalitas*, which, in the particular passages, means the highest God of the Gnostics, and preserved in the fragments of the original contained in the writings of Theodoret and others, is flippantly cast aside as "impossible Greek."

Αὐθεντία is not a classical word, to be sure, but it is, nevertheless, the Greek word usually employed by St. Irenæus where the Latin translator has "principalitas." The latter occurs twice in the twenty-sixth chapter (1st section) of the first book *Against Heresies*, and the original Greek is preserved in the Philosophumena (x., 21, p. 526); and, again, "principalitas" is found once in the same work of St. Irenæus (lib. i., 31-1), and the original Greek of the

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 357.

whole passage can be seen in Theodoret (*Hæret. Fab.* lib. i., 15). In the three instances "principalitas" is the equivalent word for *αὐθεντία*.

Testimony of St. Ignatius of Antioch (Martyr 107?). —It is a remarkable fact that the earliest uninspired document which has come down to us should be a Papal letter dating back to a period within thirty years of St. Peter's martyrdom, and enforcing, even in the life-time of St. John, the claim of the Roman See to a Primacy of jurisdiction. This was the memorable letter of Pope St. Clement, which in a former lecture we have considered in its several bearings, and which most eminent Protestant critics, as we have seen, call "imperious" and "authoritative" in its tone. In immediate historic sequence comes St. Ignatius. He was martyred very early in the second century. Various dates are given, 104, 107, and 115. Of these the second appears the most probable. Like St. Polycarp, he, too, was a disciple of St. John, and was the second in succession to St. Peter in the See of Antioch. Theodoret expressly declares that he was consecrated by St. Peter,[1] and St. Athanasius seems to have been of the same opinion.[2] Of his agreement with the doctrines taught by the Sovereign Pontiff now happily reigning there cannot be the shadow of a doubt, for whenever he does refer to doctrine, there is no room to question its unmistakably Roman character. What has been lately called the "harmless term" *θεότοκος*, which expresses the doctrine of Mary's divine maternity, represents to him the very foundation on which the whole Christian edifice is built. He does not hesitate to say that the blood of Christ is "the blood of God."[3] He uses the very language which has been made a reproach to Catholics by some who have not realised the doctrine of the Incarnation, nor the testimony of Scripture and antiquity. He speaks of "the passion of God,"[4] and

[1] Dial. I., t. iv., p. 49, and Epist. iv., p. 1312.
[2] *De Synodis*, c 47. [3] Eph. 1. [4] Ad Rom. 6.

says, boldly and unambiguously, that "Our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary."[1] His great master, St. John, had been actually present at the Last Supper, and Ignatius teaches that "the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sakes, and which the Father in His goodness raised to life."[2]

St. Ignatius repeatedly refers to the "sacrificial altar"—*θυσιαστήριον*—of the Christian Church, and so indisputably Roman is his teaching regarding the great Sacrament of the Altar, that the well-known Protestant commentator, Meyer, cannot help admitting that "Ignatius, in opposition to the Docetæ, undoubtedly states that in the Eucharist Christ's flesh and blood are given, and that in a real manner."[3] It will help you to realise the difficulties in the way of Catholic controversialists if you remember that St. Ignatius, on the strength of the very passage I have quoted, is claimed as opposed to the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist. If Jacobson's statement is correct,[4] Wotton, an Anglican divine, considered that the last clause of the sentence was a denial of the Real Presence, and affirmed merely an action of grace upon the soul of the recipient.

Unity of faith is the key-note of his teaching, and this conception of the Church's unity has what Cardinal Newman calls a "sacramental character."[5] He tells the Philadelphians that they must partake of one Eucharist; since there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one chalice which unites us to His Blood, one *altar:* as there is one bishop with the body of the presbyters (priests) and with the deacons, my fellow ministers.[6] The whole body of the presbyters fits in with the bishop "as the strings are fitted into the lyre."[7] And it is worthy of special note that there is hardly an instance in which he refers to the Church

[1] Ad Eph. 18. [2] Ad Smyrn., 7. [3] Comm. 8, Matt., fifth ed., p. 555.
[4] In loc. [5] *Essays*, 1, p. 220. [6] Ad Philad. 4. [7] Ad Eph. 4.

that he does not make mention of the mysteries of the Incarnation and the Eucharist.

St. Ignatius writes to the Roman Church.—St. Ignatius wrote seven epistles, six of which he addressed to various Churches. These epistles were written by him as he was on his way to be thrown to the wild beasts in the Colosseum at Rome. They are pastoral rather than dogmatical, and each one of them would occupy about a couple of columns in a newspaper. While he has words of eulogy and affection for the other five Churches which he addresses, yet, when he comes to address the Church of Rome, his heart overflows with emotion. She is "the beloved and enlightened in the will of Him who has willed all things which are according to the charity of Jesus Christ our God,"[1] whose people are "united to every command of His in flesh and spirit, filled undividedly with the grace of God."[2] She is "worthy of God, and of all honour and blessing and praise, worthy to receive that which she wishes, chaste, bearing the name of Christ and of the Father."[3]

Moreover, with a single exception, each of these epistles is addressed "to the Church which is at" such a place (*ἐκκλησίᾳ τῇ οὔσῃ ἐν*) and the one exception is the epistle addressed "to the Church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans (*ἐκκλησίᾳ ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*)."

This singular appellation of the Roman Church, as distinguished from other Churches, including even that of Ephesus, which was founded by the Beloved Disciple, and to which St. Ignatius wrote as well, is a clear recognition of the pre-eminence of that Church in the very beginning of the second century. Protestant writers feel the importance of this inscription to "the Church of the Romans," and make every effort to explain it away. Still, however,

[1] Ad Rom., I. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

there are non-Catholic authorities of the very highest eminence who agree with the Catholic interpretation. Bishop Lightfoot admits that it testifies to "a pre-eminence of rank," "a primacy,"[1] in fact, in the Roman Church. Zahn, too, is quite clear that it means that "in every region subject to the Roman power the Roman Church is said to have a certain primacy." "regionibus omnibus, quæ sub Romanorum erant ditionem, ecclesia Romana quodammodo præsidere dicitur."[2] Harnack is still stronger. He says:—

"However much we may abate all extravagant expressions in his letter to the Romans, so much is evident that Ignatius marked out the Roman community as the President among the sister communities, and that an energetic activity of this community in supporting and instructing the other communities was familiar to him."[3]

Hilgenfeld, who rejects the authenticity of the epistles, and professes no belief in the divine character of Christianity, has not any motive for distorting the meaning of the words, so he declares that this "Catholic Church has its own centre of internal unity, viz., the primacy of the Roman Church, indicated in the inscription of the epistle to the Romans."[4]

But St. Ignatius explains what he means by the inscription. The Roman Church, he tells us, "presides over the brotherhood" (προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης), that is, over the whole Christian body. Here again Protestant writers try to twist the words of the saint into a non-Catholic sense, and fall back upon the oft-repeated statement that the Roman Church excelled all others in the munificence of her liberality. Bishop Lightfoot, however, makes some approach to the Catholic interpretation. The Roman Church in 95 A.D., he pronounces to be "the most prominent Church of Christendom," and "the most important Church of Christendom,"[5] and, commenting on this

1 *Ign. and Polyc.* i. 398; *Clem. Rom.* i., 71.
2 *Patr. Apost.*, Fasc. ii., p. 57.
3 *Dogm.* i., 404.
4 *Apost. Vater.*, p. 267.
5 *Clem. Rom.*, i., 58, 61.

passage of St. Ignatius he says—"The Church of Rome, as it is first in rank, is first also, in love." Again he admits this passage, "assigns to this Church a pre-eminence of rank as well as of love."[1] And again he says, without any limitation, that St. Ignatius "assigns a primacy to Rome."[2] Hefele, Funk, Schanz, Hageman, and other Catholic scholars maintain that ἡ ἀγάπη here means "the brotherhood," "the whole Church." They so argue from the grammatical construction, as well as from a collation of parallel passages in the writings of St. Ignatius, and also in the works of other writers, sacred and profane. The "genitive of relation," as grammarians say, "follows all verbs signifying authority or pre-eminence," and is used of the thing governed. This is the only construction admitted in such lexicons as Liddell and Scott, Stephanus, etc., which give parallel passages from Plato, Euripides, and many later writers. In, at least, four other passages St. Ignatius uses the word ἀγάπη, as Pearson and Jacobson themselves allow, for the Church.[3]

Harnack, amongst other Protestant scholars, considers the Catholic interpretation perfectly admissible. But we have only to read for ourselves the epistles of St. Ignatius without preconceived opinions, and we shall find that every sentence in his epistle to the Romans is an admission of the rock foundation of their Church. In each of the other epistles he insists on the necessity of unity, of freedom from all taint of heresy, and of absolute obedience to their pastors, especially their bishops.

Those to whom he wrote "were to reverence the Bishop as Jesus Christ, the son of the Father, the body of priests as the Sanhedrim of God, and the band of the Apostles. Apart from these there is no Church."[4] "The faithful should see God in their bishop,"[5] for "where the bishop is

[1] *Ign. and Polyc.*, i., p. 398. [2] *Clem. Rom.*, i., p. 71.
[3] Ad Trall. xiii., 1; ad Smyrn. xiii., 1; ad Philad. xi., 2; ad Rom. ix., 3.
[4] Ad Smyrn. 4. [5] Ad Eph. 6.

seen, there is the congregation of the faithful, just as where Christ is, there is the Catholic Church,"[1] and those who act "independently" of the bishop are not truly Christians,[2] whilst "return to communion with the bishop is the way to obtain pardon of God."[3] They were, moreover, to regard heretical doctrine as "a deadly poison,"[4] and heretical teachers "as wild beasts in human form."[5] But in his letter to the Romans he disclaims all notion of teaching. Clearly alluding to the Apostles, who were the founders of their Church, he protests, "I do not give you precepts, like Peter and Paul."[6] Of the Roman Church alone does he assert that "it has taught others."[7] "It," he declares, "is purified from every shade of strange doctrine"; or, as Dr. Lightfoot puts it, "The Roman Church is complimented in the opening as 'filtered clear from every foreign colouring,' and from first to last the epistle contains no reference to false doctrine of any kind." And St. Ignatius takes comfort in the thought that when his own See of Antioch will have been bereft of its bishop, "Jesus Christ alone and your charity (that is, the charity of the Roman Church) will act as bishop to it."[8] There is no parallel to this, or indeed, to any of the other statements about the Church of the Romans in any of the other epistles. Now, we must remember that St. Ignatius was the one bishop who could advance a rival claim to that of Rome, for he was Peter's successor in Peter's older See of Antioch; and if his words are not a clear recognition of the Roman primacy, then, are we not entitled to ask, and to get a rational answer to the question—What do they really mean?

St. Ignatius and the Roman Bishopric.—A point is sometimes tried to be made against this testimony of St. Ignatius on the ground that he makes no mention of the Bishop of the Roman See. From this silence an

[1] Ad Smyr., 8. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Ad Philad. 8. [4] Ad Trall. 6.
[5] Ad Smyrn. 4. [6] Ad Rom. 4. [7] *Ibid.*, 3, 1. [8] Ad Rom. 9.

inference is drawn that the Roman Bishop did not possess any special prerogative, as otherwise such pre-eminence would have been dutifully recognised. Well, it is hard to please everyone. Outside this letter to the Romans St. Ignatius is usually denounced for his too warm championship of the episcopal order. In the other letters he is most pronounced in his admonitions to live in obedient subjection to their bishops—he even in some instances mentions names of bishops or gives admonition to them. To the Church founded by Peter and Paul, the Church "that has taught others," he does not presume "to give precepts," nor, as Cardinal Newman pithily puts it, does he so far forget himself as to take his own superior and the Church's supreme ruler "under his wing."[1] But do not those who advance "the argument from silence" see how it tells against themselves? If we are to infer that there was no bishop in Rome from the fact that St. Ignatius does not refer to him, are we not to infer as well that there were no "presbyters" and no deacons in Rome for the very same reason? And then what becomes of the "argument from silence?"

But was St. Ignatius really silent on the subject of the Roman bishopric? On the divine institution of the episcopate, and its absolute necessity in the government of the Church, he speaks in the clearest terms. Just carefully note what he says in writing to Smyrnæans and Philadelphians. I give the passages in full, that his teaching may be clearly understood—

"Obey the Lord as Jesus Christ obeyed the Father, and the body of presbyters as the Apostles; revere the deacons as you would the very commandment of God. Let no one do anything in whatever concerns the Church without the bishop. As regards the Eucharist, that must be held to be good[2] which is administered by the bishop, or by him to whom the bishop has entrusted it. Wherever the bishop is visible, there let the people be; in the same way as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Church Catholic. Without the bishop it is not allowed either to baptize

[1] *Tracts, Theol. and Eccl.*, p. 125.

[2] "*Valid.*"—Lightfoot, *Apost. Fath.*, Vol. ii., p. 369.

or to celebrate the agape;[1] on the contrary, the approbation of the bishop is the mark of what is well pleasing to God, the firm and sure rule to follow in practice."[2] "It is proper, then, that you should agree with the opinion of the bishop, as you do. For your venerable body of presbyters, worthy of God, stands in the same relation to the bishop as do the strings to the lyre. Wherefore in your agreement and concordant love Jesus Christ is sung."[3]

Now, is it not utterly inconceivable that St. Ignatius would speak in such reverential terms of the Roman Church if its system of ecclesiastical government at the time differed so essentially from what he believed to be the divinely established one? For, surely, if the validity of the sacraments comes from the bishop, as it must come if "only the bishop," or he to whom he has entrusted it, "can administer" the sacrament, and if the presbyters are to the bishop "as the strings to the lyre," there can be no question that St. Ignatius considers the episcopate as divinely instituted. Let us see, then, if we can find his conception of a bishop in the contemporary history of the Roman Church or its ruler. Dr. Lightfoot will be our authority, and his words can very well bear to be repeated.

St. Clement's office as Bishop of Rome, A.D. 95 or 96, was "on any showing exceptionally prominent";[4] his position was that of "the chief ruler of the most important Church in Christendom";[5] his epistle to the distant Church of the Corinthians—not to any suburbicarian church, bear in mind—is "urgent and imperious";[6] "it speaks with the authority of the Church," and "is strenuous, even peremptory, in the authoritative tone it assumes."[7] His epistle to the Corinthians is also "the first step towards Papal domination,"[8] and as we have already seen, Lightfoot admits that Ignatius "assigns a primacy to Rome."[9] But he is still more explicit, for he testifies to

1 "*Love-feast.*"—*Ibid.* 2 Ignat. Ep. ad Smyrn. 8. Conf. Ep. ad Philad. 1.
3 Ignat. Ep. ad Eph. 4 Translation given in Renan's *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 170-1. 4 *Clem. Rom.*, i, p. 58, note. 5 *Ibid.*, i., p. 61.
6 *Ibid.*, i, 69. 7 *Apost. Fathers*, Vol. i., p. 398.
8 *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 70. 9 *Ibid.*, p. 71.

Clement's episcopal office in very plain language, and he confesses to a great difficulty in disputing that Clement's predecessors, Linus and Anencletus (or Cletus), were bishops, in the sense of being single rulers of the Church. Here are his words:—

"It would be an excess of scepticism, with the evidence before us, to question the existence of the episcopate as a distinct office from the presbyterate in the Roman Church" (at the date of St. Ignatius' Epistles.)[1] Again—"Though, so far as I can see, no adequate reason can be advanced why Linus and Anencletus ("the two names between St. Peter and St. Clement") should not have been bishops in the later sense, as single rulers of the Church, yet here the tradition, if unsupported by any other consideration, cannot inspire any great confidence. But with Clement the case is different. The testimony of the succeeding ages is strong and united."[2] Lastly—"As regards the names [Linus and Anencletus] I see no reason to question that they not only represent historical persons, but that they were bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church, though their monarchy may have been much less autocratic than the episcopate even of the succeeding century."[3]

I may here incidentally remark that, though the titles for the ecclesiastical orders were in St. Clement's time as yet unfixed, we have the existence of three grades among the clergy more than once implied in his letter to the Corinthians. He makes, for instance, a distinction between the prelates (*προηγούμενοι*) and the "presbyters";[4] and in another place he introduces the organisation of the Jewish hierarchy (high priests, priests, and Levites) as a parallel to the orders of the Christian Church.[5]

Concordant Testimony of Ignatius and Clement.—Is it not evident, even from Dr. Lightfoot's testimony alone, that Rome had a bishop who completely realised St. Ignatius' conception of the episcopal office? Clement, no doubt, was dead when Ignatius wrote, but he still lived in his successors; and you will remember that non-Catholic writers freely admit that what they are pleased to call the pretensions of the Bishop of Rome, kept growing in intensity and volume till, at the end of the second century, they

[1] *Apost. Fath.*, Vol. i., 395. [2] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., 68.
[3] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 340. [4] 6, 21. [5] 6c., 40-41.

had almost reached their maturity. Keeping in mind that, with St. Ignatius, the bishop was the unquestioned ruler and head in his diocese, we shall be the better able to appreciate his reference to the Roman Church. The very same word which he employs for the presidency of each bishop in his own diocese is that which he uses to describe the Primacy of the Roman Church. In the epistle to the Magnesians he describes the bishop's presidency in these terms:—*προκαθημένου τοῦ ἐπισκόπου*,[1] and in his epistle to the Romans he speaks of their Church as *προκαθημένη τῆς ἀγάπης*,[2] and, again, as *ἐκκλησία ἥτις προκάθηται ἐν τόπῳ χωρίου Ῥωμαίων*,[3] and from the fact that he applies to the Church of the Romans the very same word which he uses to represent the presidency of the bishop, is it not evident that his meaning must be that the Roman Church is to the Catholic Church what each bishop is to his own particular Church? To no other Church does he apply the term, and this, be it remembered, though he had written to the Ephesians, whose Church was specially conspicuous as having been so lately presided over by the Beloved Disciple.

St. Ignatius wrote his letter to the Romans a very few years after St. Clement had written to the Corinthians, and each singles out Saints Peter and Paul, the one for their glorious testimony to the faith by their martyrdom, the other for their Apostolic labours in preaching the Gospel in Rome. The two letters should be read together.

"Let us come to those champions who lived very near our time," says St. Clement,[4] writing to the Corinthians, "Let us set before us the noble examples which belong to our generation. By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the *good* Apostles. There was Peter, who, by

[1] Ad Magnes., 6. [2] Ad Rom. dedic. [3] *Ibid.*

[4] Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., pp. 273-4.

reason of unrighteous jealousy, endured not one nor two, but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony, went to his appointed place of glory. By reason of jealousy and strife Paul, by his example, pointed out the prize of patient endurance." And St. Ignatius, as he is being brought to Rome to be martyred, writes to the Christians there:—"I do not enjoin you as Peter and Paul did; they were Apostles, I am a convict."[1]

Neither St. Clement nor St. Ignatius says in express terms that St. Peter or St. Paul lived or died in Rome; therefore, it is contended that St. Peter was never in Rome. But, in the first place, why should either Clement or Ignatius bring out the fact by any reference, for there were many then in Rome who must have remembered St. Peter's martyrdom; many who may have personally witnessed the scene; and the facts of that martyrdom were embedded in every Christian mind? Why should either St. Clement or St. Ignatius be expected to do what no writer in our own time would be expected to do? They were not writing the lives of Peter and Paul; they were, by incidental references, urging the faithful by the memory of their virtues, their Apostolic labours and their glorious martyrdom. Why do they single out these two Apostles? When Clement wrote, all the Apostles except St. John had won the martyr's crown; why did he not mention one or other of them, insteading of singling out Peter and Paul? And why does he refer to these two so familiarly as "the good Apostles" unless they had been personally known to himself, and on terms of close intimacy with him? And if it was not an indisputable fact that St. Peter had been in Rome, why does St. Ignatius so pathetically remind the Romans how Peter had "enjoined" them? For if he was not in Rome he had no more enjoined them than had the other Apostles.

[1] Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Vol. ii., p. 560.

"Why should he single out Peter and Paul?" asks Bishop Lightfoot, who gives the only conceivable reason. "He is writing from Asia Minor, and the locality, therefore, would suggest John. He was a guest of a disciple of John at the time. He was sojourning in the country where John was the one prominent name. The only conceivable reason is that Peter and Paul had been in a position to give directions to the Romans, that they both alike had visited Rome, and were remembered by the Roman Church."[1]

And in connection with this testimony of Bishop Lightfoot, I may remind you of the admission of Lipsius, which I quoted in a previous lecture. Lipsius is a scholar of unquestioned eminence, and his opinion regarding St. Peter's relations with Rome is greatly relied on by those opposed to the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy. But though Lipsius denies that St. Peter was in Rome, he, nevertheless, admits that if he went to Rome at all—a fact which quite a legion of Protestant writers stoutly maintain —he went in no other capacity than as the Prince of the Apostles. But I shall let Lipsius speak for himself. He says:—

"If ever the Prince of the Apostles set foot in the Eternal City, he certainly did not go as a simple traveller, but in virtue of his Apostolic power; and his martyrdom, in that case, forms but the glorious ending of his official labour among the Romans. And if, as many Protestants also hold, the episcopate is of divine institution, then the claims of the Roman Church to trace her episcopal succession back to Peter is, after all, not so very absurd."[2]

The argument of silence is thought a useful weapon against Rome. But it is double-edged. The sceptic uses it against the authenticity of the New Testament, and the scoffer against all supernatural religion. Let us apply the same canons of criticism to the Epistles of St. Clement and St. Ignatius as we apply to the study of any other historical document, and we shall have little difficulty in concluding

[1] *Apost. Fathers*, Vol. ii., p. 493.

[2] *Zeitschrift fur Protest. Theol.*, 1876, p. 562.

that these saints singled out the two Apostles, Peter and Paul, for the simple reason that both their labours and their martyrdom in Rome were facts which no one would be so foolish as to dispute.

Hermas, Popes Pius, Eleutherius and Soter, Polycarp.—Ecclesiastical writers are not agreed as to the date at which Hermas wrote. If it was not in the life-time of St. Ignatius, it was not many years after, when he bore testimony to the world-wide functions of St. Clement, to whom the duty belonged, he says, of communicating with foreign churches. "Thou shalt, therefore," says the personified Church to Hermas, "write two little books, *i.e.*, copies of this work containing the revelation, and thou shall send one to Clement and one to Grapte. So Clement shall send it to the cities abroad, *for this charge is committed unto him*."[1] And of this duty we shall have fuller mention later on in the acts of the memorable Council of Arles. The Pope, in the time of Hermas, was living in the Catacombs, and we can easily infer what was meant by *having the charge committed unto him* of communicating with the cities abroad.

We find the Primacy of jurisdiction exercised by Pope Pius, who reigned from A.D. 142 to 157. He cut off various heretics—Cerdo, Marcion, Valentinus, and Marcellinus—from communion with the Church, just as Pope Eleutherius, who reigned from A.D. 177 to 192, excommunicated Montanists and Gnostics alike.[2] And the evidence which the early heretics give of the Roman Primacy is of very great value. As Hagemann rightly remarks:—"The founders of heresy, from Simon Magus to the Gnostic chiefs, Valentine and Marcion, were ever impelled by a curious instinct towards Rome, as if their doctrine, once the sect were established in Rome, would receive a higher kind of consecration and confirmation.[3]

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 71.

[2] See Renan's *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 150-173. [3] *Die Rom. Kirche.*, p. 47.

If the aged martyr, Polycarp, has left us no written memorial of his belief in the Roman Primacy of jurisdiction, he has supplied us with the best possible proof of his devoted loyalty to the See of Rome in the long journey which, in his extreme old age, he undertook, that he might confer with Pope Anicetus regarding the time of celebrating Easter.[1] "Anicetus did not go to the aged Polycarp, but he to Anicetus," observes Harnack.

History has not preserved for us the letter of Pope Soter to the Corinthians as it has preserved that of Clement. We know, however, that it was received with equal veneration. Dionysius, Bishop of Corinth, addressed Pope Soter about the year 170, thanking him for his generous sympathy with the Corinthians, and stating that the Pope's letter, like that of St. Clement, was publicly read in the churches. "To-day," he says, "we have passed the Lord's holiday, in which we have read your epistle, which we shall always read, in order to have our minds instructed, as we shall read that previously written to us by Clement.[2]

The "Clementine Romance" in Protestant legend.—Thus we see that in the very first ages of the Christian Church the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs meets us as a concrete historical fact. How to account for it is a problem that has baffled the ingenuity of those who do not see in it the work of the Divine Architect, who said to Peter, "Thou art Rock, and on this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." By the logical necessity of their position they are compelled to attribute to a mundane and not creditable cause an effect which is admittedly the most wonderful and energising phenomenon in the history of Christianity. According to a modern and widely accepted Anglican theory, the Roman Primacy is to be accounted for in this manner:—Somewhere in the second half of the second century there were

[1] Lightfoot, *Apost. Fathers*, Vol. i., p. 449.

[2] Euseb., *E. Hist.*, lib. iv., c. 23.

introduced into Rome certain writings, since known as the Clementine "Homilies" and "Recognitions," but more usually referred to as the "Clementine Romance." The Protestant Dr. Smith, in his Introductory Notice to the "Recognitions," tells us that these writings form a kind of philosophical and theological romance; that the writer of the work seems not to have had the intention of representing his statements as facts, but that he selected the disciples and their followers as his principal characters, and that he put into their mouths the most important of his beliefs, and wove the whole together by a thread of fictitious narrative. In the "Epistle of Clement to James," which forms a kind of introduction to the Homilies, Clement is made to tell how he was consecrated by Peter, and made to sit in Peter's Chair. Here, then, we are seriously assured, is the sole origin of the belief in the Roman Episcopate of Peter, and in the possession by the Roman See of the Chair of Peter.

Let us calmly consider what all this involves.

(1) That up to the introduction of this Clementine Romance the See of Rome had never been regarded as the See of Peter, but, at most, only a See founded by the twin Apostles Peter and Paul.

(2) That Rome, on the appearance of this Romance, as Rivington puts it, chose to forget her past history, and, in spite of the perpetual confluence of strangers to the city, through whom, according to the impossible and absurd interpretation of Irenæus' words, given by Puller and other Anglican writers, the faith was kept secure at Rome, in that very century—Rome, the very scene of the ordination of St. Clement; Rome, the orthodox; Rome, whose virtues, according to Bishop Lightfoot and others, gained for her a primacy of honour—Rome suddenly took up with a falsehood which enhanced her own importance, and persuaded others to adopt the same, and gave out

that the account in the "Clementine Romance" was the true one, and that her See was the See of Peter! The primitive saints, Eastern and Western (African included), were taken in, and Christendom got into the way of calling Rome the See of Peter! *Credat Judæus Apella!*

The "Clementine Romance" in Critical History.— But, descending from the realms of fancy, let us examine the stubborn facts of sober history. On the threshold of our examination we find—

(1) That the "Clementine Romance," according to the most learned Protestant authorities, had an Eastern, and *not* a Roman, origin.

(2) That it contained doctrine manifestly heretical, and that the author was an Ebionite heretic.

(3) That the apocryphal character of the work was recognised by the early Fathers, who were most pronounced in their devotion to the See of Rome. St. Athanasius, of whose loyalty we shall have pathetic evidence, rejects the work as spurious.[1] St. Jerome distinctly states that the work is not to be regarded as genuine history.[2] Whilst Rufinus, who lived in the second half of the fourth century, and who translated the Recognitions into Latin, writes that there are a great many things inserted in the book which so holy a man as St. Clement, who lived so near the Apostles, could never have written.[3]

(4) That Pope St. Gelasius and a Council at Rome (A.D. 495) pronounce the work to be apocryphal, whilst the same Pope repeatedly testifies to the supremacy of the Roman See, which it received from Peter, who received it from the voice of the Lord *(Domini voce)*.[4]

1 *Migne*, Vol. xxviii., p. 431. 2 *De Vir.*, illust., c. 1.

3 *De Adult.* Lib. Orig.

4 See Ep. v., ad Honor. Dalm. Labbe, tom. iv., p. 1172; Ep. xiv., Galland x., p. 1216; Ep. xiii. ad Epis. Dard. Labbe, p. 1200; Ep. xxvi., ap. Thiel., p. 399. n. 5.

(5) That, so far from being intended to exalt the See of Peter, it was anti-Petrine as well as anti-Pauline, and as Puller admits, "un-Roman," its object being in accordance with the Ebionitish doctrine to exalt St. James as the head of the Christian Church, and as "the bishop of bishops."

(6) That long before the appearance of the Clementine Romance, Rome, in the words of the Anglican Bishop Westcott, had a definite constitution and a fixed service in her Church,[1] and her bishop was the recognised representative of the principle of Church organisation and ecclesiastical unity. Or, in the still stronger and more detailed testimony of Harnack:—

"The Roman Church was the first to have a formulated baptismal profession of faith; the first to have a canon of the New Testament, and a list of episcopal succession. It was she who first turned to use the idea of the Apostolic succession of bishops. It is to a Roman bishop, moreover, that the Eastern Churches trace all the most important Apostolic ordinances regulating the organisation of the Church, and, as it seems, rightly so. True, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen rose up against the pretensions of Callixtus (these were, therefore, innovations), nevertheless Callixtus gained the day. Accordingly, there can be little doubt that the fundamental Apostolic ordinances and laws of Catholicism were framed and shaped in the same city that had also made laws for the world at large."[2]

(7) That Rome, as eminent Protestant writers testify, was from the very beginning pre-eminently distinguished for the purity of its faith and its great moral excellence, and was the recognised source of ecclesiastical traditions. Thus Palmer, in his Treatise on the Church,[3] asserts that "the Roman Church was zealous to maintain the true faith from the earliest period, condemning and expelling the Gnostics, Artemonites, etc.; and, during the Arian mania, it was the bulwark of the Catholic faith." "No one who is versed in ecclesiastical history," says Casaubon, "can doubt that God made use of the Roman Pontiffs during many ages, to preserve the doctrines of the true

[1] *Can. N. Testament*, p. 26. [2] Harnack i., p. 362, 371.

[3] Vol. ii , p. vi., c. 3.

faith."[1] And the learned Protestant Archbishop of Armagh, Ussher, referring to the Canon of an Irish Council of which I shall speak again, says—"It is most likely that St. Patrick had a special regard for the Church of Rome, from whence he was sent for the conversion of this island; just as, if I myself had lived in his day, for the resolution of a doubtful question, I should as willingly have listened to the judgment of the Church of Rome as to the determination of any Church in the whole world; *so reverent an estimation have I of the integrity of that Church as it stood in those days.*"[2] I might fill some pages with Protestant testimony to the purity of the early Roman Church; and it must be always kept in mind that these testimonies cover some two centuries after the alleged introduction of the Clementine Romance, when Pope after Pope had declared that he was Peter's successor, and heir to Peter's prerogatives. The Roman Church, according to Canon Bright,[3] was trusted for its traditional immunity from heretical speculations. It was a typical Church, a sample Church, a miniature of the whole body, and by referring to it, one could see what was held by all.

(8) That, as the doctrine of the Roman Primacy is of the most practical kind, involving, of its very nature, the creation of a universal empire over the consciences and religious practices of men, the startling novelty of its introduction during the second century would have evoked the loudest protest of outraged Christendom.

(9) That not a trace of protest or repudiation can be found in any orthodox writer in that century, or, indeed, in many a century to come.

(10) That it is entirely improbable that an heretical fiction should have been "utterly captured"[4] the Church

1 Exercit. xv. in *Ann. Baronii*—London, 1614, p. 434.

2 *Diss. Relig. Ancient Irish*, ch. viii. 3 *Roman Claims Tested by Antiquity.*

4 See Review of Rivington's *Primitive Church and the See of Peter* in the (Anglican) *Church Quarterly Review*, 1894.

of Rome. The necessity of unity in the doctrines of faith had been impressed upon the Romans from the very beginning. Unity of faith was the keynote of the letter of Pope St. Clement, and in the pathetic epistles of St. Ignatius to the several Churches on his way to martyrdom, whilst he preached this necessity for others he testified to the existence of this unity amongst the Romans. And it was this very citadel of purest faith which, if we are to believe the patrons of the Clementine Romance theory, was half a century later captured without a struggle.

Our latest commentators on Irenæus have assured us that the pre-eminence the saint claims for the Roman Church arose from the constant influx of Christian strangers into the world's capital, and that the object of their going to Rome was to compare their local ecclesiastical traditions one with the other. Was or was not the belief in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff one of the traditions these strangers brought with them to Rome? If it were, then it was not of Roman origin; if it were not, then why was there not even one, amongst this multitude of strangers who flocked to Rome, to denounce the monstrous innovation of the Roman Primacy, which must have been introduced into Rome in the night time, and spread all over the Christian world before cock-crowing in the morning? Would these commentators on St. Irenæus kindly cease, for a while, their vapid rhetoric, and treat us, even for once, to the logic of facts?

Again, why should Rome try to make out that St. Peter was her first bishop if the fact was otherwise? The Romans could have no desire to set aside St. Paul, for Rome was free from Ebionite heresy, and ever held the Apostle of the Gentiles in the greatest reverence. To this day the name of Paul is inseparable from that of Peter, whether in the Mass or the Office. The two Apostles have a common feast, and every Pope issues his bulls in the name of St. Paul as well as in that of St. Peter. Besides, it

was not the fact of his being Bishop of Rome, but the fact of his being the rock foundation on which Christ built His Church, which constituted Peter's headship, and his primacy could have been transmitted to the occupants of any other See just as well as to the bishops of Rome, and the bishops of such See would not fail to press their claim to succession. Moreover, it is not to be forgotten that, so far as earthly renown is regarded, Rome would have been more flattered if she could have claimed St. Paul rather than St. Peter, as her first bishop. St. Paul was a Roman citizen, a scholar, and an orator, who was able to declare that he had laboured "more abundantly than all the rest," whereas St. Peter was a rude fisherman, belonging to a despised and conquered nation.

(11) **Date of "Clementine Romance."**—That in the opinion of many of the most learned non-Catholic writers, the Clementine Romance belongs, not to the second, but to the third century. Professor Harnack says:—

"The Recognitions and Homilies, in the form of which we have them, do not belong to the second century, but, at the very earliest, to the first half of the third. *There is nothing, however, to prevent our putting them a few decades later.*" "Be that as it may, it may at least be regarded as certain that the pseudo-Clementines contribute absolutely nothing to our knowledge of the origin of the Catholic Church and doctrine, as they show at best in their immediate sources a Jewish Christianity strongly influenced by Catholicism and Hellenism."[1]

In a note which he adds[2] he states his opinion still more explicitly, so that, notwithstanding its length, I make no apology for giving it. You will see that Harnack is not alone in assigning a later date to the Clementine Romance than many Anglican writers claim for it. Lipsius, we are frequently reminded, is a scholar amongst the most distinguished scholars, and he, too, according to Harnack, gives a later date to the Clementines than the second century:—

"There is no external evidence for placing the pseudo-Clementine writings in the second century. The oldest witness

1 *Hist. Dogma*, Vol. i., pp. 311-315. 2 P. 311.

is Origen (iv., p. 401, Lommatzsch); but the quotation: 'Quoniam opera bona, quæ fiunt ab infidelibus, in hoc sœculo iis prosunt,' etc., is not found in our Clementines, so that Origen appears to have used a still older version. The internal evidence all points to the third century (canon, composition, theological attitude, etc.). Moreover, Zahn (*Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1876, No. 45) and Lagarde have declared themselves in favour of this date, while Lipsius (*Apokr. Apostelgesch.* ii., 1) and Weingarten (*Leittafeln.*, 3 Edit., p. 23) have recently expressed the same opinion. The Homilies presuppose (1) Marcion's Antitheses, (2) Apelles' Syllogisms, (3) perhaps Callistus' edict about penance (see III., 70), and writings of Hippolytus (see, also, the expression ἐπίσκοπος ἐπισκόπων, Clem. Ep. ad Jacob 1, which is first found in Tertull. de pudic., I) (4) The most highly developed form of polemic against heathen mythology. (5) The complete development of Church apologetics, as well as the conviction that Christianity is identical with correct and absolute knowledge. They further presuppose a time when there was a lull in the persecution of Christians, for the Emperor, though pretty often referred to, is never spoken of as a persecutor, and when the cultured heathen world was entirely disposed in favour of an eclectic monotheism. Moreover, the remarkable Christological statement in Hom., xvi., 15-16, points to the third century, in fact probably even presupposes the theology of Origen. Of the sentence: τοῦ πατρὸς τὸ μὴ γεγεννῆσθαι ἐστιν, υἱοῦ δὲ τὸ γεγεννῆσθαι γεννητὸν δὲ ἀγεννήτω ἢ και αὐτογεννήτῳ οὐ συνκρίνεται. Finally, the decided repudiation of the awakening of Christian faith by visions and dreams, and the polemic against these is also, no doubt, of importance for determining the date. (See xvii., 14-19.)

(12) That, before the introduction of the "Clementine Romance," Rome possessed at least two lists of her bishops, and that in each of these are recorded the Roman episcopate of St. Peter, and the succession of the Roman Pontiffs from him, as we shall presently proceed to show.

How Ireland became Roman.—But before coming to the proof, I cannot help expressing my amazement that men of intelligence and research should so readily commit themselves to theories, no matter how untenable and opposed to the witness of history, provided only they seem to militate against the claims of Rome. An amusing illustration was very recently afforded, not very far either from where we are assembled. On last St. Patrick's Day an Anglican clergyman, of University distinction, read a paper on Ireland's National Apostle before a clerical meeting in this city. He undertook to show that the Irish-Protestant Church of to-day is the legitimate representative of the

Church of St. Patrick. He had some historical difficulties to surmount, and he surmounted them with a vengeance. I beg your close attention. It is not every day you will be favoured with such a reading of Irish history. Referring to the Reformation period, the reverend and learned historian discourses thus:—

"A series of questions arises here. If Ireland and the Irish Church were independent of Rome, how is Ireland now Roman? Why are not Irishmen now members of the Ancient Irish Church? Why are not Irish priests the staunch opponents of Rome's aggression? Bishop Wordsworth tells us. Alas! for delay. One reason is this. The English liturgy was ordered to be translated into Irish—the order was delayed for forty years. The Roman emissaries made full use of that time—the Irish were inoculated. The method adopted is significant. Irishmen are Celts—they are æsthetic, they are warm and impulsive; like the Galatians of old, they are naturally ritualists. Rome knew how to deal with them. Roman priests and bishops invaded the land—they took orders in the Irish Church—they had cold, barren services—they preached dry, Calvinistic sermons—in some cases they assumed infidel principles. The warm-hearted Irish were disgusted, and for shelter they fled to the foreign, non-national Church made ready and comfortable for their reception."

Ready and comfortable for their reception! And we are not told that a single member of that clerical gathering protested against such outrage on historic truth. Ready and comfortable for their reception! at a time when the soil of Ireland was reddened with the blood of her martyred children; when her bishops lodged in mountain caves, and directed their letters, with an unconscious pathos, *e loco refugii nostri*—"from our hiding place;" when her priests were banished from her desecrated shrines, and her people driven from their plundered homes. Ready and comfortable for their reception! when, as the Protestant poet, Davis, says:—

> They bribed the flock; they bribed the son,
> To sell the priest and rob the sire.
> Their dogs were taught alike to run
> Upon the scent of wolf and friar.

If at a clerical, and, it is to be presumed, a somewhat critical assembly, the imagination is permitted to run riot regarding events which occurred three centuries ago, have we not reason to fear when facts going back to the first and second centuries, and bearing on the Roman Primacy,

are under consideration? But we must leave this latest Irish historical fiction and continue our inquiry regarding the alleged influence of the Clementine Romance on the invention of the Roman claims to a Primacy of jurisdiction.

Lists of Pontiffs before the "Clementine Romance." —I have already stated that before the introduction of the "Clementine Romance" Rome possessed at least two lists of her bishops. The first of these must be independent of the Clementine Romance, even allowing to this work the very earliest date generally assigned to it. This list was drawn up by a converted Jew, named Hegesippus, who came to Rome about the middle of the second century for the purpose of tracing the succession of the Roman Pontiffs to the Apostles. This he did with a view of refuting prevailing heresies, for by proving an unbroken succession in the line of the Roman Pontiffs he would demonstrate a continuity of the true faith from the time of the Apostles. The materials for making out a list of the Roman bishops were ready at hand. Only eighty-three years had elapsed since the martyrdom of St. Peter, so that the memory of living men could go back most of the time, and the accounts received from their fathers would supply what was wanting. Of the list of St. Hegesippus we have no direct record, but Bishop Lightfoot advances very strong reasons for believing that the list made by the saint was that used by Eusebius in his *History* and *Chronicle*.[1] This list Eusebius obtained through the medium of a Syrian writer, named Julius Africanus.

What, then, does Eusebius, following the list made by Hegesippus in the middle of the second century, say of the succession of the Roman Pontiffs, and more particularly what does he say of the relation of St. Clement to St. Peter? Much stress has been laid on what he states in his *History*—namely, that Linus was the first appointed

1 See his *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., pp. 201-345.

to the bishopric of the Romans *after* the martyrdom of Peter and Paul.[1] But it is obvious that this expression, by itself, will not decide whether Peter or Paul is to be numbered amongst the bishops of the Roman See. It may, however, mean that, for, as we have already seen, by saying that Victoria is the fifth in succession after George I., so far from excluding, we actually include him amongst the sovereigns of England. Lipsius, we are frequently reminded, is a critic of peculiar excellence; he is, besides, entirely free from any predilections towards the Papacy. And Lipsius[2] says that Eusebius, in adopting the particular form of words which he used, "expressly asserted" the Roman episcopate of St. Peter.

But, as if to guard against misconception, Eusebius, in his *History*, immediately after, connects Linus with St. Peter in the direct succession, where he tells us that Linus obtained the bishopric of the Church of the Romans "first after Peter."[3] So far, however, the testimony of Eusebius is mostly of a negative character; but in his *Chronicle* he testifies distinctly to the Roman episcopacy of St. Peter. In the Armenian version of it, though Clement is counted third from the Apostles, we are told "the Apostle Peter, when he had first founded the Church of Antioch, sets out for the City of Rome, and there preaches the Gospel, and stays there as *prelate of the Church* for twenty years."[4] The same is repeated in the Greek fragments preserved by Syncellus, thus:—"But he (Peter), besides the Church in Antioch, also first presided over that in Rome until his death." The Latin version made by St. Jerome contains the same statement, as far as the main fact is concerned:—"He (Peter) is sent to Rome, where, preaching the Gospel for twenty-five years, he perseveres as bishop of the same city." And notwithstanding that St. Jerome here distinctly mentions Peter as Bishop of Rome, he yet calls Linus "the

[1] *H. E.* iii., 2. [2] Quoted by Rivington, *Primitive and Roman*, p. 13.
[3] *H.E.*, iii., 4. [4] ii., 150.

first bishop after Peter." Finally the Syriac version of the *Chronicle* confirms the Armenian, the fragmentary Greek, and the Latin. It contains the following:—"Peter after he had established the Church at Antioch, presided over the Church of Rome for twenty years."

The value of these versions of the *Chronicle* of Eusebius is independent of their chronology, so far as the Roman episcopate of St. Peter is concerned, for we know, as a matter of fact, that many events both in sacred and profane history are indisputable, whilst the chronology may be uncertain or confused. This is especially true of those early centuries when chronology had not yet been reduced to a science. In fact if, in those very early times, chronology be our unerring guide in revealed truth, then the most essential dogmas of the Christian faith itself will be endangered. Have there not been many volumes written about the dates, for instance, of the Incarnation and the Crucifixion? And if chronology be the supreme court of appeal in matters of early Christian history, will not the sceptic have his doubts intensified, and the scoffer too often find the material of a triumph? We should give chronology its due place, without detracting from the value of all the surrounding circumstances.

The Years of Peter's Primacy.—Non-Catholic writers consider the statements of St. Jerome, and the Syriac translator of Eusebius, an insuperable difficulty in the way of the Catholic teaching. They forget that it was not necessary for St. Peter to have gone to Rome at all to be its bishop, and to make its future bishops his successors; it was sufficient that he should fix upon Rome as his own See. No Catholic maintains that St. Peter remained in Rome the whole period that he held its bishopric. Catholics, therefore, are not bound to believe that St. Peter was twenty-five years in Rome, or that he was twenty years there. They are not bound to accept St. Jerome's or any other writer's chronology. As the visible Head of the

Church, St. Peter had a care of all the churches, and must have visited many of them, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles[1] he had been accustomed to do before he came to Rome. It is enough, and more than enough, to verify the tradition of the Church if St. Peter was in Rome for a few months, because, as Lipsius honestly confesses, if he went to Rome at all, he went there as Prince of the Apostles.

The student of ecclesiastical history does not need to be told that there are many instances of bishops having been consecrated, in Rome or elsewhere, for particular Sees to which they never went. During the penal days in Ireland there were several bishops who were consecrated in Rome or France, and who never afterwards were able to reach their Sees. To set foot in their dioceses was to court immediate imprisonment or death. Now, these men were as truly bishops of their several Sees as if they lived in them, and either directly, by writing and verbal testimony, or indirectly through their accredited representatives, received the willing obedience of both priests and people.

Independently of the testimony of Eusebius, we have the evidence of Epiphanius in favour of the Roman episcopate of St. Peter. Of course, we may be told that St. Epiphanius belonged to the fourth, and not to the second, century, which is the crucial time in this controversy. But Bishop Lightfoot has satisfactorily proved that the list of Roman Pontiffs given by Epiphanius in the fourth century is no other than the lost list which Hegesippus had made in the middle of the second century, when, as he himself tells us, he was in Rome, and compiled a succession of the Bishops in that See to the time of Anicetus. Here is the saint's own testimony, as Dr. Lightfoot gives it:—

"He (Epiphanius) then commences a list of the Roman episcopate, in which he places 'first Peter and Paul, *Apostles and bishops*, then Linus, then Cletus, then Clemens, who was a contemporary

[1] *Acts* ix., 32.

of Peter and Paul.' This leads him to explain how Clement, though a contemporary, was not next in succession after the Apostles. He suggests that, though Clement may have waived his claims in favour of others for the sake of peace, as 'he himself says in one of his letters, *I withdraw, I will depart, let the people of God remain at peace;* for I have found this,' adds Epiphanius 'in certain memoirs (ἐν τισὶν ὑπομνηματίσμοις).' Then, after other alternative solutions of the difficulty, Epiphanius continues: 'But possibly after Clement was appointed, and had waived his claims (if, indeed, it did so happen, for I only surmise it; I do not affirm it) subsequently, after the death of Linus and Cletus, when they had held the bishopric twelve years each, after the death of Saints Peter and Paul, which happened in the twelfth year of Nero, he (Clement) was again obliged to take the bishopric. Howbeit, the succession of the bishops of Rome is as follows: Peter and Paul, Linus and Cletus, Clement, Euarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus, who has been mentioned above in the catalogue."[1]

After which Dr. Lightfoot asks: "Have we not here the lost list of Hegesippus?" And, having asked the question, he proceeds to answer it in the affirmative.

A non-Catholic writer in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography and Literature* pays this tribute to the work of St. Hegesippus:—

"It is clear that Eusebius had a high opinion of Hegesippus. He both speaks of him in the most commendatory terms, and quotes him on numerous occasions. Such confidence seems to have been well deserved. As we have already seen, he travelled much; he endeavoured in the course of his journeys to learn all that he could both of the past and present state of the Churches that he visited. At Corinth the first epistle of Clement excited his curiosity; at Rome, the history of its early bishops. Combine with all this his unpretending and unexaggerated style, and we are entitled to infer that he was very far indeed from being either a hasty or credulous chronicler."[2]

In corroboration of the evidence of St. Hegesippus I shall recall St. Irenæus as a witness. Like St. Hegesippus, he, too, went to Rome, but not till the latter part of the second century; and whilst there he obtained materials for drawing up a list of the Roman bishops. This, as we have already seen, he used with great effect in the refutation of

[1] *Clem Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 329.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog. and Liter.*, Vol. ii., p. 876.

the Gnostic heresy. Dr. Lightfoot says that Irenæus used the list drawn up by St. Hegesippus, but Döllinger proves satisfactorily that he made an independent list for himself, and was not even aware of the one already made. St. Irenæus, as we know, gives two enumerations—one in which he includes all the bishops who occupied the Roman See, and another in which he gives those who came after the Apostles in that bishopric. But on this head I need not repeat what I have stated during the course of these lectures. Suffice it to say that Irenæus is in perfect agreement with St. Hegesippus, not only in the enumeration of the Roman bishops, but also in the reasons which induced him to draw up such list. Each of them had before his mind that the surest way to crush heresy was to prove that the Prince of the Apostles—the shepherd of the whole flock—still lived, and taught, and ruled in the Roman See.

Lipsius bears very strong testimony to the truthfulness of St. Irenæus' list. As early as the year 160 the Roman Church claimed the Apostles Peter and Paul as founders. Had the Clementine Romance so completely done its work that not a trace can be found of repudiation of what Lipsius calls the official list of Roman bishops? It is to be remembered that in the year 160 there must have been some in Rome who had conversed with men who had seen the Apostles.

"The interest that Irenæus takes in the Roman tradition," writes Lipsius, "is due not so much to the personal fate of Peter as to the text that he and St. Paul were the founders of the Roman Church. The source from which he drew was the *official* Roman tradition, such as it had established itself at the time of Eleutherius (174-189). Above all, he found a catalogue of the Roman bishops reaching as far back as Linus, who had been instituted by Peter and Paul. This was probably the same list previously

found by Hegesippus when he came to Rome, under Pope Anicetus (154-166 or 155-167), which he completed down to Eleutherius, second successor of Anicetus (Euseb. iv., 11-12). It may, therefore, be considered certain that as early as the year 160 the Roman Church traced her origin back to the two Apostles."[1]

The Clementine Romance—a Dilemma.—Here is a dilemma from which there is no getting away. If the Clementine Romance altered the faith of Rome regarding the succession of her bishops from Peter, it must have been introduced into Rome either after or before these lists of St. Hegesippus and St. Irenæus were drawn up. If it was introduced after these lists had been drawn up, then it could have no effect on the faith to which these lists bear witness. If it was introduced before these lists were made, then these illustrious saints must have known that the Clementine Romance was the foundation on which the claims of the Roman Pontiff were built. St. Hegesippus was in Rome before the Romance was heard of, or, at all events, close upon the time of its introduction, and St. Irenæus came a very few years afterwards—that is taking the most favourable view of the theory. They were specially interested in the subject of the Roman Primacy, for, as we have seen, their main object was to prove the orthodoxy of local churches by the standard of the Roman faith; and, as a proof of the genuineness of the Roman faith, they defiantly pointed to the unbroken succession of the Roman Pontiffs from Peter, who was the rock-foundation of Christ's Church. Here was a challenge to all heretics. The unchanged and unchangeable faith of the See of Peter was the standard by which their innovations were to be tested. If the Clementine Romance were the only authority for the fact that the See of Rome was the Chair of Peter, would these great saints have exposed

[1] Lipsius ii., 1-16. Quoted by Schanz, *Christian Apology*, iii., p. 477.

themselves to the sneers of the heretics? Did they not know that there was ready at hand the crushing reply that Rome had just undergone a most revolutionary change in her doctrine, as well as in her government?

And now comes the crucial question. Was there a single heresiarch who dared to accept the challenge of St. Hegesippus, or of St. Irenæus, by denying the fact either of the Roman episcopate of Peter, or of the direct succession of the Roman bishops from him? Did even Tertullian, after he had lapsed into heresy, withdraw the statement he had put on record that Pope St. Clement had been ordained by St. Peter? Tertullian is a witness of supreme importance. After he had fallen away from the Church he uses some offensive language against the reigning Pope. The Clementine Romance must have been known to him; that is, of course, supposing the early origin claimed for it. Tertullian was in Rome not many years after the alleged introduction of that Romance, and is it to be thought for a moment that his colossal mind would not have at once detected the imposition, or, that in quarrelling with the Pontiff, he would have failed to have pointed out this defect in the Papal system, which, when once exposed, would cause the whole Papal edifice to tumble down like a house of cards? Till some solid answer is given to questions such as these, it is only trifling with a great subject, and insulting the intelligence of grown-up men, to talk of Clementine Romances as the foundation of the prerogatives of the Roman See.

I cannot pass from these lists of the first Popes without protesting against the downright prejudice of Anglican controversialists such as Salmon and Puller, who ignore the character of the list of St. Hegesippus and the twofold enumeration of St. Irenæus. Such a *suppressio veri* is more than a *suggestio falsi*. Amongst Anglican writers, however, Bishop Lightfoot is a remarkable exception, and I gladly

acknowledge the fact. Though his conclusions are sometimes in strange conflict with his premises, still he never suppresses any important fact connected with his subject. For instance, he admits that "all authorities are agreed as to the authenticity of St. Irenæus' enumeration of the bishops of Rome, which includes St. Peter, and he admits, also, that there could be no "accidental tripping," because St. Irenæus gives this enumeration in the very next chapter to that in which he had given the list of the *successors* of the Apostles in the See of Rome. But for no other reason, apparently, than that such an enumeration does not harmonise with his own theory, he coolly says that he believes St. Irenæus was mistaken.[1]

And there is this important consideration to be kept in mind as we analyse the belief of the ancient Church, that it is by the very same patristic testimony we prove both the Canon of the New Testament and the Primacy of St. Peter. It is as perilous, then, as it is inconsistent to accept their evidence for the one and reject it for the other. But I shall return to the consideration of this matter when we shall have fully dealt with the patristic evidence for the Roman Primacy.

Thus, then, by the close of the second century, notwithstanding the restraints placed by the persecuting civil powers on the Church's action, and the admitted loss of so much of the ecclesiastical literature of these early times, we still have such an amount of authentic evidence regarding the Primacy of St. Peter, and of his successors in the See of Rome, that if this evidence had to stand alone, it would be sufficient to prove the form of government established from the beginning in the Christian Church. But the volume of evidence increases immensely in the centuries immediately succeeding, when the action of the Church

[1] Read Dr. Lightfoot fully on the "Early Roman Succession."—*Clem. Rom.*, pp. 201-345.

was much less hampered by the imperial power, and her sway became more extended, and her records and the writings of the representative exponents of her doctrine and polity, were more numerous and more successfully preserved. Then it was that her councils, convened to repress heresy, systematised and defined the doctrine of the Church. Her organisation assumed its free and normal form, and the writings of the Fathers illuminated the teachings of her holy faith.

In the next lecture we shall examine this fuller and clearer evidence as it has come down to us from the end of the second to the middle of the fifth century.

CHAPTER XVIII.

TESTIMONY OF THE FATHERS OF THE THIRD, FOURTH, AND FIFTH CENTURIES.

(Sixth Lecture.)

Recapitulation.—Our last lecture was devoted, as you may remember, to a methodical examination of the evidence supplied by the second century in favour of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. That evidence is, as we have seen, both positive and negative. The positive evidence comes from the testimony of the Fathers who lived in that century, the records of whose lives, or whose works, have come down to us. The negative evidence is derived from a refutation of the theory that the Clementine Romance was the origin of the claims of the Roman Pontiffs to sit in the chair of Peter. I cannot sincerely express regret for the considerable length at which this new-fangled theory was discussed. Though intrinsically inconsistent, and extrinsically unsupported by historical evidence, it is, in truth, the last entrenchment behind which Anglican controversialists have taken refuge. Formerly the pseudo-decretals of Isidore and the apocryphal grant of Constantine were made to serve as outposts, but, when dislodged from these positions, Anglicans have staked their hopes on the Clementine Romance. Hence it is that we entered into such a detailed examination of the theory, and gave such manifold proofs of its logical and historical untenableness.

We now proceed to examine, in strict chronological sequence, the evidence which subsequent centuries, up to the date of the Council of Chalcedon, present to us. We

shall continue to pursue the road we have marked out for ourselves from the beginning. Our pathway is so clear and so safe that we feel no temptation to imitate the discursiveness into which the advocates of a losing cause are so liable to wander. We have already seen that, as the first century closed with the "imperious" and "authoritative" letter of Pope Clement, so, at the end of the second century, we are confronted with what Protestant writers designate the "haughty" and "arrogant" action of Pope Victor. In the intervening century the number of Christians had increased, heresies had arisen, and the organisation of the Church had, consequently, been largely developed. It will be useful to consider the lines on which this development took place.

The Primacy in Rome; Councils and Seat of Empire in the East.—Many Anglican writers seem to imagine that in the circumstances surounding the origin and spread of Christianity there was an antecedent probability, if not necessity, in favour of the development of the Roman See. But we must remember that Christianity did not originate in Rome or in the West. A small Jewish colony formed the first body of Christians in Rome. When the Gentile element was added to early Christianity, that element came from a Greek, and not from a Roman source. To show the preponderance of the Greek element it is sufficient to observe that the Old Testament of the early Christians was the Greek version; that the books of the New Testament were all, with the exception of St. Matthew's Gospel, written in Greek; that the first liturgy of the Roman Church was in Greek, and that, as we have seen, Pope St. Clement wrote his letter to the Corinthians in Greek. Then, too, the great patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, Constantinople, and Jerusalem, might well be considered as giving to the East a preponderating influence. Antioch was the older See of Peter, and the seat of a great school of learning and eloquence. Alexandria was even more

renowned for its schools and scholars, and yielded but little to Antioch in the privilege of its foundation by Mark, the disciple of St. Peter. Jerusalem could claim to be the cradle of Christianity and the Mother Church. And after the transfer of the seat of imperial government from the West to the East, Constantinople usurped a primacy over the older Eastern patriarchates.

Henceforth it was the constant and the highest ambition of the many emperors and bishops to raise that see to a dignity not recognised by the canons of the Church, and hence the prevailing friction which existed between the Popes on the one hand and the emperors and patriarchs of Constantinople on the other.

Then, again, we must remember that the first eight General Councils were held not in the West, but in the East, within what became the patriarchate of Constantinople, and that four of them were held in the city itself. These were composed chiefly of Eastern prelates. Finally we must bear in mind that the great Fathers, Doctors, and Historians of the early Church, as well as the heresiarchs, were principally Eastern. These were, humanly speaking, mighty influences to ensure the predominance of the Eastern Church, yet we find that the seat of the spiritual empire was transferred, in the very beginning, from the East to the West, and fixed in Rome, and through all the chances and changes of ages has remained immovably there. Nay, more, the principal witnesses in favour of the Roman Primacy are the Eastern Patriarchs, Fathers, Councils, and Historians, from the first to the tenth centuries, thus utterly shattering the theory that the Clementine Romance, which was introduced from the East to the West, was the origin of the universally admitted supremacy of the Roman See. The emperors and patriarchs, while they sought to extol the dignity of the patriarchate of Constantinople to a position next to the patriarchate of Rome,

never, down to the Greek schism, thought of denying the primacy of the Roman See.

To understand the character of his office it is well to remember that the Pope has several relations to different parts of the Church. He is bishop of the See of Rome, archbishop of the suburban province, primate of Italy, patriarch of the West, and supreme pastor of the whole Catholic Church. This distinction between the patriarchate of the West and the primacy of the Universal Church will, when we come to consider some of the canons of the early councils, serve to illustrate the precise claims put forward by some of the patriarchs of Constantinople. It is obvious that, while the Roman Church and its Bishop were still in the Catacombs, it was impossible for the Roman Pontiff to exercise a personal or immediate control over distant parts of the Church, and that he should of necessity delegate a large part of his jurisdiction to the metropolitans and patriarchs of the East, reserving to himself only the greater causes. Notwithstanding this delegation and the difficulties of travel in those early times, still we find that appeals were carried to Rome by patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, priests, and laymen, by the orthodox as well as by the defenders of heresy. As we shall see, all still looked to Rome as the ultimate court of appeal. So much have I deemed it useful to say for the purpose of elucidating the testimony which will be presently produced from the writings of the Fathers and the Acts of the Councils during the centuries with which we are dealing.

Pope Victor (190-202).—The first authority whom we meet at the threshold of the third century is the then reigning Pontiff Victor. We find him engaged in the unmistakable exercise of his primacy of jurisdiction by threatening to cut off from the Church some Asiatic bishops who persisted in celebrating the paschal feast on a day different

from that observed in the Western Church. As I have on more than one occasion dealt with this action of Pope Victor, I should not refer to the subject again except for the purpose of correcting two misstatements recently made regarding the saint. The first is that St. Irenæus disagreed with the dictum of Victor of Rome that Easter should be kept on the same day in the East as in the West; and the second is that the Asiatic bishops who resisted Victor "had their way." The fact is that Irenæus fully agreed with Pope Victor regarding the proper time for celebrating Easter, and differed only regarding the severity of the threatened punishment; and, secondly, so far from the view of the Asiatic bishops having prevailed in the Church, they were set aside at the Council of Arles (314), and subsequently by the first General Council of Nice (325), after which the ruling of Pope Victor was generally adopted.

The Anglican Archbishop Potter says:—

"And the same person excommunicated the bishops of Asia and their Churches for observing Easter at the same time as the Jews, wherein he pretended they deviated from the Apostolic rule. This, indeed, was an unjust act, and blamed by Irenæus and other bishops of that age, who rightly thought that Churches might differ from one another in things of this kind without any breach of Catholic communion or charity. However, it is a good evidence that excommunication was used at this time in the Church."[1]

And again—

"A little before the conclusion of this (the second) century, Victor, Bishop of Rome, cast Theodotus out of the Church for denying our Lord's divinity."

If, as Professor Harnack believes, Pope Victor was the author of the treatise *De Aleatoribus*, usually ascribed to St. Cyprian, we have from the same source a very forcible evidence in favour of the Roman Primacy. Harnack takes it to be simply an encyclical letter of Pope Victor. In it we meet with such a significant passage as this:—

"Et quoniam *nobis* divina ac paterna pietas *Apostolatus ducatum* contulit, et *vicariam Domini sedem* cælesti dignatione ornavit, et *originem authentici apostolatus*, super quem Christus fundavit

1 *Church Government*, p. 304.

ecclesiam *in superiore nostro* portamus, accepta simul potestate solvendi ac ligandi et cum ratione peccata dimmittendi; salutari doctrina admoneamur, ne cum delinquentibus assidue ignoscimus, ipsi cum iis pariter torqueamur. Ideo sal terræ dicimur, ut ex nobis fraternitas cælesti sapientia saliatur."[1]

Here Victor claims the Primacy of the Apostolate, the See of the Lord's Vicar, the source of the authentic Apostolate. This last phrase, as Harnack admits, designates the Cathedra Petri, though he urges that all bishops share therein, as, undoubtedly, they do in as far as they are in communion with the occupant of Peter's See, but not otherwise, for observe that it is through Peter (superiore nostro) that he makes this claim.

We have already incidentally referred to Tertullian, who was a contemporary of Pope Victor. He bears witness both from within and from without the Church, for, as you are doubtless aware, he fell into the Montanist heresy. Before his fall, like Irenæus and Hegesippus, he makes communion with the Apostolic Churches, but particularly with the Roman Church, the test of orthodoxy. He says:—

"Let them, then, give us the origin of their Churches; let them unfold the series of their bishops, coming down from the beginning in succession, so that the first bishop was appointed and preceded by any one of the Apostles, or of Apostolic men, provided he persevered in communion with the Apostles. For in this way the Apostolic Churches exhibit their origin, as the Church of Smyrna relates that Polycarp was placed there by John; as the Church of Rome likewise relates that Clement was ordained by Peter; and in like manner the other Churches show those who were constituted bishops by the Apostles, and made perpetuators of the Apostolic seed. Let heretics feign anything like this."[2]

But the Roman Church he specially addresses as "the happy Church into which the Apostles poured all their doctrine with their blood." And the testimony he gives after his fall is still more valuable. Even in his disrespectful references to Pope Zephyrinus, the successor of St. Victor, he yet exhibits the Pontiff as claiming the office

1 Quoted by Ryder, *Dublin Review*, July, 1889, p. 91.

2 *De Proscr. Hæret.*, c. 32.

of the Primacy, and faithfully discharging its duties, issuing "peremptory edicts,"[1] and thus guarding the sheep of the flock from the wolves of heresy.

The evidence of the celebrated presbyter, Caius (A.D. 214), is very distinct. As quoted by Eusebius, he bears testimony to the unquestioned belief of the Christians in his day that St. Peter and St. Paul were interred in Rome.[2] And speaking of St. Victor, he calls him the thirteenth Bishop of Rome from St. Peter.[3] Eusebius takes the passage from an ancient author, who, according to Photius and Bishop Pearson, is no other than Caius. Some, however, refer the passage to St. Hippolytus (A.D. 225).

St. Cyprian of Carthage († 258).—Passing over the evidence, for St. Peter's Primacy, of the writer of the poem against Marcion, of St. Hippolytus, and of Origen, we come to the evidence of St. Cyprian, Bishop of Carthage. The statements of this saint are of the utmost importance, for Anglicans profess to see in him their ideal of an early Father, and they are accustomed to point to him as the special representative of their own system in the primitive Church. St. Cyprian presumed to differ from the teaching of Pope St. Stephen on the subject of the re-baptism of those who had been baptized by heretics, just as, apparently without fully knowing the facts of the case, he had remonstrated with him for restoring to their sees some bishops who had repented of their heresy. But when Anglicans praise St. Cyprian for differing from the decision of the Pope, they forget that, even according to the teaching of their own church, St. Stephen's doctrine was the orthodox one, and they forget, moreover, that it was the intensity of his belief in Rome, as the centre of unity, which blinded Cyprian to the fact that valid Baptism could be given by those who, as St. Augustine says, belong to the soul, though not to the body, of the Church. It is perfectly clear that St. Cyprian did not think that a question of faith

[1] *De Pudic.*, cap. i. [2] *H.E.*, ii., 25. Euseb., l., v., 28.

was involved. His own words prove that he looked upon the matter as purely one of discipline. He says in the Council of Carthage, held A.D. 256:—

"It remains that we severally declare our opinion on the same subject, judging no one, nor removing anyone from the right of communion, if he think differently from us. . . . Every bishop, in accordance with the free use of his own liberty and power, has his own judgment, and in the same way as he may not be judged by another, so neither can he judge another."

If a matter of faith were involved, such language would be inexplicable in any of the Fathers, but, most of all, in him who is the most outspoken advocate of the faith's inviolable unity. Heresy was to Cyprian the most soul-destroying of sins, and as deviation from the centre of unity led inevitably to it, therefore it was that he gave such opposition to everything that looked like a communication with heretics in sacred things. It must be remembered that there had been no previous decision on the question, and that others had erred as well as St. Cyprian. I am not concerned, however, with an explanation of his conduct. I am only dealing with his testimony to the primacy of the Roman Pontiffs, which is all the stronger by very reason of that conduct. Regarding his error, I answer as St. Augustine answered the Donatists, who, like the Anglicans, were fond of quoting St. Cyprian in justification of their position, I condemn his error, but I say that it arose from the strength of his determination not to break with Rome. He is the saint who first formulated, with scientific precision, the doctrine of the Church's unity. "There is one Church," he teaches, "founded by the Lord upon Peter, *for the origin and purpose of unity*,"[1] and there is no ambiguity in his language as to which Church he means. Writing to Pope Cornelius, he says:—"I exhorted all that went from here (from Africa to Rome) that they should own and hold to *the root and womb of the Catholic Church*,"[2] and, furthermore, he declares that "they should all own him (the Pope) *and his communion—that is, the unity and*

[1] Ep. lxx., n. 3. [2] Ep. xlv.

charity of the Catholic Church."[1] In a letter to Antonianus he informs him that a letter had been written to Pope Cornelius "to let him know that you were in his communion—*that is, communion with the Catholic Church.*"[2] Union with the Chair of Peter was the test of orthodoxy with him as with St. Hegesippus and St. Irenæus. "Does he suppose," he asks, "that he holds the faith who holds not this unity of the Church? He who opposes and resists the Church, *and who deserts the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded, does he trust that he is in the Church?*"[3]

Just consider for a moment what St. Cyprian's testimony means. He, according to the Anglican contention, is the fearless, uncompromising champion of an independent national Church, and does not hesitate to oppose the Pope when the occasion demands a display of firmness. Did the knowledge of the Clementine Romance make its way to Carthage, or was he, too, like Tertullian, a victim to his own credulity and the wiles of Rome? If the Clementine Romance be the source from which the expressive epithet, "Chair of Peter," be derived, then it is clear St. Cyprian must have read that work, for "Chair of Peter" is his favourite expression. Allowing the earliest possible introduction of that Romance into Rome, St. Cyprian was contending with Pope St. Stephen less than ninety years later, and had all tradition of the fraud so completely died out that there was no one to remind him of the poor foundation of the Papal claims to the possession of unerring, apostolical traditions? But there is another difficulty. Acording to the opinion of Harnack and other Protestant authorities, clearly St. Cyprian could never have heard of the Romance, for he had himself repeatedly written of the "Chair of Peter" before that epithet had been moulded in the romancer's brain. Let us hear the great saint discourse a little further. He says:—

"There is one God and one Christ, and there is *one Church and one chair founded by the voice of the Lord upon a rock.* Another

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Ep. liii. [3] *De Unit. Eccl.*, n. 4.

altar cannot be constituted or a new priesthood be made beside the one altar and the one priesthood. *Whosoever gathereth elsewhere scattereth.*"[1]

St. Cyprian on Unity.—The faith of Rome was, in the mind of Cyprian, an impregnable fortress, which heresy would assault in vain, and he tells us that heretics had begun in his time to recognise its world-wide authority. It is to be remembered that the Church was not quite out of the Catacombs in St. Cyprian's time, for the saint himself had to give the testimony of his blood in the wave of persecution which passed over Carthage. His testimony, then, as to the efforts of heretics to shelter themselves under the shadow of Peter's Chair has a special significance. The fabrication of Papal claims had not yet been heard of, and heretics thought to palm off their teaching as the genuine, unadulterated doctrines of Rome.

"A false bishop having been ordained for them by heretics, they venture to set sail, and carry letters from schismatical and profane men *to the chair of Peter, and to the episcopal Church, whence sacerdotal unity has arisen;* nor do they reflect that they are Romans whose faith is extolled by the Apostle, to whom perfidy can have no access."[2]

Speaking of his election to the Papal See, he rejoices that Cornelius has "mounted to the lofty summit of the priesthood . . . when the place of Fabian—that is, when *the place of Peter* and the rank of the sacerdotal Chair —was vacant."[3] It was no mere primacy of honour St. Cyprian recognised in Peter's Chair. Writing to the very same Pope Stephen, with whose opinion he differed regarding the validity of baptism by heretics, he begs that "letters be addressed from thee to the province and people dwelling at Arles, by which Marcion, being deposed, another may be substituted in his place."[4] Assuredly, it is only a primacy of plenary jurisdiction that would entitle Pope Stephen to depose a bishop from his see and place another

[1] Ep. ad Pleb. ix., n. 5. [2] Ep. lv. [3] *Ibid.*, n. 8. [4] lxvii.

in his stead, and yet this is the very thing that St. Cyprian asked him to do. In addition to all the remarkable declarations I have quoted, St. Cyprian calls Hyginus the ninth bishop of Rome, an enumeration which includes St. Peter.[1] The Clementine Romance, we must presume, had completely captured the mighty mind of Cyprian.

Mosheim is a historian of the strongest anti-Catholic prejudices, but he is forced to acknowledge that the teaching of St. Cyprian naturally leads to the admission of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. He says:—

"Cyprian and the rest cannot have the corollaries which follow from their precepts about the Church before them. For no one is so blind as not to see that between a certain unity of the Universal Church, terminating in the Roman Pontiff, and such a community as we have described out of Irenæus and Cyprian, there is scarcely so much room as between hall and chambers, or between hand and fingers." [2]

What simpletons the Fathers were! Their books, no doubt, were deemed of such value that they have been preserved as priceless treasures through all the centuries since they were written. But still the poor, unsophisticated writers of these imperishable works did not actually know the difference between a hall and a room, or between the hand and the fingers. Mosheim has said no more than what we have had lately declared to us here in Melbourne.

Harnack takes a more impartial view of Cyprian's testimony, and emphasises the fact of his having so often stated that it was upon Peter Christ had built His Church. I give his own words, "The sentence that the Church is founded upon Peter, Cyprian has very often expressed."

St. Cyprian supplies evidence that enables us to realise the universal recognition, in his day, of the Roman Primacy. Though Cornelius unhesitatingly accepted his election to the Pontificate, he must have known that the Emperor Decius had declared that he "would much more patiently and tolerably learn that a new pretender to the

[1] Ep. 71, ad Pompeium. [2] *De Gallorum Appellat.*, s. 13.

Empire had risen against him, than that a new bishop was appointed in Rome."[1]

We cannot pass from the testimony of St. Cyprian without some reference to his contemporary Firmilian. His testimony derives special value from the fact that it was given at a time when he was at war with Pope Stephen, whom he denounced as an abettor of heresy, because he had declared that baptism could be validly conferred by heretics. Of this Pope Firmilian thus writes:—"He prides himself on the place of his Episcopate, and contends that he *holds the succession of Peter*, upon whom the foundations of the Church were laid." And again—"Stephen, who proclaims that *he occupies, by succession, the Chair of Peter*, is moved by no zeal against heretics."[2] So that the Popes were constantly asserting that they were Peter's successors in Peter's Chair, and we nowhere read of the truth of the assertion being questioned in those early years of the Church's history.

St. Athanasius and Pope Julius (296-373.)—There is no need to tell the full story of St. Athanasius, replete as it is with stirring episodes. Whilst the Church endures his name will be honoured as the fearless champion of orthodoxy, and the uncompromising foe of Erastianism. When, through intrigue and calumny, he had been driven from his See of Alexandria, which was second in rank to Rome itself, he had the facts of his case made known to the reigning Pope, Julius, and subsequently appeared before him in person. The great letter of Julius has, fortunately, come down to us, preserved as it has been in the works of St. Athanasius. It is the next link we have in the chain of Papal documents connecting us with the Epistle of Pope St. Clement. All the other earlier Papal documents have been lost, except, probably, the writing which, as we have seen, Harnack maintains to be an encyclical letter of

[1] St. Cyprian, Ep. 52.

[2] Ep. ad Cyp. Int. Cyp. Epist. lxxv. ed. Baluz.

Pope St. Victor. And if the most eminent amongst Anglican writers pronounce the letter of Clement to be "authoritative" and "imperious," and the conduct of Victor to be "haughty" and "arrogant," what words will fitly describe their opinion of this letter of Pope Julius? The Church was now out of the Catacombs, and the strength of the Empire was at her service, or, indeed, to speak more accurately, was just then at the service of the enemies of St. Athanasius.

We must read the letter from beginning to end if we would duly appreciate its force. The Pope is guided, he declares, by the rule of tradition and custom. The bishops opposed to Athanasius had sent to him a priest and two deacons to defend their conduct towards the saint, who, on his part, had sent some of his own clergy. Both parties had been heard, and the party of Athanasius had refuted the party of Eusebius, and then the latter asked the Pope to convene a Council to consider the disputed matters afresh. And observe with what claim to authority the Pontiff replies:—"If they had not done so," he writes, "but if I had of my own accord advised a Council to detect those who had written to us, for the sake of the brethren who had complained that they had suffered injustice, my advice would have been reasonable and just. For it is *according* to the order of the Church and agreeable to God."[1]

Now, remember that the *brethren* whom Julius refers to as *complaining to him* were no other than Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria, the second See in Christendom; Paul, Bishop of Constantinople, the seat of imperial power; Marcellus of Ancyra, and a great many others from Thrace, Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, who had taken refuge in Rome. Pope Julius states emphatically that he is in his right in requiring a re-hearing of their

[1] The letter of Pope Julius is given in St. Athanasius' *Apologia Contra Arianos.*

cause, and this claim to authority he makes as resting on the recognised order of government in the Church, coming down from the Apostles. See how faithful he is to his office as shepherd of the flock, and confirmer of the brethren. "What was it my duty to do?" he asks, "or what does the ecclesiastical rule require? except not to condemn the man, but to hold him for a bishop, as we did. For, besides all this, he stayed here eighteen months, awaiting your coming or those who were willing to come. And his presence shamed us, for he would not have been here but for confidence in his cause. And he came not of himself, but *cited* by us." We must bear in mind that it is of the bishop recognised as next to himself in rank the Pope is speaking, and he asserts that dependence upon Rome is the rule of the ancient Church when the doctrine or conduct of that bishop is in question.

The fact that the enemies of St. Athanasius had Constantius and the imperial party in their favour weighed not with Pope Julius. He goes on reciting "the rule of the Church," and writes:—

"If any fault had been committed, judgment should have been made, not thus, but according to the rule of the Church. We should all have been written to" [that is, the bishops who were in Rome seeking his aid as well as himself], "that thus justice might have been decreed by all. For it was bishops who were sufferers, and not ordinary churches either, but those which Apostles themselves had personally directed. But especially in the case of the Church of Alexandria why did you not write to us? Know you not that this was the custom, first that we should be written to, and that the right judgment should go forth from this place? If any such thing was suspected against the Bishop there, it behoved you to write to the Church here. But now, not having informed us, but having done themselves what they chose, they would have us who have taken no part in the condemnation to share their decision. Not such are the statutes of Paul; not so have our fathers delivered down to us. This is another form, a novel mode of procedure. I beseech you bear this with good-will. I write what is for the general good. For what we have received from the blessed Apostle Peter, this I also declare to you. And I would not have written, deeming that this was manifest to all, save that what has happened has disturbed us. Bishops are seized upon and banished; others are intruded from a distance; others are plotted against; so that their

people grieve over those who are taken away, are compelled to take the intruders, may not ask for those whom they would like, and have to take those whom they dislike."

Allies truly remarks that it is entirely owing to the fact that so many of the early papal documents have perished that men can be found audacious enough to put aside the undisputed testimony of centuries. Between the days of St. Clement and of St. Julius there was an interval of more than two centuries, and yet Julius seems to begin where Clement left off. We found the latter defending the persecuted bishop and presbyters of Corinth with all the strength of his spiritual authority, and we now see Julius standing up against all comers for the rights of the glorious, though exiled, Athanasius of Alexandria.

The Protestant historian Neander gives a faithful summary of the teaching of St. Optatus on the doctrine of the Roman Primacy. Instead of quoting from the saint I shall adopt this summary: —

"Optatus of Milevis . . . represents the Apostle Peter as the Head of the Apostles—as the representative of the unity of the Church and of the Apostolic power, who had received the keys of the kingdom for the purpose of giving them to the others. . . . . In the Roman Church he perceives the indestructible Cathedra Petri. This stood in the same relation to the other Episcopal Churches as the Apostle Peter stood to the rest of the Apostles. The Roman Church represents the one visible Church, the one Episcopate. There was one Apostolic power in Peter, from which the Apostolic powers of the others issued forth, as it were, like so many different streams; and, in like manner, there is one Episcopal power in the Roman Church from which the other Episcopal powers are but so many different streams."[1]

St. Ambrose († 398) and St. Jerome (†420).—The great St. Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, who converted St. Augustine, and who obliged the Emperor Theodosius to submit to public, or, as it is usually called, canonical penance, was, we are asked to believe, another victim to the Clementine Romance theory. His great mind was so convinced of the necessity, as well as of the fact, of the Roman Primacy, that the very idea of the Church involved the

[1] *Hist. Ch.*, Bohn's ed., Vol. iii., pp. 236-237.

idea of its supreme ruler. *Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia*—where Peter is, there is the Church—is the memorable formula in which he sums up the doctrine and whole history of Catholicism. "This is Peter, to whom He said, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.' Therefore, where Peter is, there is the Church, and where the Church is, there is no death, but eternal life."[1]

He explicitly refers to the Roman See as Peter's Chair:—

"Thou, O Lord, didst say to Peter, when he excused himself from Thy washing his feet, *If I wash thee not, thou shalt have no part with me.* What fellowship, then, can these men (Novatians) have with Thee; men who receive not the keys of the kingdom, and who deny that they ought to forgive sins? Which is, indeed, rightly acknowledged on their parts, for they have not Peter's inheritance who have not Peter's chair."[2]

And now we shall surely get some light on the subject of the Clementine Romance from the saint to whom we owe the Latin version of the Scriptures, and whose vast learning has been the admiration of all the centuries since his time. Combined with a marvellous application to study, St. Jerome had opportunities for acquiring knowledge given to few men before or since. He was the secretary of the great Pope St. Damasus, and had sat at the feet of St. Gregory Nazianzen. He enjoyed the confidence of St. Gregory of Nyssa, who submitted his writings to him for inspection; and he was the guide and instructor of the colossal mind of Augustine when it had reached home after its dreary wanderings in heresy and sensualism. He spent, besides, many years in the East, and had accumulated such stores of learning, both Eastern and Western, as seldom, if ever, in the world's history have been got together. But, from whatever cause, the story of the Clementine Romance seems to have escaped the eagle eye of Jerome, for he, too, falls into the trap of calling the See

1 In Ps. l., n. 30.

2 *Non habent Petri hereditatem, qui Petri sedem non habent.—De Panit.*, lib. i., c. 7, n. 32, tom. ii.

of Rome the Chair of Peter. Writing to Pope Damasus, he declares:—

"I speak with the fisherman's successor, and the disciple of the Cross. Following no chief but Christ, I am joined in communion with your Holiness—that is, with the Chair of Peter. Upon that rock I know that the Church is built. Whosoever eats the lamb out of this house is profane. If any be not in the ark of Noah, he will perish whilst the deluge prevaileth."[1]

A strife having arisen at Antioch as to who was to be considered the legitimate Bishop of the See, he seeks information from the centre of authority, whence alone the mandate to consecrate goes forth. He asks Pope Damasus which of the three—Meletius, Vitalis, or Paulinus—is the lawful bishop, and by the very asking makes profession of faith in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs. He pleads:—

"And as for my sins, I have wandered to that desert which bounds Syria, and I cannot at all times, with such a distance between us, ask for the Holy of the Lord at the hands of your Holiness; therefore do I here follow your colleagues, the Egyptian confessors, and my little skiff lies concealed beneath those deeply-laden vessels. I know not Vitalis; I repudiate Meletius; I am a stranger to Paulinus. Whosoever *gathereth not with* thee, *scattereth* —that is, whosoever is not of Christ is of Anti-Christ."[2]

He has an infallible rule for ascertaining who is the genuine bishop. In another letter he writes:—

"I meanwhile exclaim, 'If anyone be joined to the Chair of Peter, he is mine.'"[3]

If the East has been the cradle land of faith, it has been the birthplace of heresy as well, for the speculative mind of its people finds no relief in the rest which faith gives, but must be ever wandering in the barren regions of mysticism. During his sojourn in those Eastern lands St. Jerome instinctively turns to Rome for guidance and solace midst the desolation he sees around him. He says:—

"As the East, vexed with internal discord, with all the habitual frenzy of that people, is tearing into shreds the seamless garment of the Lord, and *the foxes lay waste* Christ's *vineyard*, so that amongst the *broken cisterns that hold no water* it is difficult to understand where is the *sealed-up fountain*, and that *enclosed garden;* therefore have I thought that I ought to consult the Chair of Peter, and the *faith* that *was commended* by the mouth of the

[1] Ep. xv., ad Dam. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*

Apostle, seeking now the food of my soul from that place where, in other days, I received the robe of Christ."[1]

This evidence of St. Jerome is valuable, as not only testifying to his own faith, but also especially as bearing witness to the fact that amidst all the restlessness of those Eastern lands, their belief in the "Chair of Peter" was finding constant expression in the utterances of their bishops and the declarations of the General Councils.

Anglicans fully appreciate the importance of St. Jerome's evidence, so they make a desperate effort to discount it. They gravely tell us that the saint was quite a youth when he used the expression, "Chair of Peter." Well, in answer to that, I may observe, with Fr. Rivington, that Jerome, at the time he employed the term, was older than Athanasius was when, as Canon Bright acknowledges, he made himself a power in the First General Council of the Church, and was older than St. Athanasius was when he was made Archbishop of Alexandria. But, as a matter of fact, did not St. Jerome in his advancing years make this declaration:—"I will hold that faith as a man in which as a boy I was born again."[2] And passing over several proofs of an abiding faith in the Chair of Peter, which he gave in the intervening years, I shall content myself with this one extract from his writings. When he is seventy-four years old he wrote thus to Demetrius:—

"I think that I ought to give you this warning, that you hold fast the faith of holy Innocent, who is both the successor and the son of the aforesaid man, and of the Apostolic Chair; nor, however prudent and wise you may seem to yourself, receive any strange doctrine."[3]

St. Chrysostom (†407) and St. Augustine (†430).—When St. John Chrysostom was driven from his See of Constantinople by the violence of schismatics, he appealed to Pope St. Innocent I. to declare null and void all that had been done in connection with his condemnation; and though the civil power opposed the efforts of Rome, yet

1 Ep. xv., ad Dam. 2 Epist. lxxxiv., ad Pammallo et Ocean, n. 8.
3 Ep. cxxx., ad Demet.

we know that the Popes never ceased to recognise him and others unjustly deposed as the legitimate bishops of their several sees. Nor did the faithful view them as guilty of any canonical offence, because, as Pope Virgilius says, "Although they were violently excluded, they were not looked on as condemned, because the Roman Pontiffs always kept unbroken communion with them." A single extract from St. John Chrysostom's writings will suffice to show that his teaching was consistent with his practice. He writes:—

"Christ, speaking to the leader of the Apostles, says, *'Peter, lovest thou Me?'* and upon his affirming that he did, He replies, 'If thou lovest Me, *feed my sheep.*' . . . Why did Christ shed His blood? That He might obtain possession of those very sheep which He entrusted to Peter, and to his successors (to those after him)."[1]

No effort of rhetoric can explain away the meaning of St. Chrysostom's letter to Pope St. Innocent. He asks him, in clearest terms, to exercise his Primacy of jurisdiction.

"Vouchsafe," he prays, "to write back that the things which have so wickedly been done by one party, whilst I was absent and did not decline a trial, *have no force* (*μηδεμίαν ἔχειν ἰσχὺν*), as, indeed, they have not of their own nature; and that they who have been proved to have thus acted against all law *be subjected to the laws of the Church.* . . . Having weighed all these things, and having learnt everything more clearly from the religious lords, my fellow-bishops, bring to this matter, I beseech you, that zeal which is required at your hands. For thus will you gratify, not us alone, but all the churches in common."[2]

I have already given the evidence of St. Epiphanius, whose list of the Roman bishops is an incontestable proof of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs. It will be interesting, however, to know what kind of man St. Epiphanius was, and I shall tell you in the words of an illustrious con-

[1] *De Sacerd.* ii., c. i., Tom. i. [2] Epist. i., ad Innoc., Tom. iii., p. 520.

vert of our own day, who gives this true picture of the saint, one of the greatest men of his day. He tells us:—

"St. Epiphanius was born in Palestine, brought up a Jew, converted by the sight of a monk giving away his garment to clothe a beggar; the friend of St. Athanasius; inhabitant of the Thebaid as an anchorite, where the monasteries rang with the fame of his many miracles; drawn out of his cell against his will, and made Bishop of Salamis—a man consulted by East and West, profoundly versed in Hebrew and Syriac and Greek, one who had investigated to its depths every heresy, and who was called the Apostle, the new John, the herald of the Lord."[1]

When we come to the writings of St. Augustine, I must confess to a difficulty in gathering evidence in favour of the Roman Primacy, and my difficulty arises from the superabundance and strength of the testimony that confronts me on every side. Of a truth the great Bishop of Hippo is Roman to the heart's core. There is no phase of the question which he has not written of, and it would take much more time than I can give to a whole lecture to read what may be culled from his works in vindication of the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy. The field, then, from which I have to select being so very wide, we shall ask the saint to tell us, in a few words, what faith he professed, and let us observe how similar is his declaration to that of St. Cyprian. He declares:—

"I am held in the bosom of the Catholic Church by the agreement of peoples and nations; by the authority which took its rise in miracles, was nurtured in hope, reached its growth in charity, is confirmed by antiquity."[2]

Like St. Irenæus, Rome is to him the unerring centre of Apostolical traditions, and its unbroken line of Pontiffs a complete answer to every objection against the faith. "I am held," he says, "by the succession of bishops, down to the actual episcopate, from the very See of the Apostle Peter, to whom, after His resurrection, the Lord intrusted His sheep to be fed."[3] And in a few words he disposes of the pretensions to be called Catholic which were put forth by the various sects who were warring against the Roman

[1] Rivington, *Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, p. 274.

[2] *Cont. Epist. Fundam. Manich.*, n. 5, Tom. viii. [3] *Cont. Ep. Manich.*, n. 5.

Primacy. Catholic and Roman are to him convertible terms. He asserts:—

"Lastly, I am held by the very name of Catholic, which, not without reason, among so many heresies that Church alone has possessed; so that, though all heretics would like to be called Catholics, yet if a stranger ask where the Catholic church is, no heretic would venture to show him his own church or house."[1]

St. Augustine's rule for settling every difficulty of faith is short and decisive. Whatever be the problem, the solution is at hand. *"What does Rome hold?"* This is his standard of faith. "For already on this cause (Pelagianism)," he teaches, "the decisions of two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See; *thence, also, the rescripts have come: the cause is ended."*[2] *"Roma locuta est; causa finita est,"* is the sentence in which the saint has crystallised the whole doctrine of the Roman Primacy. In Rome's voice there cannot be a note of uncertainty, for he declares that in the "Roman Church the supremacy of the Apostolic See has always been in force."[3] "Even by the acknowledgment of the human race, that Church, *from the Apostolic See, through the succession of bishops . . . has held the summit of authority. To be unwilling to give her the first place is surely either the highest impiety or headlong arrogance."*[4]

St. Augustine, it is surely needless to observe, was not stringing together a number of jingling sentences. He lets us know what he means by the *supremacy of* the Apostolic See, and by giving the first place to the Roman Church. He means that the Pope can of his own inherent right depose bishops and appoint others in their stead, and if that is not the exercise in the fullest conceivable sense of the Primacy of jurisdiction, then words have no power to convey men's thoughts. In the last years of his life he had been led to divide his diocese of Hippo, and detach from it a place called Fussala, where the Primate of

[1] *Ibid.* [2] Serm. cxxxi. de Verb. Evang.—Joann. vi., n. 10.
[3] Epist. xliii., n. 7. [4] *De Utilit. Credend.*, n. 35.

Numidia, at Augustine's request, had consecrated one Antonius as Bishop. He disappointed all the saint's hopes, and in his trouble St. Augustine writes to Pope Celestine as follows:—

"I make known to your Holiness our circumstances, that you may help us, not only by your prayers, but by your providing for us and aiding us; for it is in a position of great trial that I have written this to your Blessedness."

After narrating the facts respecting Antonius, he continues:—

"Most blessed Lord and holy Pope, I beseech you to have all the details sent recited to you. Consider how he has conducted his episcopate; how he craftily persuaded that holy old man, our most respected Primate, to believe all he said, and so to recommend him as quite blameless to the venerable Pope Boniface, and the rest, which I need not repeat, since the said venerable Primate has referred the whole to your Holiness."

And his last words are a most pathetic appeal:—

"But if you deliver the members of Christ, which are here, from their deadly fear and sorrow, and console my old age with this act of merciful justice, your good act shall have a good recompense both in this and the future life from Him who, through you, succours me in this my sorrow, and who placed you in the great See which you hold."[1]

Comment of mine would only weaken the declaration of Theodoret (A.D. 440) to Pope Leo the Great. He writes:—

"We run to *your Apostolic Throne* to receive from you healing for the wounds of the Churches. . . . These [Peter and Paul] have made your Throne most illustrious; this is the culminating point of your blessings. And their God has even now made *their throne* illustrious, having established therein your Holiness, sending forth the rays of orthodoxy."[2]

And again—

"For that all-holy Throne has the office of heading the Churches of the whole world for many reasons; and, above all, because *it has remained free from the communion of heretical taint, and no one holding heretical opinions has ever sat in it, but it has preserved the Apostolic grace unsullied.*"[3]

St. Patrick and St. Peter Chrysologus.—In our enumeration of the Fathers who bear explicit testimony to the Roman's Pontiff's Primacy of jurisdiction we must not omit the glorious Apostle of Ireland. With the

[1] Epist. 209, Tom. ii., 777-80.; "Qui te in illa sede constituit."

[2] Ep. cxiii., Leoni, Tom. iv., p. 1187. [3] Ep. cxvi.

memory of the terrible penal laws, which were meant to burn the very name of Rome out of the hearts of the Irish people, one should think that Anglicans would be very chary in their references to the ancient Church of Ireland. But there is no accounting for tastes. As a matter of fact, there are Anglican writers who profess to draw their Anglicanism from Ireland, as St. Patrick had evangelised it. They are welcome to their theory, whilst we can pride ourselves on the possession of the solid historical fact that Christian and Roman were to Patrick synonymous terms. "As you would be children of Christ," he taught the Irish people, "so be you children of Rome."[1] And he laid down this unerring rule for the guidance of the Irish Church. "If any case of extreme difficulty shall arise, let it be referred to the See of the Chief Bishop of the Irish" [that is, of St. Patrick]. . . . "But if it cannot be easily decided in that See . . . *we have decreed that it be sent to the Apostolic See—that is, to the Chair of the Apostle Peter, which holds authority in the city of Rome.*"[2]

St. Peter Chrysologus (A.D. 440) will be the last Father whom I shall quote, and there is not a single note of uncertainty in his pronouncement. He writes:—

"We exhort you that you in all things obediently attend to those things which have been written by the blessed Pope of the city of Rome; because *blessed Peter, who lives and presides in his own See, gives the truths of faith to those seeking it.*"[3]

It would take many lectures to do anything like justice to the patristic evidence in favour of the Roman Primacy. In a single lecture one can only make the briefest references and as on the last occasion I had to pass over such evidence, for instance, as St. Hippolytus[4] and St. Anatolius of Alexandria[5] give of the faith of the third century, so in the present I must omit such striking testimony as is given us

[1] *Book of Armagh*, fol. 9.

[2] Can. S. Patrick—See Card Moran's *Essays*, "Early Irish Church," c. ii., and Appendix, p. 304. [3] Ep. ad Eutych. Op. ed. Bacchin., 1758, p. 16.

[4] See *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Vol. i., 577. [5] Can. Pasch., n. 10.

by St. Basil of Cæsarea,[1] Prudentius, the Christian poet,[2] St. Gregory Nazianzem,[3] Ambrosiaster,[4] and Cassian,[5] who witness for the faith of the fourth century. And I must also pass over the evidences of Socrates,[6] Paulinus,[7] Bacchiarius,[8] St. Prosper of Aquitaine,[9] the Emperor Valentinian,[10] the Bishops of Spain (A.D. 440),[11] and Sozomen,[12] who testify, in unambiguous terms, to the form faith of the fifth century in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs.

The Popes Claim a Primacy of Jurisdiction.—Whilst omitting very many references which I have gathered from the Fathers, I shall, however, give a few samples from the letters of the early Popes. The ecclesiastical student must bewail the loss of so many of the early Papal documents. If they had survived they would have supplied us with surer information regarding the government of the Church in the primitive ages than all the other writings which we now possess. Still, we must be thankful that a few have been preserved. And one thing is clear from these old documents. The writers, without the least misgiving, asserted their claim to a primacy of jurisdiction in the most practical manner. Very many of the letters tell how the writers were exercising the highest act of plenary jurisdiction, for none higher can be imagined than the deposing of a bishop from his see.

We have seen how Popes SS. Clement, Soter, Victor, and Zephyrinus exercised, as well as claimed, a primacy of plenary jurisdiction in the first two centuries of the Church's history. We shall be told, to be sure, that it was

1 Ep. lxx. 2 Hymn in S. Hippol.
3 *Carmen de Vitâ Suâ*, vv. 568-573, Tom. ii.
4 Comm. in Ep., ad Galat. ii., 11, et i. ad Tim.—inter. op. S. Ambrosii.
5 *De Incarn.* iii., c. 12. 6 H. E. ii., c. 15.
7 *Libell. adv. Cælest. Galland.* i.x., n. 1. 8 *De Fide*, n. 1.
9 *Carm de Ingrat. Bib. Max. Pat.*, Tom. viii., p. 106.
10 Epist. ad Theodos. ap. op. S. Leo, M. Ep. lv.
11 Epist. Ep. Tarrac. Labbe, Tom. iv., p. 1033. 12 *H. E.*, iii., c. 8.

the Church of Rome, and not the Bishop of Rome, that was in evidence in the first decades of the Church's existence. Waiving the unquestionable fact that in those early ages the Church of Rome, *and she alone*, made claim to a primacy of jurisdiction, we have surely sufficient explanation of the omission of the Bishop's name in documents or public references. One has only to read Renan's description of the persecution of the Christians under Nero[1] to realise how perilous it must have been for a bishop to live in Rome at all in those days. It was many a long year before what Renan writes of St. Peter ceased to be applicable to the Bishop of Rome. "The police," he tells us, "were still more vigilant now than when St. Paul wrote in guarded language about the Roman Emperor to the Thessalonians. It might provoke hostilities if the Epistle fell into the hands of an informer, with names and places too clearly given."[2] But when the era of persecution had passed away, and there was no longer dread of the informer, names and places are given with sufficient clearness.

We have seen the great letter of Pope Julius, written in defence of the persecuted St. Athanasius, and breathing authority in every line. We are indebted to the historian, Theodoret, for an authoritative letter of St. Damasus. The Eastern bishops had requested the condemnation of Apollinaris and his disciple Timotheus, and Pope St. Damasus answered by saying that he had already condemned them. He writes:—

"Why, then, do you ask of me, again, the condemnation of Timotheus, who, together with his disciple, Apollinaris, in the presence also of Peter, Bishop of Alexandria, has been deposed here by sentence of the Apostolic See, together with his disciple, Apollinaris, and in the day of judgment will suffer the fitting condemnation and torment? But, if, after by his own confession changing his true hope in Christ, he persuade any light-minded men, as if he had a true hope, whoever chooses to resist the rule of the Church will perish equally with him."[3]

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 70-80.

[2] Quoted by Fr. Vaughan, *Roman Claims*, p. 39.

[3] Theod., *H. E.* x., c. 5.

Pope St. Siricius declares that—

"To none of the Lord's priests is it allowable to be ignorant of *the statutes of the Apostolic See.*"[1]

Of this letter of Siricius, Milman says that it "is in the tone of one who supposes that the usages of the Church of Rome were to be received as those of Christendom."[2]

Pope St. Innocent asks, "Who is ignorant, that what was delivered to the Roman Church by Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and is even now preserved, *ought to be observed by* all?" And he adds that "nothing is to be superinduced or introduced which has not that authority, or which may seem to derive its pattern elsewhere; especially as it is manifest that no one has instituted churches throughout the whole of Italy, the Gauls, Spain, Africa, and Sicily, and the interjacent islands, except those whom the venerable Apostle or his successors constituted priests."[3] And, again, he declares that "if any greater causes shall have arisen, let them, after the episcopal judgment, be *referred to the Apostolic See*, as the Synod (of Sardica) ordained and a blessed custom demands."[4]

Pope St. Zosimus asserts that "the tradition of the Fathers has assigned *so great an authority to the Apostolic See that no one should dare to dispute a judgment given by it.* . . . . Seeing, then, that Peter is the head of so great an authority, and that he has confirmed the statutes of those who have gone before us; and that by all laws and regulations, both human and *divine*, the Roman Church is strengthened; and you are not ignorant that we rule over this place, and are in possession also of the authority of his name; nevertheless, *though so great be our authority that none may reconsider our sentence.*"[5] I shall finish my quotation from the Popes with a couple of extracts from the letters of Pope Boniface. "*Never*," he asserts, "*was*

1 Ep. i., ad Himer., n. 20. 2 *Hist. Lat. Christ.*, b. ii., c. 2, p. 154.
3 Epist. ad Decent. xxv., n. 2. 4 Ep. Victoric. Rothom. ii., n. 6.
5 Epist. xii., n. 1, ad Con. Carth. et Const.

it lawful to discuss again any matter which had once been decided by the Apostolic See."[1] And, again, he writes:—"It is certain that this See stands, in relation to the churches spread over the whole world, as the head is to its own members; from which Church whoso has cut himself off becomes an outcast from the Christian religion, since he has ceased to be in the same bonds of fellowship."[2]

These declarations were not empty, meaningless assertions. We shall presently see that they were accepted, in their integrity, by the first four General Councils, whose authority Anglicans are so fond of parading. And now that we have come to the testimony of these Councils in favour of the Roman Primacy, we are confronted with this significant fact. When in A.D. 325 the Church first assembled in œcumenical gathering the personality of Peter towers pre-eminently above that of any other Apostle. The churches founded by the Eleven have a subsidiary place, in the estimation of the faithful, to those founded by their Prince and Head. Thus, for instance, Ephesus, founded by St. Paul, and presided over by his disciple St. Timothy, and subsequently by the beloved disciple, St. John, is of inferior rank to the churches founded by St. Peter. So, too, Jerusalem, the Mother Church, is preceded by the churches associated with the work or name of Peter. Rome presides, and Alexandria, as connected with Peter, through his disciple, Mark, and Antioch, as the scene of his first episcopal labours, follow in recognised precedency.

The First Four General Councils — Roman Pontiffs Preside.—The first General Council, that of Nice (325), was convened for the purpose of condemning the Arian heresy. The acts of the Council have been lost, probably destroyed by the Arians when in possession of the Eastern sees. Hence non-Catholics argue so boldly. But, for-

[1] Epist. xiii., ad Ruf. [2] Ep. xiv., n. 1, ad Episc. per Thessal.

tunately, we know enough of the history of the Council to prove that it was Roman in its doctrine and in its head.

Döllinger tells us that "the right of presiding was conceded without contradiction, by all General Councils, to the Pope in the person of his Legates. That at Nice, Hosius, Bishop of Cordova, and the priests, Vitus and Vincentius, presided as Legates of the Pope is clear from the order in which Socrates names those who were present, and from the testimony of Eusebius cited by Gelasius."[1] Socrates, whose ecclesiastical history ends with the year 439, gives the names of the principal members of the Council of Nice in the following order:—"Hosius, Bishop of Cordova; Vitus and Vincentius, priests of Rome; Alexander, Bishop of Alexandria; Eustathius, Bishop of Antioch; Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem."[2] Here we have two priests given a pre-eminence over the patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, for no other conceivable reason than that they were the representatives of the Bishop of Rome. And Hosius, the bishop of a Spanish see, is given the first place in the assembly for the same reason.

Gelasius Cyzicenus, Bishop of Cæsaria, in Palestine, who wrote about A.D. 470, states explicitly in his *History of the Council* that Hosius represented Pope Sylvester.[3] Hefele asserts that "in all the lists of signatures, without one exception, Hosius and the two Roman priests *sign the first,* and after them Alexander, patriarch of Alexandria."[4]

At Nice Hosius Presides for Pope Sylvester.—Hefele frankly confesses that there are many variations to be found in the lists of the signatures of the Council, and that the manuscript records are often faulty and defective.[5] But these discrepancies, which, as is admitted, do not disprove

[1] *Hist. Ch. Eng.*, trans., Vol. ii., p. 222.
[2] *H. E.* ii., 15. [3] *Hist. Con. Nic.* i., c. 5.
[4] *Hist. Conc. Eng.*, trans., Vol. i., p. 40. [5] *Ibid.*

the authenticity of the records, only strengthen the argument for the Roman Primacy, because, notwithstanding all these variations, we find in every list the signatures of the Pope's representatives given first. Non-Catholics are conscious of the far-reaching consequences of this all-important fact. Of course, it would not do to admit that the very first time the Church was able to gather her bishops into œcumenical assembly the Pope, through his accredited representatives, should, as a matter of right, and without a word of dissent from anyone, be found presiding over the deliberations of Eastern bishops. The accuracy of the lists, so far as the first three names are concerned, cannot be denied. But the attempted explanations of this awkward fact, when they are not self-contradictory, are simply swept away by historical witnesses of indisputable authority.

The single reference made to the Bishop of Rome in the extant decrees of the Council of Nice occurs in the 6th Canon, where there is question only of his *patriarchal* jurisdiction. The subject of the Primacy was not mentioned at the Council. At all events, as it is disputed by some whether the first clause about the Roman Church formed part of the Canon, I shall not refer to it. The Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs, as a matter of fact, had been fully recognised at the Council of Arles, which was held in A.D. 314, and which, by the way, was some time ago claimed, here in Melbourne, as a purely Anglican assembly. That Council, in forwarding its decrees for approval to Rome, addressed a filial letter to the Pope, which was a practical profession of its faith in his primacy of jurisdiction. Hermas, as you may remember, told us in the second century that it was the office of the Pope to communicate with foreign churches, and the Synod of Arles tells Pope Sylvester that they forward him "the regulations they have made, that they may be made known and promulgated to all the faithful."

"To the well-beloved Pope Sylvester: Marinus Agrecius, etc., eternal greetings in the Lord.

"United together in the bonds of charity, in the unity of our Holy Mother, the Catholic Church, assembled in the city of Arles, by the desire of the most pious Emperor we salute you, most gracious Pope, with the veneration that is due to you. We have been called to struggle against turbulent men, who have no respect for the law and the traditions of the Church. But, by the authority of God, ever present, and by the inviolable rule of the truth, they have been confounded. There was neither argument nor solidity in their discourse, their accusations, or their proofs. For this reason, in the name of God and the Church, our Mother, they have been unanimously condemned.

"And would to God, well-beloved brother, that you had deemed it proper to assist at this grand scene; their condemnation would have been more severe, and our joy more perfect. But you cannot quit those places *where the Apostles constantly preside, and where their blood continually gives glory to God.* Nevertheless, we have not considered that our sole duty consisted in treating of the questions for which we assembled. In the name of the Holy Spirit and of His Angels, and following their inspiration, we have made various regulations. We have also considered it our duty to transmit them to you, who preside over the greater dioceses *(majores diœceses)*, in order that they may be made known and promulgated to all the faithful."[1]

Now, let us refer to the first canon passed by the Council, and we shall understand the full meaning of the concluding sentence in this synodal letter. The Fathers decree to adopt the Roman time for celebrating Easter, and in the first canon they clearly admit the authority of the Roman See, for they ask the Pope to send letters to the whole Christian world, *according to custom*, so that

1 Innoc., Pap. Ep. ii.; Hard., *Act. Conc.* i., p. 999.

unanimity may be secured in the celebration of the Paschal Feast.[1] In the very beginning of the fourth century, then as soon as the Church has got liberty to breathe, we are told that it was *the custom* of the Roman Bishop to write to all the faithful on important questions. What is meant by *the custom of writing to all the faithful* except that the Roman Bishop had supreme jurisdiction over them, and that he exercised it even from his hiding-place in the Catacombs.

Three hundred and eighteen bishops, we are told, assembled at Nice.[2] Now, a fact worthy of the most serious consideration forces itself upon our minds in connection with the history of this first General Council. The Church has, one may say, just emerged from the Catacombs, with the wounds of three centuries of persecution still fresh upon her; and yet she comes before us with her hierarchy of bishops already in full order. The Council does not meet together to originate episcopal jurisdiction. The assembled Fathers recognise it as of ancient custom, and not a statement is to be found in any ancient authority to show that a single member of the Council considered such jurisdiction opposed to the Apostolic constitutions, or that the hierarchical system was one which the Fathers were free to condemn, much less to put aside. If we are to credit those who deny the apostolic origin of the Hierarchy, then we must believe that all knowledge of the purer system of Church government had so completely faded out of men's memories that, when the time came when Christians could speak out their minds boldly, there was not a single man to stand up for this truth as Christ had taught it. The difficulty is all the greater when we remember that, in the intervening centuries, Christians had been shedding their blood most freely in defence of the other truths of faith, and how did it come to pass that not one

[1] "*Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Domini, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et juxta consuetudinem literas ad omnes tu dirigas.*"—Hefele, *Hist. Con.*, Vol. i., pp. 180-194.

[2] Hard., Tom. ii., p. 856, De Con. Rom., A.D. 485.

of the martyrs had the honesty to denounce the innovation? The Clementine Romance, one should think, had quite enough to do in originating the Roman Primacy; possibly, however, it originated the hierarchical system as well.

The Councils and the Emperors.—I may here observe, it is a favourite contention with Protestant writers that the Councils of the Church were convened by the Emperors. In the early years of the Church's history it was well to have the civil power on her side, for the difficulties in the way of holding œcumenical councils were immense. But the great Anglican authority, Pusey, tells us that, in doctrinal matters, the Councils did not recognise the right of the civil authority to interfere. "All was done," he says, "by the Bishops or by Presbyters, delegates of absent Bishops. The Synodical letter runs in the name of Bishops only, and Presbyters who acted as legates of absent Bishops. Constantine, in his letter to the Catholic Bishops, says to them, 'I say, as the truth is, that the judgment of Bishops ought to be accounted as if the Lord Himself sat and judged.'"[1]

Observe how uncompromisingly the Church asserts the divine institution of the episcopacy. She yields just as little to the blandishments of the Court as to the sword of the persecutor. In the imperial palace, as in the darkened catacombs, she exercises her supreme jurisdiction. The aged Hosius, President of the Councils of Nice and Sardica, writes thus boldly to the Emperor Constantius:—

"Mix not thyself in ecclesiastical matters, nor give us thy orders respecting these; but rather learn thou these from us. Into thy hands God hath put the empire; to us has He entrusted the affairs of the Church. And as he who stealeth away thy power contradicts the ordinance of God, so fear thou, lest, drawing to thyself matters of the Church, thou become involved in a great crime. It is written, 'Render to Cæsar the things of Cæsar, and to God the things of God.'"[2]

1 *The Councils of the Church*, pp. 97-8.

2 Letter preserved by St. Athanasius, Tom. i, p. 371.

And the majestic Athanasius, in fearless notes, proclaims the same doctrine. He says:—

"If a judgment had been passed by Bishops, what concern had the Emperor with it? Or if it was only a threat of the Emperor, what need, in that case, was there of the so-named Bishops? When was such a thing heard of before from the beginning of the world? *When did a judgment of the Church receive its validity from the Emperor?* Or, rather, when was his decree ever recognised by the Church? There have been many councils held heretofore, and many judgments passed by the Church, but the Fathers never sought the consent of the Emperors thereto; nor did the Emperor busy himself with the affairs of the Church. The Apostle Paul had friends among them of Cæsar's household, and in his Epistle to the Philippians he sent salutations from them; but he never took them as his associates in ecclesiastical judgments."[1]

St. Ambrose, too, bids defiance to the imperial power when it tries to induce him to admit the Arians into communion. He writes:—

"Command is sent to me. Give up the Church. I answer—It is neither lawful for me to give it up, nor is it expedient for thee, O Emperor, to take it. Thou canst not with any right violate a private man's house; thinkest thou that thou canst take away the house of God? I am told that to the Emperor all things are lawful; that everything belongs to him. I answer—Trouble not thyself, O Emperor, to think that thou hast any right over the things which are divine. Set not thyself up; but if thou wouldst reign long, be subject unto God. It is written, 'To God the things of God, to Cæsar the things of Cæsar.' To the Emperor belong his palaces; to the Bishop, the churches. Right over the public walls is committed to thee, not over those which are sacred."[2]

St. Gregory of Nazianzum is my last witness, amongst the Fathers, to the Church's absolute independence of the civil power and to her supreme control over all things spiritual. Addressing the Prefect of his province, he thus expresses himself:—

"But what of you, Princes and Rulers, for to you I now address myself, that I may not seem quite unfair, and while I advise others of their duty, yield to your power, as through shame or fear declining the liberty which I have in Christ. What, then, say you, and how do we agree? Will you bear my freedom of speech? The law of Christ subjects you, too, to my rule and to my tribunal. For I also have a government, nay, a greater and more perfect one; or must the spirit yield to the flesh, and the heavenly to the earthly? I know that thou wilt receive my freedom, being a sheep of my flock, a sacred sheep of a sacred flock."[3]

[1] Tom. i, p. 376. Oxf. Tr., p. 266.

[2] Epis. 20. Tom. ii., p. 857.

[3] Tom. i., p. 322. Orat. 17.

No Erastianism in the Councils.—Belief in this absolute jurisdiction of the Church in all things spiritual permeates the minds of the early Christians. Fortunately we have unquestionable evidence of the subordination of the civil power to the spiritual jurisdiction in the primitive Church. The Emperor Constantine convoked the Council of Arles, and, as we are occasionally reminded, he convoked the Council of Nice as well. But that he did so with the consent, if not at the instance, of the spiritual authority is absolutely certain. Addressing the bishops assembled at Nice, Constantine used these memorable words:—

"God has set you to be priests, and by God you have been given to us as judges, and it is not fitting that a man judge gods, but He only of whom it is written. God stood in the congregation of gods; but God gives sentence in the midst of them."[1]

A few years later we have the Emperor Valentinian expressing the same sentiment in still more submissive terms. Addressing the bishops of the Hellespont and Bithynia, who had asked him to let them assemble "for correction of doctrine," he made this reply:—

"I, as a layman, have no right to interpose in such matters. But let the bishops who are charged with them meet by themselves where they choose."[2]

And the ancient historian who records this declaration of the Emperor, writes again the following:—

"In the West reigned Valentinian, who supported the doctrine of the Nicene Council, and was very piously disposed towards God; so that he laid no command on the bishops, and would not meddle either for what seemed to him good or bad in the Church's laws. For he considered these things superior to his own judgment, though he was a most excellent prince, and showed it by his government."[3]

The same Emperor thus addressed the bishops assembled at Milan to elect a bishop there, who was afterwards St. Ambrose. He said:—

"Put there such an one in the Pontifical seat as that we, too, who govern the empire may sincerely bow our head to him, and for our transgressions as man receive, as we are bound, his advice, as the remedy of a physician."[4]

1 Rufinus, *Hist.*, lib. i.
2 *Sozomen*, lib. vi., c. 7.
3 *Ibid.*, c. 21.
4 *Hist. Trip.*, lib. vii., c. 8.

And we have other evidence. The Emperor Theodosius summoned the third General Council, and he sent a Royal Commissioner "to preserve order," but not to "intermeddle" in the discussions concerning faith. He says:—

"We have, therefore, ordered Candidianus, the right honourable count of our sacred domestics, to go to your holy synod; but with the rule and condition that he intermeddle not at all with questions and controversies which arise on dogmas of faith; for it were impiety that one who is not numbered in the roll of the most reverend Bishops should mix himself up with ecclesiastical business and consultations."[1]

The student of Church history will remember how this same Emperor Theodosius was condemned by St. Ambrose to undergo public canonical penance, because he had sanctioned unjust measures against some of his people, and how obediently he underwent the penance.[2]

Appeals to Rome (Council of Sardica.)—The Council of Sardica, held about A.D. 342, is declared by great authorities[3] to be œcumenical in its character, and to be, in fact, the continuation or complement of Nice. Its canons were received in both East and West, and it is instructive to note that Pope Julius had acted in the case of St. Athanasius exactly as the Canons of Sardica subsequently prescribe.

St. Athanasius says that the decrees of the Council were signed or agreed to by more than 300 bishops,[4] and the Emperor Justinian, in his Edict (A.D. 346) on the Three Chapters,[5] calls it œcumenical.

Hosius, who had presided over the Council of Nice, was the president at Sardica.[6] He signed the Acts before all the others,[7] and the Roman priests, Archidamus and

1 *Sozomen*, lib. vi., c. 7.

2 Paulin, *Vit. Ambr.*, n. 24; Theodos. *Hist.* i., 5, c. 18.

3 Natalis, Alexander, Baronius, Mansi, the Ballerini.

4 *Apol. Cont. Arian.*, c. 1. 5 Hardouin, Tom. iii, p. 317.

6 S. Athan., *Hist. Arian.*, ad Mon., c. 16; Theodor. ii., 15.

7 Mansi iii., p. 5, seqq.

Philoxenus,[1] who assisted him, sign the decrees immediately after him.[2]

In the Council of Sardica we find three canons dealing with the subject of *Appeals to Rome*. In case a bishop considers himself unjustly condemned the third canon gives him the right of appeal to the Pope.[3] The fourth canon orders the see of an appellant bishop to remain unfilled "till the Bishop of Rome has judged and decided thereon."[4] The fifth canon declares that the Pope may re-try the case, either through the bishops nearest to the province in question, or he may send priests of his own to constitute, with the appointed bishops, the court of second instance.[5]

These canons are sufficient proof of the Council's belief in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs. But the Fathers further declared that "the priests [Hefele says bishops] should bring their reports to the head, namely, the Chair of Peter."[6]

The first General Council of Constantinople (381) affords the strongest proof of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The Council proposed to raise Constantinople to a dignity next to Rome itself. This was prejudicial to the rights of old apostolical churches such as Alexandria and Antioch, and Pope after Pope refused to ratify the proposal.[7] If this was not a supreme act of jurisdiction, it is impossible to say in what jurisdiction consists.

Ephesus (431) Celestine deposes Nestorius.—All the original documents, without exception, testify that the General Council of Ephesus was presided over by Pope St. Celestine, through his accredited representative, Cyril of Alexandria, and his Legates—Philip, a priest of the Roman Church, and Projectus and Arcadius, bishops. In the first

1 Hardouin i., 690; Mansi iii., 66; Athan. op. cit., c. 50.
2 St. Athan., *ibid.*, c. 50. 3 Hefel., *Hist. Conc.* ii., p. 112.
4 *Ibid.*, p. 116. 5 Hefel., *Hist. Conc.* ii., p. 120. 6 Mansi iii., 40.
7 Mansi vii., p. 442; S. Leo, M. Ep., c. vi.; Anatol., c. 5; S. Greg., M. Ep., Lib. vii., 34.

act of the Council we have Celestine exercising the fullest powers of the Primacy in deposing Nestorius, Bishop of Constantinople. He had previously sent to the heresiarch this solemn warning:—

"Understand clearly, therefore, this our sentence: that unless you preach concerning Christ our Lord what the Church of Rome, the Church of Alexandria, and the Universal Catholic Church holds, and what the great city of Constantinople held till this time, and unless you, by a public and written profession of faith, shall within ten days after you come to the knowledge of this ordinance, condemn these traitorous novelties, which attempt to separate what Holy Scripture joins, you are hereby degraded from the communion of the Universal Catholic Church. And this our sentence we have sent in form . . . to our holy fellow-priest, the Bishop of Alexandria, *that he may act in our place.*"[1]

Here are the words of the assembled Fathers, maintaining that resolve:—"Being necessarily constrained by the canons and by our Most Holy Father and fellow-minister, Celestine, the Bishop of the Church of the Romans, we have with tears determined on this painful sentence against him (Nestorius)."[2]

In the second session, Arcadius, Bishop and Legate of the Church of the Romans, says:—"Let your Blessedness order the letter of the Holy Pope, Celestine, to be read, from which you will be able to know what care he has of all the churches." And we have St. Cyril replying thus:—"Let the letter received from the most holy and ever blessed Celestine be received with fitting honour." Firmius, Bishop of Cappadocia, declares:—"The most holy See of the most holy Bishop, Celestine, has already, by the letter sent to the most religious Bishop Cyril, *prescribed the sentence* and the

[1] Epist. xiii., n. 11, et ap. Hard. i., p. 1307.
[2] Act i. Labbe, Tom. iii., p. 534.

order to be observed in the present course. We have adhered to this, and have put that sentence into execution, pronouncing the canonical and apostolical judgment on him."[1]

This supreme act of Papal jurisdiction is ratified by the bishops in the third session of the Council. The Papal legate, Philip, speaks thus to the assembly:—

"It is doubtful to none—yea, rather it has been known to all ages that the holy and most blessed Peter, the Prince and Head of the Apostles, the pillar of the faith, and foundation of the Catholic Church, received from our Lord Jesus Christ the keys of the kingdom, and to him was power given to bind and to loose; who, *even until now, and always, both lives and exercises judgment in his successors.* Wherefore, our holy and most blessed Pope, Celestine, the Bishop, *his successor in order, and holder of his place,* has sent us to the Holy Synod as representatives of his person. As, therefore, Nestorius, the author of this new impiety, has not only allowed *the term fixed by the Apostolic See* to pass by, but also a much longer period of time, the sentence upon him stands ratified by a decree of all the churches. . . . Wherefore let Nestorius know that he is cut off from communion with the priesthood of the Catholic Church."[2]

I have allowed the authentic Acts of the Council to speak for themselves, for the facts do not require a word of comment. Just remember that all this happens in a Council over which the Eastern Patriarch of Alexandria presides by Papal commission. Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, himself an Eastern, and presiding over the imperial see, is the criminal on whom judgment is pronounced. The Patriarch of Antioch, his friend and advocate, is keeping aloof from the assembly. The Emperor, aided by his courtiers, is the protector of Nestorius.

[1] Act ii. See Labbe, Tom. iii., pp. 611-620.
[2] Acts iii. Labbe iii, p. 626.

The declaration of the Papal Legate, Philip, is not only a testimony to the claim of the Pope to be the supreme judge of the faith, and of the accusation of heresy against a patriarch, but also to the universal belief of the Church in his full and supreme prerogatives as the successor of St. Peter. *There is not a whisper of dissent from any quarter.* And the issue of the Council is the confirmation of the sentence against Nestorius, his banishment and the excommunication of all his obstinate adherents.

Chalcedon (451)—"Peter has spoken by the mouth of Leo."—We shall now have the testimony of the great Council of Chalcedon (451). And it is worthy of note that we have a recent declaration of the Anglican Church on the subject of this Council. Sir W. Phillimore, defending the Anglican Bishop of Lincoln in a great ecclesiastical suit some time ago, claimed that the canons of Chalcedon were part of the canon law of the Anglican Church. Well, then, in the Acts of that Council, which was convened to put an end to the Monophysite error, we have the following declaration of the assembled Fathers. Addressing Pope Leo, in their synodal letter, they say:—"*Thou hast presided, in those who hold thy place, as head over the members.*"[1] Leo forbade Dioscorus, Bishop of Alexandria, being allowed to take part in the deliberations, because, as the Papal Legate, Lucentius, asserted, he had "*dared to hold a Council without the authority of the Apostolic See, which had never been done, nor was it lawful to do.*"[2] And Theodoret, the bishop who had been unjustly deposed, was permitted to take his seat, because, say the Acts, "the Most Holy Archbishop Leo had restored him to his episcopal dignity."

In the third session sentence was pronounced in the name of Leo on Dioscorus. "Whereupon," say the Acts of the Council, "Leo, the Most Holy and Blessed Archbishop of the great and elder Rome, has, by the agency

[1] Hard. ii., p. 656. [2] Labbe, Tom. iv., p. 94; Hard., Tom. ii., p. 68.

of ourselves and the present Synod, in conjunction with the thrice-blessed and all-honoured Peter, who is the rock and foundation of the Catholic Church, and basis of the orthodox faith, deprived him of the episcopal dignity and every priestly function. Accordingly, this holy and great synod decrees the provisions of the Canons against the aforesaid Dioscorus."[1] When the Council was about to close its labours it ordered the letter of Pope Leo to be read, and when this had been done there burst forth the unanimous declaration—"This is the faith of the Apostles! We all believe this. Anathema to him who does not thus believe. PETER HAS SPOKEN BY THE MOUTH OF LEO."[2]

It is best to let the authentic story of the Council speak for itself. It surely is not needful to add anything to a narrative so significant.

Regarding the 28th Canon of the Council of Chalcedon, it may be well to quote the statement of the Anglican Dean Milman, who was as free from prejudice in favour of Rome as ever writer was. Protestants conveniently ignore the history of this canon, and then quote it triumphantly against the divine institution of the Primacy. It asserts that the Primacy was due to the fact that Rome was the Imperial City, and it makes a claim in favour of a precedency next to Rome for Constantinople, on the ground that it is also the seat of Imperial power. Dean Milman writes thus:—

"This canon, it is averred, was passed by a few Bishops who lingered behind the rest of the Council; *it claims only the subscription of a hundred and fifty prelates, and those chiefly of the diocese of Constantinople.* It is not, indeed, likely that the Alexandrian Church, though depressed by the ignominious degradation of its head, still less that the more ancient churches of Antioch and Jerusalem should thus tamely acquiesce in the assumption of superiority (unless it were, in a measure, enforced by the Imperial power) by the modern and un-apostolic Church of Byzantium."[3]

The Council, in its Synodical letter to Pope Leo, acknowledged that the whole authority and validity of its

[1] Acts iii. Labbe. Tom. iv., p. 425. [2] Acts ii. Labbe, p. 368.

[3] *Hist. Lat. Chr.*, B. ii., ch. 5.

decrees depended on his sanction and confirmation.[1] Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, who was mainly responsible for the canon in question, writes excusingly to Leo that "the whole force and confirmation of the Acts was reserved for his authority."[2] The Emperor Marcian, who was anxious to have the See of Constantinople raised next to Rome, made the same admission.[3]

The Pope, however, was resolute and uncompromising. He wrote to the Emperor:—

"Let the city of Constantinople have the glory that belongs to it . . . but the sphere of politics and the sphere of religion are two different things. Neither can any other erection be stable except the Rock which the Lord placed in the foundation. He who covets what is not his due loses even what belongs to him. Let the aforesaid bishop (Anatolius) be content that, through the assistance of your piety, and *by my favour*, he holds the episcopal See of such a city (Constantinople). Let him not underrate a royal city, *which, however, he cannot make an Apostolic See.*"[4]

Döllinger tells us that "the whole Western Church repudiated the canon, and the Greeks themselves, until the time of Photius, did not place it in their collections; hence Theodore Lector and John Scholasticus, who lived in the sixth century, enumerate only twenty-seven canons of the Council of Chalcedon.[5]

Summary of Fathers and Councils.—And now I shall summarise the teaching of both Fathers and Councils by bringing together a few of the expressive epithets they apply both to the See of Rome and to the Roman Pontiff:—This Church presides.[6] It is possessed of a superior principality;[7] there is the principal Chair of the Church, the matrix of all churches.[8] It is the head See—the head of the churches—the head of the members.[9] It is the See of the Apostle Peter;[10] the Apostolic See;[11]

[1] Labbe, Tom. iv., et ap. Leon., Ep., ed. Baller, xcviii.
[2] Labbe, Tom. iv., p. 1126.
[3] Int. Ep. Leon. Mag., Ep. c., cx.
[4] Ep. civ., c. 3.
[5] *Hist. Ch.*, Vol. ii., p. 252.
[6] St. Ign., ad Rom. i.
[7] St. Iren., ap. Har. iii., c. 3, n. i.
[8] St. Cyp., Ep. lv., xiv., ad Corin.
[9] St. Bonif., Ep. xiv.
[10] St. Hilar., Frag. ii., n. 9.
[11] Inter alios, Con., Eph.

the Chair of Peter;[1] the rock on which the Church is built;[2] it is the fountain—and other churches are the streams.[3] There the Primacy of the Apostolic See has always existed.[4] This See has the Primacy.[5] Rome is the head of all churches.[6] There is the Apostolic THRONE; to it all must have recourse.[7] He is profane, an alien, one without, an anti-Christ, who is separated from Rome.[8] He has no inheritance who is separated from the Holy See.[9] Peter lives and presides in his See at Rome.[10] The *whole* Church recognises Peter, in the See of Peter.[11] Peter is the prelate of his Chair and Primate of all bishops. Such are a few of the very many expressions referring to the supremacy of the Holy See. Let us now adduce a few passages in reference to the Pontiff. The expressions have, of course, the same tendency, object, and meaning; but they have been purposely thus classed to fix the attention:—The Pontiff is the Vicar of Peter. He is the fisherman's successor[12]—the heir of Peter's administration.[13] He has the place of Peter;[14] his authority is derived from Peter.[15] To him are entrusted the gate and the sheep.[16] Peter and Peter's successors guard the sheep.[17] Him the sheep would follow.[18] He holds the helm of the Church.[19] His is a dignity entailing a solicitude for all the churches.[20] He has the charge of all.[21] He has the Primacy in all things.[22] The Pope is *the* Archbishop; the chief Pontiff; and Bishop of Bishops[23]—the Primate of all bishops;[24] the Archbishop of the habitable

1 Inter alios, S. Amb., de Pœnit., l., i., c. vi.
2 S. Siric., Ep. i., ad Him. Tar.
3 S. Iren., Ep. clxxxi.
4 S. Aug., Ep. xliii.
5 S. Bonif., l., Ep. xiv.
6 St. Bonif., l., Ep. xiv., Epis. Galland.
7 St. Iren., loc. cit.
8 St. Jer., Ep. xv , ad Damas.
9 S. Amb., de Pœnit., i., c. 6, n. 33.
10 St. Peter Chrysol., p. 16.
11 S. Leo., Sermo. ii., de nat. ord., c. 2.
12 St. Jer., Ep. xv., ad Pap. Dam.
13 St. Siricius, Ep. i., ad Himer. Tarrac. Episc., n. 1.
14 St. Cyp., Ep. liii., ad Cornel.
15 *Council. Chalced.*, Ep. Synod. Leoni.
16 St. Ambrose, Epist. xliii.
17 *Ibid.*
18 St. Ambr., Ep. xcii., Siric.
19 S. Damas.. Ep. ix., apud Gall., E. vi.
20 Sozom., *H. E.* iii., c. 8.
21 Sozom., *H. E.* iii., c. 8.
22 Theod., Ep. cxvi., Renato., Tom iv.
23 Tertull, de pudic., c. 1.
24 St. Leo, Serm. iii., de nat. ord.

world[1]—of the whole world. He is the head of the world—others are his members.[2] United to him, Christians are united to Christ; those separated from him *are without*—they are of anti-Christ.[3] With him they are on the rock—on Peter.[4] He is Vicar of Christ[5]—his authority comes from Holy Scripture[6]—it is of Divine institution[7]—it comes from the Evangelic voice of our Lord and Saviour.[8]

Those who repudiate the authority of the early Councils and Fathers of the Church, or who, professing to recognise their authority, refuse to accept their teaching regarding the Roman Primacy, must accept, if they are consistent, the responsibility of rejecting the very foundation-stone on which the cardinal dogmas of faith rest. Take away the Canon of Scripture and all definite belief in Revelation is at an end. But what authority have they for the Canon of Scripture but the authority of these Councils and these Fathers? Is not the argument in favour of the Primacy even stronger than the argument for the Canon of Scripture? All authorities are agreed that the Primacy was in energetic operation before the end of the third century. But, as Cardinal Newman observes, what authority have we for the Canon of Scripture but the authority of the Church of the fourth and fifth centuries?

"We depend upon the fourth and fifth centuries thus:—As to Scripture, former centuries do not speak distinctly, frequently, or unanimously, except of some chief books, as the Gospels; but we see in them, as we believe, an ever-growing tendency and approximation to that full agreement which we find in the fifth. The testimony given at the latter date is the limit to which all that has been before said converges. . . . Viewing the matter as one of moral evidence, we seem to see in the testimony of the fifth the very testimony which every preceding century gave, accidents excepted, such as the present loss of documents once

1 Cyr. Alex. Hom. xi., in S. Mar. Deip. 2 S. Vin., Ler. ad Hær., n. xxxi.

3 St. Jer., Ep. xv. ad Dam.

4 See Waterworth, *England and Rome*, pp. 109-10.

5 *Concil. Rom.* Labbe, Tom. iv., p. 2275.

6 S. Aug. and Conc., Miled., Epist. clxxvi., n. 5.

7 S. Leo, Mag., Epist. xiv., ad Anast., Thessal., Epis. c. 1.

8 *Dec. Con. Rom.* Labbe, Tom. iv., p. 1261.

extant, or the then existing misconceptions which want of intercourse between the Churches occasioned. The fifth century acts as a comment on the obscure text of the centuries before it, and brings out a meaning which, with the help of the comment, any candid person sees really to be theirs."[1]

Roman Primacy or Royal Supremacy.—We have now replied to the challenge to produce our title deeds to the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. I have proved—(1) that a Primacy of jurisdiction over the whole Church was claimed and exercised by the Roman See in the very ages when, as Anglicans are constantly asserting, the faith of Rome was untainted; (2) that this Primacy of jurisdiction, or supremacy, if you prefer calling it, is precisely the same in principle with that which is claimed and exercised to-day; (3) that this supremacy had for its foundation the attribution of Matt. xvi., 18, Luke xxii., 31, and John xxi., 15, in a special sense to the Pope, as successor of St. Peter; (4) that Peter lives in his successors, and that the Roman See, as representing him, is the perpetual source of episcopal jurisdiction; (5) that a Primacy of most plenary jurisdiction on the part of the Roman Pontiff had been repeatedly acknowledged by the Eastern Church centuries before a separation from Rome took place, and that this acknowledgment was of the most solemn kind, through the writings of its patriarchs and the declarations of its Councils; (6) that the Popes, without exception, claimed the right to preside over the Councils of the Church; (7) that the Popes further claimed that no act of even a General Council could be valid unless it received the approval of the Roman See; (8) that the bishops of the East, as well as of the West, recognised these claims of the Pope without a single murmur of dissent, and with such wonderful unanimity that those opposed to the doctrine of the Primacy are unable to point to a single instance where these claims were met by the rejoinder—"You are not the successor of Peter," or "You have no jurisdiction over us."

[1] No. 85 [Discuss., p. 236].

Arguments for the Royal Supremacy.—May we not legitimately ask, in turn, for the title deeds of the Royal Supremacy which, at the time of the English Reformation, was substituted for the form of Church government which had then a prescription of fifteen hundred years in its favour. May we not ask to be referred to one text of Scripture, or one syllable from the writings of the early Fathers, or one line from the first four General Councils, or one scrap of evidence from any early ecclesiastical historian, which will support the transfer of ecclesiastical and spiritual power from the Roman Pontiffs to the kings and queens of England which was attempted in the sixteenth century? In a former course of lectures I asked a question in the words of Dr. Brewer, the historian of the Reformation period, and I have never seen an answer given or attempted since that time. Dr. Brewer's words will well bear repetition:—"Whose genius was it that upset the traditions of fifteen centuries and devised an organisation without parallel in ancient or modern times? Who first conceived the bold idea—not of a parity of power between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions; not Warburton's figment of an *imperium in imperio;* not modern Anglicanism watching to steal a feather out of the tail of the imperial eagle—but a transfer of the whole authority of the Church from a spiritual to a temporal ruler? Who was it that, with one stroke of the pen (to use the phrase of Bishop Andrews), 'transubstantiated Henry VIII. into the Pope,' and converted the Church from an independent rival to a ready and submissive dependent on the State?"[1] These are questions which no loyal Anglican ought to shirk, and if answers can be found to them they ought to be given. Let us have some explanation, whether from Scripture or Church History of that wonderful enactment by which were conferred on Henry VIII. "the supreme power, jurisdiction, order, rule, and authority over the estate ecclesiastical."[2]

[1] *English Studies*, p. 301. [2] 25 Hen. VIII.

The Royal Supremacy is the very life-blood of Anglicanism, and surely there is one Anglican clergyman or Anglican dignitary to be found in Melbourne to tell us how it came about that this supreme power was annexed to the Crown of England, and how Queen Elizabeth was "lawfully invested," and having in her Majesty's "order and disposition all the said jurisdictions, powers, and authorities over the estate ecclesiastical and temporal," had caused divers men to be made bishops?[1] When Anglicans rail at the Supremacy of the Pope as a yoke utterably unbearable, they should be ready at hand with an explanation of the Supremacy of Elizabeth, which far exceeded in its comprehensiveness the claims which the Roman Pontiffs have made to jurisdiction. "For the avoiding of all ambiguities and questions that might be objected against the lawful confirmations, investing, and consecration of the said archbishops and bishops," Elizabeth used not only such words and sentences as were accustomed to be used in the reigns of her father and brother, "but also hath used and put in her Majesty's letters patent *divers other general words and sentences,* whereby her Highness, by her *supreme power and authority, hath dispensed with all causes or doubts of any imperfection or disability that can or may in any wise be objected against the same.*"[2] What Pope ever dared to grant such comprehensive dispensation as this from all canonical impediments? The Royal Supremacy turns up so frequently and so inconveniently in the history of Anglicanism, that it would be well to have some sort of defence or explanation of it. Passing over the difficulties connected with the deposition of Archbishop Grindal by Elizabeth,[3] of Archbishop Abbot by Charles I.,[4] and of various other acts of supreme jurisdiction, we come to the Gorham judgment. Can any explanation be given why Queen Victoria and her lay councillors should be considered the

1 8 Eliz., c. i.
2 *Ibid.*
3 Cardwell, *Annals*, i., 391.
4 *Ibid.*, ii., 165-8.

ultimate court of appeal in matters affecting the most essential dogmas of Christian faith? To the mind of a Catholic it seems an enigma that the same judicial body that decides such questions, for instance, as the construction of railways and of reservoirs, should, with the Queen at their head, decide whether Baptism is or is not necessary for salvation.

Title-deeds of Royal Supremacy?—I have given the Scriptural authority for the Primacy of St. Peter, which has been possessed and exercised by his successors till the time of the present Pontiff, Leo XIII.

And I again ask—Where is the Scriptural authority for the Primacy usurped by Henry VIII., and exercised by his successors till the reign of Queen Victoria, who has made several claims to supreme jurisdiction in the government of the Anglican Church?

The Sixth Article of Elizabeth declares that "whatsoever is not read therein (Holy Scripture), nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of Faith." And the Thirty-seventh Article of the same teaches that unto the Queen's Majesty "the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be *Ecclesiastical* or *Civil*, in *all* causes doth appertain." And, again, the Thirty-sixth Article of Edward VI. asserts that "the King of England is, *after Christ*, the supreme *head* on earth of the Church of England and Ireland." The Royal Supremacy, therefore, is the *alpha* and the *omega* of the Anglican's creed, and he is bound by the principles of his Church to give proofs from Holy Scripture in favour of the doctrine. Let us, then, have the proofs. Let us have chapter and verse in proof of the extraordinary dogma that our Lord intended the authority which sits as a Board of Trade to pronounce judgment as a Board of Doctrine.[1]

[1] The State claims and exercises an equal and parallel jurisdiction in things spiritual as in things temporal—that is, in the kingdom of Christ as in the civil governments. "The jurisdiction of the Judicial Committee of the Privy

I have given the evidence of the Fathers and of Councils, both General and National, in favour of the Primacy of Peter and of his successors, the Roman Pontiffs; and once more I ask—What Fathers and what Councils can be quoted in favour of the supremacy of the State over the faith and discipline of God's Church? If Anglicans can produce any Scriptural or Patristic authorities in favour of the Royal Supremacy, let them produce them, so that they may be put alongside those which I have produced in favour of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs, and intelligent people can then judge for themselves on which side the weight of evidence is to be found. Until we are told by whom this unhallowed metamorphosis was effected, and by whose authority this most fundamental change was accomplished, we may be spared in future the duty of replying to attacks on the Primacy of St. Peter's successor.

Sources of Information.—To those who may wish to give further study to the subject of the Roman Primacy, it may be a convenience to intimate some of the best Catholic sources of information on the various points discussed in these lectures. The great treatise, *De Ecclesia Christi*, by Dr. Murray, and his English Essays on the Primacy of St. Peter, are an exhaustless mine of exposition and argument. The various works[1] of the veteran champion of the Roman Primacy, Allies, are an invaluable contribution to the literature of the subject. The study of the whole question of the Primacy captivated his clear intellect into

Council as a final court of appeal in causes ecclesiastical is part of the supremacy of the Crown, from which all jurisdiction, spiritual or temporal, is derived; but the ecclesiastical jurisdiction which flows from the supremacy is merely co-extensive with the temporal jurisdiction. The Crown has no higher power in causes ecclesiastical than in temporal matters."—*Six judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in Ecclesiastical Cases, 1850-1872*," Brooke, 1874.

The judgment of Lord Chief Justice Campbell, 28th April, 1850 (Freemantle, p. 110), put an end to all attempts to dispute or limit the Royal Supremacy *in appeals for all manner of causes.*

1 *Per Crucem ad Lucem*, and the magnificent series, *The Formation o Christendom*.

the obedience of the Roman Church, and the study of his works has led many a sincere enquirer to follow his example. Allnatt's *Cathedra Petri* supplies an unbroken chain of patristic evidence on this subject. In Rivington[1] and Livius[2] will be found answers to the latest difficulties raised by Protestants against the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs. The testimony of these writers, like that of Allies, derives additional value from the fact that they viewed the question from without as well as from within the Church. For those who have the opportunity of consulting the *Dublin Review*, no more extensive or trustworthy source of information may be wished.

I desire to express my grateful acknowledgments to these distinguished writers for the valuable assistance I have derived from their works.

I do not think I have even once outstepped the bounds of legitimate defence. I have not, intentionally, said a word calculated to wound the feelings of others. If I have referred to Anglicans, it was not to the body, but to the representative writers, who do not hesitate to make the most dishonouring charges against the Church on this very subject of the Roman Primacy. Indeed, here in Melbourne the changes have been recently rung on the stale charges of fable, fraud, and forgery, and Catholics, I suppose, are expected to submit to every variety of offensive rhetoric. Fortified, as we are, with such an array of Scriptural and Patristic evidence, we have no temptation to resort to the methods of the Old Bailey, and if I have said a word that can be reasonably objected to, I gladly withdraw it, and wish it were unsaid. I cannot, however, withdraw facts, no matter how disagreeable they may seem, for I have not made them, nor are they subject to my control; and the facts that bear witness to the Primacy

[1] *The Primitive Church and the See of Rome. Authority* and *Dependence.*

[2] *Was St. Peter in Rome?*

of the Roman Pontiffs are solid and impregnable as the rock on which the Omnipotent Architect built His Church.

[THE END.]

Postscript—Presbyterianism and the Primacy.—While these pages were passing through the press, four lectures, written from a Presbyterian standpoint, were delivered in reply. Before the appearance of these lectures I had been occupied in directly proving the Catholic doctrine of the Roman Primacy from Holy Scripture, the writings of the early Fathers and other ecclesiastical writers, and the Acts of the first four General Councils, and indirectly from the admissions of non-Catholic writers. As the controversy originated with Anglicans, I directed my arguments mainly against their position. And, as Anglicans generally admit the purity of the faith of the primitive Church and the authority of the first four General Councils, I traced the existence, and acknowledgment, and exercise of the Primacy from the beginning of recorded ecclesiastical history down to the date of the fourth General Council, A.D. 451.

But when my work was completed there appeared a new adversary, whose views on the orthodoxy of the early Church, on the primitive form of Church government, and the necessity of Apostolical succession differ radically from the views of Anglicans. If he meant to aid them in a losing cause, they might well exclaim, *Non tali auxilio.* Here lies one of the difficulties of a Catholic controversialist. No sooner has he disposed of one set of adversaries than a new set appears. Though their mutual contradictions show that no two of them can be right, they are not ashamed to ask for a common answer to contrary propositions. Like the fabled sea god, no controversial noose can capture their ever-changing forms.

They never think of composing their own essential differences before combining to attack the Catholic Church; so far, they are all *Protestants.*

To meet this new change of front I have, as far as circumstances would permit, amplified some of my statements and arguments, so as to make them bear more directly on the matter put forward in the latest edition to the controversy. I can now, I believe, say with confidence that there is not an argument worthy of consideration in any of the lectures referred to which I have not conclusively answered, either by anticipation or by the expansion of what I had already written. I have shown that the Church of Christ was destined by its Divine Founder to last for all time, and that she has the promise of His efficacious assistance even to the consummation of the world. Consequently, to suppose that she underwent a radical change in her doctrine, her essential discipline, or her established form of government before the end of the second century, as Presbyterians and Rationalists maintain, or before the close of the fifth century, as Anglicans assert, is to suppose either that the promises of Christ were delusive, or that no Christian Church was ever established, which is a *reductio ad absurdum.*

Roman or Rationalist.—This idea of substantial change is the idea that is developed with laborious effort by those modern rationalistic writers whose chief aim is to disprove the supernatural origin and attributes of the Church. They undertake to trace the development of a belief in the most fundamental dogmas of faith, such as the Trinity, the Divinity of Christ, the Resurrection, etc., and the supernatural character of the Church, by methods analogous to those by which Protestants undertake to trace the development of the Papal power. Hence the marked similarity of the reasoning in both cases. And hence, too, while we quote rationalistic writers for their

forced admissions, Protestant writers quote them for their theories and beliefs. This contrast was strikingly illustrated recently in connection with Renan's testimony regarding the Roman Primacy. Renan, like Presbyterian writers, dates the radical change in the primitive form of Church government from a very early period. He is, accordingly, quoted by Presbyterian writers with much approval. He is quoted also by Catholic writers, not for his opinions, but for his admissions. For if, as he holds, the primitive form of Church government lasted but a day—that is a very short time—then it follows that the episcopal form of government is in possession at least from the early morning of Christianity.

But the episcopal form of government, as he admits, involves the sacerdotal and sacramental system in the Church. Hence those who deny the divine institution of the episcopacy, which culminates in the Roman Primacy, must in consistency maintain "that not only the form of government, but the most vital doctrines of the Christian Church, underwent such a radical change as completely to alter its constitution within a few centuries of its institution. But this is to play into the hands of sceptics and Rationalists with a vengeance. The episcopal form of government was in existence in the life-time of St. John, as even Lightfoot acknowledges when he tells us that "unless we have recourse to a sweeping condemnation of received documents, it seems vain to deny that *early in the second century* the episcopal office was firmly and widely established. Thus, during the three last decades of the first century, and, consequently, during the life-time of the last surviving Apostle; this change must have been brought about."[1] "In this way, during the historical blank which extends over half a century after the fall of Jerusalem [from A.D. 70 to A.D. 120], episcopacy was matured, and the Catholic Church consolidated."[2] And again, speaking

[1] *Comment on Philipp.*, 201. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 207.

of the second century, he says that the indirect testimony furnished by the tacit assumptions of writers living towards the close of the second century is well worthy of attention. "Episcopacy," he proceeds, "is so inseparably interwoven with all the traditions and beliefs of men like Irenæus and Tertullian, that they betray no knowledge of a time when it was not. Even Irenæus, the earlier of these, who was certainly born, and probably had grown up, before the middle of the century, seems to be wholly ignorant that the word bishop had passed from a lower to a higher value since Apostolic times." Nay, more, he adds—"Nor is it important only to observe the positive though indirect testimony which they afford. Their silence suggests a strong negative presumption that, while every other point of doctrine or practice was eagerly canvassed, the form of Church government alone scarcely came under discussion."[1] He speaks, too, of the strange audacity of those writers who placed the establishment of episcopacy *as late* as the beginning of the third century.[2]

It has been abundantly proved by the testimony of St. Ignatius, St. Irenæus, Tertullian, and of St. Cyprian, who were educated respectively in the Catholicism of the first, second, and third centuries, that it was the universal tradition of the Church in those centuries that the apostolical succession was maintained in the episcopate, and that the episcopate was one organised corporate body under the Roman Bishop as its head.

One of two things must be granted—namely, either the episcopate, of which the Papacy formed a constituent part, came down by divine institution from the Apostles, or there is no authentic canon of the New Testament, no authentic record of the preaching of Christ, no supernatural religion at all; and thus between Catholicism and Rationalism there is no logical medium.

[1] *Comment on Philipp.* p. 227.

[2] *Apost. Fathers*, part ii., St. Ignat., Vol. i., p. 390.

Renan quoted again.—As my quotation from Renan[1] has been the subject of several heated letters to the Melbourne daily press, I think it only due to myself to prove that the charge of having deliberately garbled a passage from that author was as groundless as it was discourteous. I pass by the elaborate quibbling by which it was attempted to be shown that I had represented Renan as a Protestant. The reader has only to consult the reference, when it will be found that I have distinctly termed Renan *a Rationalist,* just as on another occasion[2] I had called him *a sceptic,* though this second reference has also been misrepresented. When I read the boast that Renan would never again be quoted by Catholics—at least in Melbourne—I could not help thinking that the reverend gentleman who talked thus loudly had either read Renan very cursorily, or else that he must have thought that others had not read him at all. Catholics afraid to quote Renan! And wherefore? Does he not, in nearly all his writings, bear clearest testimony to that for which alone he was quoted by me—namely, the antiquity of the claims of the Roman Church to a primacy of jurisdiction. Further on I shall quote the controverted passage; but let us first take, for instance, his "Marcus Aurelius," and what could be stronger than the following statement:—

"Anicet ruled the Church with a high hand. They consulted him throughout all the Christian world. It was fully admitted that the Church of Rome had been founded by Peter; it was believed that this Apostle had transmitted to his Church the Primacy with which Jesus had invested him; there was applied to this Church the strong language in which it was believed that Jesus had conferred on Cephas the position of the corner-stone in the edifice he would build up. By unparalleled effort the Church of Rome had succeeded in remaining at the same time the Church of Paul. Peter and Paul reconciled—that was the grand act which founded the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome for the future. *A new mythical duality replaced that of Romulus and Remus.* We have already seen the question of Easter, the struggles of Gnosticism, those of Justin and Tatian meeting at Rome. All the controversies which rent the Christian conscience followed the same path up till Constantine's dissentients demanded from the Church of Rome an arbitration, if not a judgment.

[1] P. 23. [2] *Replies to the Anglican Bishop of Ballarat.*

Celebrated doctors considered it a duty to visit, for their instruction, that Church in which, since the disappearance of the first Church of Jerusalem, all recognised the prestige of an ancient origin."[1]

The expression of Renan's own opinion about *a new mythical duality* does not detract an iota from the strength of his testimony when he is witnessing to historic facts. But he is not satisfied with testifying to the antiquity of the Catholic claims; he even brushes aside the difficulties which some Protestants allege against them. In the *Hibbert Lectures*, from which my quotation was taken, he states that Peter's visit to Rome is probably true;[2] he says unhesitatingly that the Babylon mentioned in I. Peter v., 13, "is plainly Rome."[3] "If the epistle is authentic, the passage is decisive; if it is apocryphal, the inference which we may draw from it is not less convincing."[4] Again, he distinctly implies that the necessity of the Protestant position made the Reformers elevate "the denial of Peter's residence at Rome into a kind of dogma."[5]

[1] P. 40. [2] P. 69. [3] *Ibid.* [4] *Ibid.* [5] P. 62.

APPENDIX.

Renan again! and again!—His "Hibbert Lectures."—The following passages, which I have culled from the *Hibbert Lectures*, prove to demonstration that I was under no necessity to garble or misrepresent the author's sentiments:—

(pp. 121, 122.) "In proportion as the Church of Jerusalem falls, the Church of Rome rises; or, to put the fact in a better way, a phenomenon that plainly shows itself in the years that follow the victory of Titus is, that the Church of Rome becomes more and more the heir of the Church of Jerusalem, and takes its place. The spirit of the two Churches is the same; but what was a danger at Jerusalem becomes an advantage at Rome. The taste for tradition and hierarchy, the respect for authority, are in some sort transplanted from the courts of the temple to the West. James, the brother of the Lord, had been a quasi-Pope at Jerusalem; Rome is about to take up the part of James. We are to have the Pope of Rome; without Titus we should have had the Pope of Jerusalem. But there is this great difference between them, that while the Pope of Jerusalem would have smothered Christianity at the end of a century or two, the Pope of Rome has made it the religion of the world."

(pp. 122, 123.) "The truth of what I have said is illustrated in a very important personage, who appears to have been at the head of the Roman Church in the last years of the first century, and in regard to whom I am happy to find myself in accord with one of your ablest and most enlightened critics, Dr. Lightfoot: I mean Clement of Rome. In the half-shadow in which he remains, enveloped, and, as it were, lost in the luminous dust of a fine historic distance, Clement is one of the great figures of a nascent Christianity: we might liken him to some head in fresco of Giotto's, old and faded, but still to be recognised by its golden glory, and the pure and mild brilliance of its indistinct features."

(pp. 124, 125.) "Without having any decisive proof of the fact, we may admit that he had been at an early period in relation with the Apostles, and especially with Peter.—(Ch. 55.)

"The high rank which he held in the purely spiritual hierarchy of the Church of his times, and the unequalled credit which he enjoyed are beyond doubt. His approval was a law in itself. All parties claimed his leadership and desired to shelter themselves beneath his authority. It is probable that he was one of the chief actors in the great work which was in

process of accomplishment—I mean the posthumous reconciliation of Peter and Paul, and the fusion of the two parties—a fusion without which the work of Christ must have perished. He is the first type of Pope which Church history presents to us. His lofty personality, which legend makes more lofty still, was, after that of Peter, the holiest figure of primitive Christian Rome. Succeeding ages looked upon his venerable face as that of a mild and grave legislator, a perpetual homily of submission and respect.

(p. 125.) "Already the idea of a certain primacy belonging to his Church was beginning to make its way to the light. The right of warning other Churches and of composing their differences was conceded to it. Similar privileges—so at least it was believed—had been accorded to Peter by the other disciples. Thus a bond which gradually grew closer was established between Peter and Rome. Grave dissensions tore in pieces the Church of Corinth. The Roman Church, consulted as to these troubles, replied in a letter which is still extant. It is anonymous, but a very ancient tradition assigns the composition of it to Clement."

(p. 127.) "The Roman Church was henceforth the Church of order, of rule, of subordination. Its fundamental principle was, that humility and submission were of more account than the sublimest gifts. Its letter to the Corinthians is the first manifesto of the principle of authority made within the Christian Church."

(p. 128.) "Some years ago a great outcry was raised against a French Archbishop, then a senator, who said from the tribune, 'My clergy is my regiment.' Clement had said the same thing long before. Order and obedience—this is the supreme law of the family and of the Church."[1]

(pp. 130, 131.) "Men were approaching the great question, 'What is the essential element in the Church? Is it the people? the clergy? the inspired soul?' The question had been already asked in Paul's time, and he had solved the problem in the only true way, namely, by mutual charity. Our Epistle solves it in the sense of pure Catholicism. The apostolical credential is everything; the right of the people is reduced to nothing. We may well say, therefore, that Catholicism had its origin in Rome, for it was the Roman Church that first formulated its law. Precedence does not belong to spiritual gifts, or to science, or to distinction; it belongs to the hierarchy, to powers transmitted by the channel of canonical ordination; attaching itself to the Apostles by an unbroken chain. Men felt that the free Church, such as Jesus had conceived it,[2] such as Paul still understood it to be,[3] was an anarchic Utopia, holding no promise of the future. With evangelical liberty, disorder went hand in hand; they did not see that, in the long run, hierarchy meant uniformity and death."

(pp. 147, 148.) "In the primitive Christian community, the importance of Churches was in proportion to their apostolic nobility: nothing could be simpler. The guarantee of orthodoxy was the *diadoche*, the episcopal succession by which

[1] He here quotes the 37th paragraph of St. Clement's letter.

[2] Matt. xviii., 20. [3] 2 Cor. i., 21.

the great Churches were connected with the Apostles. A direct succession was a very strong warrant of agreement in doctrine; the greatest possible importance was attached to it. But what shall we say of a Church founded both by Peter and by Paul? It is clear that such a Church would be regarded as having a real superiority over all others. To have succeeded in establishing this belief was the masterpiece of that cleverness which characterised the Church of Rome. By the time of Antoninus Pius, almost everybody had come to believe that Peter and Paul had, in perfect agreement, founded Christianity at Rome, and had sealed the work with their blood. The ecclesiastical destiny of Rome was thenceforth fixed. When her part in the profane world was played out this extraordinary city was destined to play another and a sacred part, a part like that of Jerusalem."

(p. 149.) "The importance of the Church of Rome was measured by that of the city itself. Hyginus, its head, enjoyed the respect of all Christendom."

(p. 150.) "Hyginus drove the innovator [Valentinus, the Gnostic] from the Christian pulpit. From that time forward the Roman Church gave tokens of the purely practical tendency which was ever afterwards to distinguish her, and showed herself ready to sacrifice, without regret, knowledge and ability to edification."

(pp. 150, 151.) "The centre of a future Catholic orthodoxy was plainly here. Pius, who succeeded Hyginus, showed the same firmness in defending the purity of the faith. Cerdo, Marcion, Valentinus, Marcellinus, are removed from the Church by the sentence of Pius. In the reign of Antoninus the germ of the Papacy already exists in a very definite form. The Church of Rome shows itself increasingly indifferent to those visionary speculations which were the delight of minds full of the intellectual activity of the Greeks, but at the same time corrupted by the dreams of the East. The organisation of Christian society was the chief work pursued at Rome. That wonderful city brought to this task the exclusively practical genius and the powerful moral energy which she has applied in so many different ways. Almost careless of speculation, decisively hostile to novelties of doctrine, she presided as a mistress already practised in the art, over all the changes which took place in the discipline and hierarchy of the Church."

(p. 151.) "What was in process of development in the Christian Church, about the year 120 or 130, was the episcopate. Now the creation of the episcopate was evidently the work of Rome."

(p. 164.) "Thanks to the Church of Rome, the religion of Jesus thus acquired a certain solidity and consistency. The great danger of Gnosticism, which threatened to divide Christendom into innumerable sects, was averted. The phrase 'Catholic Church' breaks upon us from all sides at once as the name of the great communion which is destined thenceforth to come down the ages in unbroken unity. And the character of this Catholicity is already sufficiently visible. The Montanists are regarded as sectaries; the Marcionites are convicted of falsifying apostolic doctrine; the different Gnostic schools are more and more repelled from the bosom of the Catholic Church."

(p. 166.) "In the midst of the enormous variety of opinions of which the first Christian century is full, a fixed point thus constitutes itself, the opinion of Catholicity. To convict the heretic it is not necessary to argue with him. It is enough to prove to him that he is not in communion with the Catholic Church, with the great churches which can show an undisputed succession of bishops from the Apostles. *Quod semper quod ubique* becomes the absolute rule of truth. The argument of prescription, to which Tertullian is afterwards to give so eloquent a force, sums up all the Catholic controversy. To prove to anyone that he is an innovator, a late comer in theology, is to prove that he is wrong."

(pp. 169, 170.) "Under Marcus Aurelius the episcopate is completely ripe; the Papacy exists in germ. Œcumenical Councils were not yet possible; only the Christian Empire could permit these great assemblies: but the Provincial Synod was brought to bear upon the Montanist and the Paschal controversies: the presidency of the Bishop of the capital of the province was admitted without dispute."

(pp. 172, 173, 174.) "Rome was the place in which this great idea of Catholicity was worked out. More and more every day it became the capital of Christianity, and took the place of Jerusalem as the religious centre of humanity. Its Church claimed a precedence over others which was generally recognised. All the doubtful questions which agitated the Christian conscience came to Rome to ask for arbitration, if not decision. Men argued, certainly not in a very logical way, that as Christ had made Cephas the corner stone of His Church, the privilege ought to be inherited by his successors. . . . The Bishop of Rome became the Bishop of bishops, he who admonished all others. Rome proclaims her right—a dangerous right—of excommunicating those who do not walk step by step with her. . . . At the end of the second century we can already recognise, by signs which it is impossible to mistake, the spirit which in 1870 will proclaim the infallibility of the Pope. The writing of which the fragment known as the Canon of Muratori formed a part, and which was produced at Rome about the year 180 A.D., shows us Rome already defining the canon of Scripture, alleging the martyrdom of Peter as the foundation of Catholicity, repudiating Montanism and Gnosticism alike. Irenæus refutes all heresies by reference to the belief of this Church, 'the greatest, the oldest, the most illustrious,' which possesses, in virtue of an unbroken succession, the true tradition of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to which, because of its primacy, all the rest of the Church ought to have recourse."—(Iren. iii., iii., 2.)

(p. 175.) "This precedence of the Church of Rome only became more marked in the third century."

(p. 176.) "The tradition of the Roman Church passes for the most ancient of all. Cornelius takes the first place in the affairs of Novatianism; we see him, in especial, depriving Italian bishops and nominating their successors. Rome was also the central authority of the African churches."

(p. 180.) "In the time of St. Victor 'the Papacy was already born, and well born.'"

In page 179 he fixes the period of St. Victor's reign, to which, in the previous age he refers, as A.D. 196.

(p. 208.) "That Roman Primacy, which is so brilliant a fact in the second and third century, ceases to exist as soon as the East has a separate existence and a separate capital."

These quotations, it must be remembered, do not exhaust Renan's "admissions" regarding the antiquity of the Roman claims to a primacy of jurisdiction. But they represent a tolerably fair proportion of a volume containing only 213 pages of large type.

Whilst the lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiffs were in course of delivery, several letters assailing the Catholic position appeared in the Melbourne daily papers. One writer had the temerity to quote from the notorious forgery which, amongst a certain class of Protestants, passes for a genuine speech of a distinguished Catholic Bishop. I immediately called attention to the history of the alleged speech, and as I subsequently received a copy of this forgery, printed and published in Melbourne, I wish to record my protest in a form more accessible than a newspaper file. I, therefore, append my letter to the *Age* newspaper: —

To the Editor of the Age.

Sir,—Your correspondent, "Bible Student," in his letter of this day's date, asks some questions and makes some statements. I pass by his questions, as my answers to them will be found in the lectures I have recently delivered. But I feel bound to say of his statements that they reveal a culpable ignorance specially reprehensible in one who professes to be a student of the Bible. That sacred volume will tell him that it was said of old, "Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour," and yet this is what he has done.

He has quoted a forged speech, attributed it to Bishop Strossmayer, and made it the groundwork of an allegation of want of unity in the Catholic Church. This speech is supposed to have been delivered at the Vatican Council. It matters little that it is not to be found in the acts of the Council. It matters less that Cardinal Manning, who was present at all the sessions of the Council, and who wrote and published *The True Story of the Vatican Council*, gives the genesis of this forged speech—so like the famous speech of Abbot Dinooth —and tells us:—"When the speech had gone the round of Europe in a polyglot version, Bishop Strossmayer in a Roman paper *denounced it as a forgery*, and his letter has been reprinted again and again in England. Nevertheless, the speech is reprinted continually to this day at Glasgow and Belfast, and sown broadcast

by post over these kingdoms, and probably wherever the English tongue is spoken." But it matters least of all that Bishop Strossmayer, with his own hand, signed the decrees and canons of the Vatican Council, including the dogmatic constitution regarding the infallibility of the Pope; and, moreover, when appealed to with reference to the authenticity of this speech, immediately answered in these words:—

"I hasten to reply to your letter received yesterday. The discourse attributed to me is altogether apocryphal. This calumny has been several times reproduced in the German papers. I solemnly contradict it, and contradict it now, giving you, by this letter, full power to contradict it everywhere in my name. Receive the assurance of my esteem.

"Strossmayer, Bishop.

"Rohic, 1st July, 1873."

But what avails the bishop's solemn repudiation of the forgery? Like many another calumny against the Catholic Church, Bishop Strossmayer's speech will do duty many a time in the future in the hands of either ill-informed or malicious writers, such as "Bible Student" has proved himself to be. The newspaper correspondent who shelters himself under a *nom de plume* when attacking the reputation of an illustrious prelate is personally unworthy of notice; but, for the sake of truth and justice, I thought it well to expose once more this cruel calumny.—Yours, etc.,

✠ Thomas J. Carr, Archbishop of Melbourne.

St. Patrick's Cathedral, 8th April.

THE PRIMACY FURTHER CONSIDERED.

OBJECTIONS ANSWERED.

PREFACE.

THE following lectures were originally delivered for the purpose of dealing with statements published by the Rev. Dr. Rentoul* in reply to the lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

It was thought desirable at that time to notice those statements, not only because of the serious misunderstanding of the Catholic position to which the public might be liable if they were allowed to pass unquestioned, but also because in answering the objections a valuable opportunity was afforded to supplement and emphasise the proofs advanced in the original lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

The ephemeral interest in that controversy has passed away, and with it the danger of misunderstanding that then existed. But experience has taught the Catholic apologist that attacks on Catholic doctrines and practices do not vary much with the generations, nor grow old with the centuries. These attacks are like the fabled bird in Egyptian story. They rise again from their own ashes.

Dr. Rentoul had introduced into his pages various matters extraneous to the discussion, and representing popular Protestant misconceptions of Catholic doctrine. Only where absolutely necessary have these been briefly noticed. The real question at issue is the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, as the new title ("The Primacy further Considered") is intended to suggest. It is hoped that the abiding element in a controversy that has passed away may throw light on an essential doctrine of the Catholic Church, as well as serve to answer possible objections in the future. Hence the alternative title: "Objections Answered."

For the convenience of the reader the lectures have been divided into chapters and sections.

* *The Early Church and the Roman Church.*

THE PRIMACY FURTHER CONSIDERED.

CHAPTER XIX.

"EXCLUSIVE SALVATION" AGAIN, AND OTHER ERRONEOUS STATEMENTS.

(First Lecture.)

Nature of the Controversy.—Much as I dislike the continuance of controversy, which is always a serious tax on time and ordinary duties, I cannot allow to pass unnoticed the pamphlet which Dr. Rentoul has lately published in reply to my lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Hitherto I have tried to conduct the controversy in as impersonal a manner as I could, and I should desire, as far as possible, to pursue the same course to the end.

I shall have to express my strong dissent from Dr. Rentoul's treatment of the question at issue, both as to substance and form, but let me say once for all, that I do not mean to impute wilful misrepresentation, or a conscious violation of those courtesies which should specially characterise the discussion of grave religious questions.

With Dr. Rentoul personally, the Catholics of Melbourne have no quarrel. For him they entertain none but the kindest feelings, and from him, as a fellow citizen and a fellow Christian, they have reason to expect fair play

and co-operation. But owing to the exigencies of controversy, and in the heat of argument, he has allowed himself, on this occasion, to write of the religious belief of the vast majority of those who bear the Christian name in a manner as unjust to himself as it must be painful to all readers who care for Christian courtesy and charity. And in the interests of Catholic truth, we are sometimes compelled to express our emphatic disagreement with our best friends. Perhaps it is better to say that on certain fundamental questions of religion we must agree to differ. For there is no reason why controversy should violate charity. With the question of the Primacy he has mixed up such subjects as the Infallibility and *inspiration* of the Pope, the seven sacraments, mariolatry, indulgences *for sins*, purgatory, the externalism and sacerdotalism of the Catholic system, tradition, the forged Decretals, the Apocrypha, etc., etc. He has dwelt on numerous minor details to the neglect of the solid *cumulative* argument derived from the different sources of proof to which I had appealed. He has used or rejected the testimony of the Fathers of the Church in accordance with his own preconceived ideas. He has ignored the growth and development of the Church discernible in the clearer statement and definition of her doctrine, as well as in her ritual and hierarchical organization, and, in consequence, he has, by applying one rule to periods widely different, succeeded in proving to his own satisfaction, that the full grown man never knew a period of infancy or youth.

If any satisfactory reply to my proofs could have been found, there would have been no temptation to wander so far afield. If he had discovered any really vulnerable point in the *cumulative* argument for the Roman Primacy, he would have concentrated instead of scattering his forces. It cannot be expected, then, that I should follow Dr. Rentoul every time he chooses to divert attention to these extraneous matters. I decline to be led away from the

real question at issue, which is the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.

What I propose to do in this lecture is (1) to set the public mind right in regard to assertions and methods which are calculated to cause prejudice and prevent an impartial consideration of the case on its merits, and (2) to reply to everything in the shape of argument which he has brought forward in his published lectures, against the proofs contained in my lectures on the "Scripture proofs of the Primacy."

In my next lecture (Chapter XXII.), I shall consider whatever he has advanced against my proofs taken from the "testimony of the Fathers."

But before proceeding to the defence of my proofs put forward to establish the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, it will be necessary to animadvert on some erroneous statements made in the Preface and "Foreword" of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet.

"Exclusive Salvation" as Catholics teach it.—A serious effort is made—unconsciously no doubt—in the first page of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet, to prejudice public opinion against the Catholic position. It is there stated that the Roman claims, if admitted, would "ban out of God's fold and exclude from the brotherhood of the hope in Christ, myself, and half of Christendom." And again, we are told that Bellarmine's definition of the Church, which is afterwards called the "Romish definition," would exclude "out of the pale of salvation, not only all the Reformation Churches and all Protestant peoples, but also the whole Greek or Eastern Catholic Church."[1] I may observe that Bellarmine expressly states that his definition regards only the *body* of the Church, and, though Dr. Rentoul may tell us that he does not recognise the distinction, still the question is not what Dr. Rentoul recognises, but what Bellarmine defines.[2]

[1] *Early Church*, p. 27. [2] Bellar., *De Eccl.* I., II., pp. 74, 75.

Nothing could be more calculated to prejudice the public mind, or to poison the wells of impartial discussion, than this charge of intolerance. But, in the first place, I may ask who has been banning out of all that is pure in doctrine, or holy in worship, not only the whole Catholic church, but also the Eastern, and those members of the Anglican church who believe in the priesthood, or the sacraments, or the continued sacrifice of the New Law? Who has said that "the great Reformers rediscovered" what is "a central and life-giving truth of Christianity," and that "underneath all that external growth of priestly invention and of ecclesiastical statecraft, there lies hidden out of view of the people, that truth of divine love and of a redeeming and living Christ, which *could* save and regenerate the nations, were it not 'made void by the traditions of men,' and by unwholesome legends of 'saints'";[1] and, again, "that all of us should be unchurched and un-Christed did we assent to these truculent [Roman] demands,"[2] and that the priesthood of the Christian ministry first rose from heathen influences, and that "it is essentially the same pagan theory, foreign to—and lacking faith in, the all-sufficient high priesthood and accomplished sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord."[3] Who is this Pontifex Maximus who has dared to utter such anathemas against the majority of Christians?

But is it true that the Catholic Church shuts out from the hope of salvation all who are separated from her communion? Is this the meaning of the doctrine of "exclusive salvation?" The charge has been so often repeated that a few words of explanation will not be out of place here. The doctrine of the Catholic Church may be briefly stated thus:—Communion with the *true Church* is required for salvation not as a *necessary means*, but by reason of *a divine precept*, the wilful violation of which, if unrepented of, like the violation of one of the Ten Commandments, excludes

[1] *Early Church*, p. 23. [2] p. 26. [3] p. 15.

men from salvation. To attain a particular end some things are required as *necessary means*, other things are required because *they are commanded*. Thus, in the natural order, to preserve the life of the body, air and food are required as *necessary means*, and, in the supernatural order, to preserve the life of the soul, faith and grace are similarly required. But restitution of ill-gotten goods, for instance, is also required to preserve the life of the soul, not however as a *necessary means*, but because it is *commanded by God*. A practical difference between those things that are required as *necessary means*, and those other things which are required owing to the obligation of a *divine precept*, is, that no amount of bona fides can dispense with the application of the former, while in regard to the latter, as invincible ignorance of the precept, or inability to comply with it, will excuse its violation, so, too, will it render the attainment of the end possible without the fulfilment of what is so commanded. Applying these principles to the necessity of belonging to the *true Church*, we hold that communion with it is required, not as an indispensably *necessary means*, but by reason of a *divine precept* which God has imposed on men in the New Law.

In this proposition you will observe that there is question of the *true Church*, not of the Roman, Greek, Anglican, Presbyterian, or any other Church as such. We merely state that it is necessary for salvation, in the sense already explained, to belong to the *true Church*, wheresoever that Church is to be found.

Culpable Separation from the true Church.—Now, in order that the violation of a precept should be culpable, two things are required, namely, advertence on the part of the intellect, and consent on the part of the will. In other words *culpable* separation from the true Church presupposes that its claims to credibility, and therefore, the obligation of admitting them, have been sufficiently brought

home to the individual to make him guilty of grievous sin in their rejection. Where there is not deliberate violation of the precept there is, so far, no impossibility of salvation.

The very statement of the doctrine is sufficient to clear it from the charge of intolerance. All, who believe that Christ established a Church on earth, must, I think, hold that He is not indifferent as to whether men become members of that Church or not. They must hold that men are bound by *a divine precept* to belong to that body of true believers founded by Christ, wherever it is to be found. If any proof of this proposition be required it will be found drawn out by Palmer, an eminent Anglican divine, in his treatise on the Church.

He argues from Col. i. 18; John xv. 6; Heb. xi. 6; Rom. x. 14, 15; I. Cor. xii. 28, and from Acts ii. 47. He quotes the tradition of the Christian community at all times, the testimony of many of the early Fathers, and the words of the Reformers, such as Calvin,[1] Luther, and Melancthon, to which may be added several Confessions of Protestant Faith in which the doctrine of exclusive salvation is inculcated more rigorously than in the teaching of the Catholic Church. So patent is this difference, that Leibnitz[2] confessed his astonishment that what he re-

[1] "But as it is now our purpose to discourse on the visible church, let us learn from her single title mother, how useful, nay how necessary the knowledge of her is since there is no other means of entering into life unless she conceive us in the womb and give us birth, unless she nourish us at her breast and in short keep us under her charge and government until divested of mortal flesh we become like to angels. . . . Moreover, beyond the pale of the church no forgiveness of sin, no salvation can be hoped for as Isaiah and Joel testify (Is. xxxvii. 32. Joel ii. 32). To their testimony Ezechiel subscribes, where he declares 'They shall not be in the assembly of my people, neither shall they be written in the writing of the house of Israel.' (Ez. xiii. 9). As on the other hand those who turn to the cultivation of true piety are said to inscribe their names among the citizens of Jerusalem. For which reason it is said in the Ps. 'Remember me O Lord with the favour that thou bearest unto thy people: O visit me with thy salvation that I may see the good of thy chosen and that I may rejoice in the gladness of thy nation and that I may glory with thine inheritance.' By these words the paternal favour of God and the special evidence of spiritual life are confined to his peculiar people and hence the abandonment of the church is always fatal." *Inst.*, B. iv., I iv.

[2] *Act Erudit.*, Tom. xi., Epist. ad Diver. iv.

garded as the laxity of the Catholic doctrine was not more frequently and vigorously urged against Catholics by Protestant controversialists.

To assert therefore that the Catholic Church is chargeable with intolerance on the ground that she excludes from the pale of salvation all who are not members of her own fold, is to assert what is contrary to truth. As a matter of fact Catholic theologians maintain that every adult, even a negative infidel, or material heretic, may be saved, if he will only do what lies in his power. St. Thomas holds that though a man were brought up in the woods, away from all human society, provided he lived according to the dictates of the natural law written on the human heart, God would send an angel from heaven to enlighten him, if there was no other way to provide him with supernatural faith, and the other means necessary for salvation. But though all this be true, it is obvious that it is in His Church Christ has provided those ordinary and abundant means of sanctification which make salvation not only possible but easy.

A "Foreword" with many errors.—I now proceed to examine Dr. Rentoul's erroneous statements. Before doing so I would point out that I have selected from his pamphlet some pages in the composition of which he must have been most on his guard. They are the pages last written by him, though they appear first in his pamphlet. As they give the expression of his final judgment, and as they contain grave charges against Catholic controversialists, we must suppose that he tried to be at least as accurate in them as in any other pages of his pamphlet. As a matter of fact we shall find that they teem with misleading and erroneous statements. To his published lectures is prefixed what he styles a "Foreword" addressed to Churchmen, Anglican and Non-Anglican. It consists of eleven pages, and I direct your attention to the following erroneous statements contained within this narrow limit.

(1) **Chronological Facts and the Primacy.**—On page 7 these words occur:—"He does not in the least attempt to deal with the *chronological* facts I have adduced, proving the 'Roman claim' to be an historic impossibility, and to rest on what is undeniably legend."

In reply to the first of these erroneous statements, it will be amply sufficient to transcribe the following sentences to be found in my pamphlet (p. 318):—"Non-Catholic writers consider the statements of St. Jerome, and the Syriac translator of Eusebius [regarding the 25 and 20 years of St. Peter's Roman episcopate] an insuperable difficulty in the way of the Catholic teaching. They forget that it was not necessary for St. Peter to have gone to Rome at all to be its bishop, and to make its future bishops his successors; it was sufficient that he should fix upon Rome as his own See. No Catholic maintains that St. Peter remained in Rome the whole period that he held its bishopric. Catholics, therefore, are not bound to believe that St. Peter was twenty-five years in Rome, or that he was twenty years there. They are not bound to accept St. Jerome's or any other writer's chronology. As the Visible Head of the Church, St. Peter had a care of all the Churches, and must have visited many of them, as we know from the Acts of the Apostles he had been accustomed to do before he came to Rome. It is enough and more than enough to verify the tradition of the Church if St. Peter was in Rome for a few months, because, as Lipsius honestly confesses, if he went to Rome at all, he went there as Prince of the Apostles."

Let it be remembered that all I undertook to prove was that "St. Peter finally fixed his See in Rome."[1] This he might have done even though he spent but a few months or days in Rome—nay even though he never visited Rome.

The chronological difficulties, therefore, as far as the Roman claim is concerned, do not exist. Trustworthy

[1] *Primacy of Roman Pontiff*, chap. xiii.

historians following St. Jerome and Eusebius, hold that from the date of St. Peter's first visit till his death in Rome, twenty-five years had passed. One thing is certain, that nothing which Dr. Rentoul has brought forward from either the silence or the statements of St. Paul or of St. Luke in the Acts of the Apostles, disproves a visit of St. Peter to Rome earlier than the arrival of St. Paul. Nay, more, there are not wanting many indications in the Epistle to the Romans, which seem to show that St. Paul was not the first Apostle to visit Rome. For instance, in chapter i. 8, St. Paul writes of the faith of the Roman Church as being already spoken of in the whole world. This shows a Church highly organised at the date of St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans. It is difficult to imagine that such a high and praiseworthy condition of the Roman Church could have been brought about without the personal superintendence of one of the Apostles. But tradition points to no other Apostle except St. Peter. Again, in verse ii., St. Paul expresses his desire to impart some spiritual grace to *strengthen* the faith of the Romans—"That I may be comforted together in you by that which is common to us both, your faith and mine." (i. 12.) Here the Roman Church is represented as standing in need, not of the elements of Christian knowledge, but of the confirmation of large Christian teaching already imparted to it. How advanced that teaching was we may learn from the subjects discussed in St. Paul's Epistle, namely, the necessity of faith for justification, the inutility of the works of the Law done without faith, the divine economy of grace, predestination, original sin, etc. And so advanced were the Roman converts in a knowledge of the Gospel, that they could console the Apostle by their faith, which, he declares, was not different from his own. How can we imagine that the Roman Church had acquired this full knowledge except through the personal guidance of an Apostle, and of an Apostle not at least inferior to St. Paul himself?

It is significant, too, that St. Paul gives as the reason of his long delay in coming to Rome, that he had hitherto made it a rule not to preach the Gospel where it had been already established by another:—"And I have so preached this gospel, not where Christ was named, lest I should build upon another man's foundation . . . For which cause also I was hindered very much from coming to you, and have been kept away till now." (xv. 20-22.)

Who was that other on whose foundation St. Paul was unwilling to build in Rome? The tradition of the early Church says St. Peter. We may remark, too, that even now St. Paul will visit Rome only on his way to Spain, and that his visit will be but a passing one. "When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope that as I pass, I shall see you, and be brought on my way thither by you, if first in your part I shall have enjoyed you." (xv. 24.) If no Apostle had previously visited Rome, would St. Paul's visit have been so brief or so dependent on his journey to Spain?

These are some of the Scriptural indications which are adduced to show that before St. Paul's arrival in Rome, another Apostle had been there, and had founded its Church. If any Apostle was in Rome before St. Paul's arrival, it will not be seriously denied that it was no other than St. Peter.

But, I repeat, whatever we may think of the chronology, or of the theories of particular writers regarding the dates and duration of St. Peter's visits to Rome, there can be no reasonable doubt about the *fact* of St. Peter's presence and pontificate in Rome. If doubts about chronology could disprove facts, many of the events which men deem most important and far-reaching, such, for instance, as the Incarnation and Resurrection of Christ, would have to be removed from the domain of history. Coming nearer to our own times, when some years ago the fourth

centenary of Luther's birth was about to be celebrated, no certain proof could be adduced to determine the date. Still no one doubted about the *fact* of Luther's birth.

(2) **Legend or History?**—Next, as to what Dr. Rentoul asserts is *undeniably* legend, I must remind him that so far from allowing it to pass unchallenged, I have devoted some sixteen pages[1] to its refutation. Nor has my refutation escaped his observation, as he writes[2] (p. 12) "Archbishop Carr's attempt to deal with this, and with Canon Potter's statement on the same subject, are, in my judgment, the most earnest attempt to grapple with a great difficulty in a critical and historical spirit."

(3) Again on the same page (7) we read:—"*How Peter could be in two places at the same time* (which supposition is necessary to the 'Roman bishopric of Peter') Archbishop Carr has not attempted to show." That I have not attempted to show how St. Peter could be in two places at the same time, tells, I imagine, in my favour. But that Dr. Rentoul should hold that the supposition is necessary to the Roman bishopric of St. Peter is rather against his claim to common sense. As, however, he has not thought fit to indicate the two places in which St. Peter, on the supposition of his Roman episcopacy, should be at the same time, we may regard this sample of the professor's wit as intended *ad fucum faciendum.*

(4) Without leaving this interesting page (7), we are further told that "Tertullian, in the close of the second century, declares that Clement was the first bishop of Rome."

I must protest that Tertullian does no such thing. Tertullian says what is quite a different thing, namely, that Clement was ordained by Peter,—*a Petro ordinatum.*[3] Now this authority, to which he has appealed, proves a little

1 *The Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.* 2 *The Early Church*, etc.

3 Hoc enim modo ecclesiæ apostolicæ census suos sicut . . . Romanorum [ecclesia] Clementem a Petro ordinatum [refert.]—*De Præscr. Hæret.*, 32.

inconvenient for Dr. Rentoul. Peter is represented by Tertullian as not only in Rome, but as ordaining, or exercising his episcopate in Rome. Nor is Dr. Rentoul's position improved by asking us to accept the authority of Professor Bright, who says that: "the context shows that he (Tertullian) did not regard Peter as first bishop." If we are to be led by authority at all, and not judge for ourselves, why not go to the great scholar Lightfoot and learn of him, in his own words that here Tertullian "presumably regards Clement as the Apostle's next successor in the episcopate."[1] Truly this was an unfortunate reference to Tertullian.

(5) In the last line of page 7 we read that "Irenæus (Tertullian's contemporary) declares that Linus was first bishop of Rome."

But, very unfortunately for Dr. Rentoul, Irenæus, so far from making the statement attributed to him, in two passages described Hyginus as the *ninth* bishop of Rome, and as "holding the *ninth* place of the episcopate by succession from the Apostles,"[2] and thus includes St. Peter as amongst the bishops of Rome. The original of both these passages has been preserved. Elsewhere Irenæus reckons Hyginus as eighth *from* the Apostles, which is perfectly consistent with the other statement, as I have shown in my previous lectures, and as I shall show more fully later on.

(6) Nor am I yet done with page 7, for in that same page I am charged with using the word "Primacy" ambiguously. It is a striking coincidence that Prof. Bright makes the same charge of ambiguity with reference to the word "Primacy." The best means of avoiding ambiguity in the use of any term is to define it accurately, and that is just what I have done with regard to the word "Primacy." I was careful in the very beginning of my lectures, to

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 344. [2] *Contra. Haer.*, III., IV.; I., xxvii.

define the sense in which I used it. That definition did not escape the attention of Dr. Rentoul, for he quotes it, and characterises it as bold, but does not say it is inaccurate.[1]

The word "Anglican" ambiguous.—If there be any ambiguity in the use of the word "Anglican," the ambiguity arises from a cause which I cannot regulate, and for which I am not responsible. It comes from the ever varying phases of Protestant belief which requires a corresponding change in the use of words. I remember that on a former occasion I was reminded that Protestantism and Anglicanism were very different things. Now I am told that Anglicanism and Protestantism do not much differ, but that the great difference lies between Anglicanism and Anglo-Catholicism. If any clear rule can be given for distinguishing Anglicans from Anglo-Catholics, I shall, as a matter of course, be glad to observe the distinction. But until some such rule is supplied, I cannot be reasonably charged with the ambiguous use of the word "Anglican."

(7) On page 8 we find the following statement:—

"Archbishop Carr must have a limited belief in the intelligence of the public, when he announces that the views of his 'new adversary' differ radically from the views of 'Anglicans' on the primitive form of Church government, and the necessity of Apostolical succession."

I might retort and say that Professor Rentoul must have a limited belief in the intelligence of Anglicans when he insinuates that their views on primitive Church government, and the necessity of Apostolical succession, do not differ radically from his own.

The proof of my assertion is at hand, for the *Church of England Messenger*, the Ecclesiastical Gazette for the Diocese of Melbourne, referring to Dr. Rentoul's lectures, contains the following:—

"As for the uncharitableness which the *Southern Cross* seems to find in the Church of England position as to orders, that can only be maintained upon one of two assumptions—neither of which,

[1] See *Early Church*, pp. 27, 152.

we should think, our contemporary would care to make—that we do not ourselves believe in episcopacy as of Divine institution, or that what a man believes to be right and of Divine appointment he should be ready to give up if its consequences are inconvenient to others. Of course, if we and other episcopal Churches are only making believe in ascribing the origin and authority we do to episcopacy, it is ungenerous to non-episcopal bodies to make so much of a distinction to which they cannot lay claim; but if the Church of England, with the great Churches of East and West, has set to its seal that episcopal ordination is the true following of apostolic practice and inspired teaching—as its formularies and its use for 300 years are witnesses that it has—then we can take no heed of consequences, even be they what the *Southern Cross* describes, but must stand resolutely for what we believe to be the truth. If there is any uncharitableness in doing so, it is the truth that is uncharitable, not we."[1]

(8) **Lightfoot on Apostolic Succession.**—Before we leave page 8, the following sentence claims our attention:—

"Also Bishop Lightfoot is grouped amongst 'Anglican writers'; and Archbishop Carr knows very well that the views held by Lightfoot as to the primitive form of Church government are substantially identical with the views set forth in my lectures, instead of being, as he tries to hint, 'radically different.'"

It will be sufficient in reply to quote some of the statements taken from his works, which Bishop Lightfoot got printed shortly before his death, as an expression of his sentiments on the primitive form of Church government and Apostolical Succession:

In the preface to the twelfth edition of his *Commentary on the Epistle to the Philippians*, the following remarks are prefixed by the editors to these collected statements:—

"The following extracts from Bishop Lightfoot's works illustrate his view of the Christian ministry over and above the particular scope of the essay in his Commentary on the Philippians. He felt that unfair use had been made of that special line of thought which he there pursued, and soon after the Lambeth conference of 1888, he had this collection of passages printed. It is felt by those who have the best means of knowing that he would himself have wished the collection to stand together simply as his reply to the constant imputation to him of opinions for which writers wished to claim his support without any justification." (*Preface*, p. xi.)

In his *Essay on the Christian Ministry*, published in 1868, Lightfoot wrote as follows:—

"If the preceding investigation be substantially correct, the threefold ministry can be traced to Apostolic direction; and short

[1] Sept., 1896.

of an express statement we can possess no better assurance of a Divine sanction. If the facts do not allow us to unchurch other Christian communities differently organized, they may at least justify our jealous adhesion to a polity derived from this source."

Addressing the Representative Council of the Scottish Episcopal Church at Glasgow on 10th October, 1892, Dr. Lightfoot said:—

"While you seek unity among yourselves, you will pray likewise that unity may be restored to your Presbyterian brothers. Not insensible to the special blessings which you yourselves enjoy, clinging tenaciously to the threefold ministry as the completeness of the Apostolic ordinance and the historical backbone of the Church, valuing highly all those sanctities of liturgical office and ecclesiastical season, which, modified from age to age, you have inherited from an almost immemorial past, thanking GOD, but not thanking Him in any Pharisaic spirit, that these so many and great privileges are continued to you which others have lost, you will nevertheless shrink, as from the venom of a serpent's fang, from any mean desire that their divisions may be perpetuated in the hope of profiting by their troubles."

Speaking of the Church of England before the Church Congress at Wolverhampton on 3rd October, 1887, he asked:—

"Is she to be blamed because she retained a form of Church government which had been handed down in unbroken continuity from the Apostolic times, and thus a line was drawn between her and the reformed Churches of other countries?"

And, once more, at the Re-opening of the Chapel, Auckland Castle, on 1st August, 1888, he put on record this emphatic declaration of his belief:—

"We cannot afford to sacrifice any portion of the faith once delivered to the saints; we cannot surrender for any immediate advantages the threefold ministry which we have inherited from Apostolic times, and which is the historic backbone of the Church."

A very remarkable peculiarity of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet, is the frequency with which he reverts to the same subject, but which he manages to present each time under a perplexing variety of form. The statement regarding the substantial identity of Dr. Lightfoot's views and his own, on primitive Church government, will serve as a typical illustration of this peculiarity.

We are told (p. 114) that:

"The modern Episcopate, as Lightfoot says, has arisen by evolution out of the presbytery. Naturally, as an Episcopalian,

he would like to find that evolution as early as possible, and to join it on to Apostolic times."

But why should Dr. Lightfoot wish "to join it on to Apostolic times," except that he believed in the Apostolic Succession, and if there be anything which Dr. Rentoul seems to detest more than another, it is what he designates "the figment of 'the Apostolic Succession.'"

Again in the same context, he tells us that Lightfoot adopted "the theory of the eminent German Presbyterian scholar, Rothe, viz., that the first appearance of incipient episcopacy was in John's Churches in Asia Minor." But, as a matter of fact, Rothe attributes the institution of the episcopacy not to St. John alone, but to "a council of the Apostles and first teachers of the Gospel" held immediately after the fall of Jerusalem. "The centre of the system then organized," says Rothe, "was episcopacy, which at once secured the compact and harmonious working of each individual congregation, and as the link of communication between separate brotherhoods formed the whole into one undivided Catholic Church."[1] The fall of Jerusalem took place, A.D. 70, and Lightfoot expressly states that "during the last three decades of the first century, and consequently during the lifetime of the latest surviving Apostle, this change [episcopacy] must have been brought about."[2] And, as we shall immediately see, Dr. Lightfoot is in direct conflict with Dr. Rentoul, for before "the close of the first century," he finds "trace of *one* single bishop" outside "Asia Minor." In this, too, he is in accord with Dr. Rothe.

(9) In p. 9, I am represented as denouncing Dr. Lightfoot for adopting an un-Anglican and unepiscopalian theory in regarding Clement's letter as proceeding, not from the Bishop, but from the Church of Rome. But if Dr. Lightfoot regarded Clement as bishop of Rome, in the

[1] Quoted by Lightfoot, *Philipp.*, p. 204.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 201.

later sense, as he certainly did, and if the bishop then represented his church, "to those without," as even Harnack holds,[1] it would be in him un-Anglican and unepiscopalian to regard Clement's letter as coming from the Church and not from the bishop of Rome. But there can be no doubt that Lightfoot regarded Clement as a bishop in the later sense. Here are his words already quoted by me.[2]

"Though, so far as I can see, no adequate reason can be advanced why Linus and Anencletus [the two names between Peter and Clement] should not have been bishops in the later sense, as single rulers of the Church, yet here the tradition, if unsupported by any other considerations, cannot inspire any great confidence. But with Clement the case is different. The testimony of the succeeding ages is strong and united. Even the exaggerations of the Clementine story point to a basis of fact."[3] And in regard to Linus and Anencletus he says:—"As regards the names [Linus and Anencletus] I see no reason to question that they not only represent historical persons, but that they were bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church, though their monarchy may have been much less autocratic than the episcopate of even the succeeding century."[4]

More than one reason is given for the absence of Clement's name from the letter, such as his humility, or the fear of its falling into the hands of the Pagans, or, as Haddan (*Dict. of Christian Antiquities, Art.* "Bishop") puts it:—

"St. Clement of Rome, for instance, so absolutely represented his Church as to write in the name of that Church; and is described by Hermas Pastor (Vis. ii., 4.) as officially communicating in its name with foreign churches; and is placed by St. Irenæus and others as one in a series of bishops, all so called in the same sense."

How unmeaning it is to try to evade the force of Clement's exercise of the Primacy, on the ground that his letter "does not proceed from the Bishop, but from the Church of Rome," is best shown by the simple statement that the same is true of one of his successors, Pope Victor, who is singled out by Dr. Rentoul and others for special censure on the ground that he was the first to claim, and to conceive the prerogatives of the Papacy. To this fact,

[1] *Expos.* 3rd Ser., Vol. v., p. 342. [2] *Primacy of the Roman Pontiff.*
[3] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 68. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 340.

which completely answers the difficulty raised against St. Clement's testimony, Dr. Salmon bears this witness:—

"Coming down still later, to a period, when it has been thought, we have the power of the bishop of Rome full grown, I mean the attempt of Victor to excommunicate the Asiatic Churches, we find that Victor acted but as the mouth-piece of his Church; nor do I think there is ground for the violent contrast which Lightfoot (*Philippians*, p. 222) draws between the 'mild and peaceful counsel of the Presbyter-bishop Clement,' and the 'autocratic pretensions of the haughty Pope Victor.' . . . The letter of Polycrates concerning the paschal controversy is described by Eusebius as addressed to Victor and to the Church of Rome. . . The plural ἠξιώσατε shows further that not only was the letter of Polycrates addressed to the Church of Rome, but that the original letter, to which this was a reply, had been written, not in Victor's own name, but in that of his Church."[1]

(10) **Presbyters or Bishops?**—Lower down on same page 9 we read:—"There are now two dominant 'views' amongst modern scholars as to the 'primitive form of church government,'" viz.,—the "Lightfoot view," and the "Hatch-Harnack view."

In presenting the Lightfoot view, Dr. Rentoul tells us us that "presbyters" and "bishops" were originally synonymous, that they were the same in function and ordination, but that gradually one presbyter was elevated above the others, or as Lightfoot puts it, "the episcopate was developed out of the presbyterate."

He next gives the Hatch-Harnack view according to which, he tells us, the early bishop was "*functioned* to the oversight, in *each congregation*, of the *alms* and charities and finance, in connection with the weekly Lord's supper and Agape (or love feast). . . The Presbyters were *over* the Episcopos; the Presbyters *ruled* the Christian community; 'they were the persons of authority, they were honoured and obeyed.' (See Clement of Rome)."[2]

Now admitting for a moment the correctness of this presentment of these two dominant and contradictory views, and the insinuated proof of one or other of them to be found in Clement of Rome, whom we are told to see

[1] *Expos.* 3rd Ser., Vol. vi., pp. 14, 15. [2] *Early Church*, p. 10.

(though I cannot admit either the presentment or the proof), was it, I ask, fair of Dr. Rentoul to utterly shut out from his hearers and readers, I will not say the view of all Catholic theologians, but the view of such representative and belauded Anglican scholars as, for instance, Salmon, Bright, and Haddan? Does it contribute to the ends of legitimate controversy to practically ignore and suppress what was absolutely required to enable a reader to form an intelligent comparison of "views" on the Christian ministry?

Bishops chosen from the Presbyters.—Let us hear what Dr. Salmon has to say regarding these two "dominant views":—

"And here it is necessary to take notice of an unfortunate speculation of Dr. Hatch, that it was with special reference to his financial functions that the name bishop was given to the president of the Christian community. The idea would scarcely have occurred to him, but for his adoption of a faulty method. I hold it to be wise in exploring the dark period of Church history, to make all the use we can of the light from both ends of the tunnel; Dr. Hatch carefully shuts out the light from both ends. That he should exclude the light from the later end is a course defensible on the ground that we are bound to be careful not to attribute to the earliest age of the Christian Church, the ideas or language of a later period. But I can find no excuse for his systematic disregard of the New Testament books, that is to say, in tracing the origin of Christian institutions, his leaving out of sight the earliest and most authentic documents that speak of them. This process of shutting out the light is just what one does when one wants to exhibit fancy pictures with a magic lantern."[1]

Referring to Harnack's "view," a writer in the current number of the *Church Quarterly Review* writes:

"There is not a shred of evidence in the documents which goes to establish the theory or any part of it. As a whole, the theory is simply spun out from the imagination of the author."

And again—

"It is based on the idea introduced by Renan that the Church constitution was derived from the heathen religious societies."

In answer to the assertion which is so confidently put forward that the terms "bishops" and "presbyters" were

[1] *Expositor*, 3rd Series, Vol. vi., pp. 18-19.

synonymous, it will suffice to quote one of the "dominant views" against the other. Harnack says:—

"Weizsäcker had formerly believed in the complete identity of presbyters and bishops, but he has been convinced by my treatise. He now writes:—'The view hitherto prevalent that bishops and presbyters were the same is no longer satisfactory. It is right only in so far as the former are taken from the presbyters' [just as they are at present,] 'and do not in their very nature constitute a superior rank. But the theory is wrong that the same persons are sometimes called presbyters, and sometimes bishops, though often this is apparently so.'"

Weizsäcker, from whose work on the *Apostolic Age* Harnack is quoting, continues as follows:—

"The same relationship may further be demonstrated as a fact implied in the Pastoral Epistles, although the first letter to Timothy, which here falls first to be considered along with that to Titus, already cites the antitheses of Marcion by name (1 Tim. vi. 20), and, in its idea of the reception of the charisma for the office through the imposition of hands by the presbytery (iv. 14) reveals an advanced conception. The statements of the two letters substantially agree. Now, here also bishops and presbyters seem at first to be distinguished only in name. In the letter to Titus in particular, the appointments of presbyters in the cities of Crete is regulated (i. 5, 7), but the qualities required of them are deduced from what the bishop has to be and to do; and it would therefore seem as if, while the name of presbyter was the honorary title, the other specified the vocation of the same men. The first letter to Timothy gives the same result; for in it the offices are exhausted in the description of the duties of bishop and deacons (iii. 1 ff.); the naming of the bishop in the singular does not prove that there was only one in the Church; it is explained by the personal form of the exhortation. The elders and their rights are then discussed (v. 17 ff.); but both the reward due to them and its justification, given in the predicate οἱ καλῶς προεστῶτες carry our thoughts back to the office of the ἐπισκοπή (iii. 1). But on closer examination the distinction becomes evident here also. To those elders whose administration in the office of overseer was praiseworthy a special claim, one to διπλὴ τιμή, is awarded (1 Tim. v. 17); the subsequent details (v. 19 f.) refer, on the other hand, to the rights of all the presbyters, especially to their defence in the case of accusations and errors. With this it also agrees that the bishopric was (iii. 1) an object of special solicitation. It is a sufficient explanation, however, of the qualities required of a presbyter being deduced from a bishop's duties (Tit. i. 7), if the bishops were always chosen from the elders; unless we would suppose indeed that the author in these regulations had only in view such presbyters as exercised the ministry of a bishop."[1]

The statement therefore that "all great scholars of these subjects in our day admit that in the New Testa-

[1] Pp. 329-30.

ment, the two names, presbyter and bishop, are identical in meaning," is so far from being correct that the "great scholar," Harnack, specially invoked to support this statement (p. 109) holds the distinction, both in name and office, between the presbyter and bishop, and interprets the text relied on by Dr. Rentoul in a sense which is little favourable to his contention. It is needless to point out that this is in reality a question of office and not of nomenclature.

Haddan is very explicit on the distinction between the bishops and presbyters from the earliest Apostolic times. He writes:—

"On the other hand, space of time literally shuts out the much older theory, namely, that there was a period at the beginning when each church was governed by a college of presbyters, until 'ecclesiastical authority' established a bishop over each college, in order to put an end to schisms, and notably to those at Corinth, unless, with St. Jerome, the originator of it, we take the 'ecclesiastical authority' to mean the Apostles themselves, and the period in question to be reduced therefore so as to fall within the lifetime of the Apostles, and so refer it simply to the colleges of presbyters, who during such lifetime did undoubtedly govern the several Churches under the Apostles: thus rendering the hypothesis at once very true and equally innocent, and in effect identifying it with the contemporary statement of St. Clem. Rom."[1]

Haddan finds a proof of Apostolic Succession:

"In the fact, that bishops in the later sense are actually found in every Church whatsoever, from the moment that any evidence exists at all; and that such evidence exists, either simply to an actual bishop at the time, or more commonly to such a bishop as in succession to a line of predecessors traced up to Apostles, and with no intimation of such episcopate being anything else but the original, appointed, and unbroken order, and this, in the case of Antioch, and of Asia Minor generally, as early as the first decade of the second century, in other cases within the first forty years of that century; in others, as *e.g.*, Ephesus, Alexandria, Jerusalem, Athens, within the last quarter of the first—*i.e.*, either close upon the death of the last Apostle, or within about a quarter of a century of it or long before it happened—a space of time within which, taken at the longest, it is historically impossible that so great a revolution (if it had been one) should have not been only accomplished but forgotten."[2]

And thus the two "dominant views" are but theories after all, and the theories are contradictory, and notwithstanding all the modern scholarship, the old and true Catholic doctrine remains consistent and unshaken.

[1] Art. "Bishop," *Dict. Christ. Antiq.* [2] *Ibid.*

(11) **Was St. Jerome a Presbyterian?**—In page 11 we find the following:—

"Nay, more, *Jerome*, the authoritative Latin 'father,' on whose labours Rome's Latin Bible rests, says the same in this matter as Lightfoot does. He asserts, as Dr. Carr well knows, just what I have asserted, viz., that the early Church's government was in each place 'by a common council of presbyters.'"

Dr. Rentoul evidently sets great store on St. Jerome's witness to the antiquity of the Presbyterian form of Church government. He returns to the theme more than once, and in page 118 he undertakes to give the text of St. Jerome on which he has been building his theory of primitive Church government. He introduces the text in a manner well calculated to disarm suspicion on the part of his readers or hearers. He is dealing with the conditions of the Church in the second century. He tells how, in that age, it was assailed by heresy, how centralisation became necessary, and how "all great modern scholars" are agreed that to this state of things "was due the first development of what is called 'monarchical episcopacy.'" He then introduces St. Jerome as admitting, in "the frankest and clearest way," the whole Presbyterian contention in these words:—

"Before factions were introduced into religion by the promptings of the devil," says Jerome, "the Churches were governed by a common council of presbyters" (elders).[1] When afterwards one presbyter was elected that he might be placed over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism, that each man might not drag to himself, and thus break up the Church of Christ."[2]

This is St. Jerome as Dr. Rentoul introduces him to us, but I shall introduce St. Jerome to you as he really wrote. Before doing so I may call your attention to the fact that Dr. Rentoul prides himself on the "precise reference and loyal translation" with which he quotes his authorities. He also complains ostentatiously of any omission in a quotation, no matter how little it affects the author's testimony to the question at issue. Even in such a case, he rightly demands that the omission should be notified

[1] Jer., Tit. 1, 5. [2] Epist. cxlvi., ad Evang.

by means of the customary press marks. But we shall now see how far short of his teaching his own practice falls. In Dr. Rentoul's version of St. Jerome's words, there is not a single mark to indicate any omission, nevertheless, as we shall see, he has omitted words regarded as of the utmost importance for the understanding of the saint's meaning. This is the original text of St. Jerome:—

"Antequam diaboli instinctu, studia in religione fierent, et diceretur in populis: *Ego sum Pauli, ego Apollo, ego autem Cephæ* (1 Cor. i. 12) communi presbyterorum concilio, ecclesiæ gubernabantur." (1 Titus i, 5.) And again St. Jerome says:—"Quod autem postea unus electus est, qui cæteris præponeretur, in schismatis remedium factum est, ne unusquisque ad se trahens Christi Ecclesiam rumperet." (Epist. cxlvi. ad Evang.)

Dr. Rentoul cannot object to the use of parallel columns to mark the contrast between the original of St. Jerome and his translation.

Dr. Rentoul's Translation.	St. Jerome Fully Translated.
"Before factions were introduced into religion by the promptings of the devil," says Jerome, "the Churches were governed by a common council of presbyters" (elders.)[1] When afterwards one presbyter was elected that he might be placed over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism, that each man might not drag to himself, and thus break up, the Church of Christ."[2]	"Before, factions were introduced into religion by the promptings of the devil; *and it was said among different people, I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas,* the Churches were governed by a common council of presbyters." "When afterwards one was elected that he might be placed over the rest, this was done as a remedy against schism, that each might not drag to himself, and thus break up, the Church of Christ."

The italicized words are omitted by Dr. Rentoul.

The vital question to be determined in connection with St. Jerome's testimony is whether he is dealing with the second century, as Dr. Rentoul contends, or with those Apostolic times during which the supreme legislative and executive authority of the Church lay in the hands of the Apostles, with such aids as the circumstance of the infant Church could supply.

Now, many believe that the words omitted by Dr. Rentoul clearly show that St. Jerome had before his mind

[1] Jer. Tit. i. 5. [2] Epist. cxlvi., ad Evang.

not the condition of things in the second century, but the state of things in the early Apostolic days, for he is dealing "with those times" when "as yet men had not begun to say 'I am of Paul, and I of Apollo, and I of Cephas,'" as we learn from St. Paul's Epistle was done in the Church at Corinth (1. Epist. i. 12).

It makes no difference whether we adopt this opinion or not; it should not, at least, be shut out of view by a mutilation of the translation of the text of St. Jerome.

In the very epistle from which Dr. Rentoul's second extract is taken, St. Jerome expressly declares that bishops are successors of the Apostles, and that they are distinguished from presbyters by the power of *ordaining*. In the dialogue *Contra Luciferian*, St. Jerome also excepts the power of *confirming*.[1]

(12) **Various rash assertions.**—On the same page it is stated that St. Jerome is "the authoritative Latin 'Father' on whose labours Rome's Latin Bible rests." This statement is misleading. It suggests that the authority of the Vulgate rests on St. Jerome solely, while in reality it rests on the authority of the Church which adopted and sanctioned the use of the Vulgate. Dr. Rentoul refers to "Rome's Latin Bible" or the Vulgate, so often and so ambiguously, that it is difficult to determine whether he means a sneer or a compliment. If the former, it is some consolation to know that many of the greatest minds outside the Catholic Church have borne willing testimony to the fidelity of the Vulgate version. Many eminent names might be quoted, but the words of Dr. Sanday will be accepted as sufficient. In the Expositor he tells of Dr. Routh, President of Magdalen College, Oxford, who, having been asked by a student as to the best commentary on the New Testament, replied:—"If you take my advice . . . whenever you are at a loss about the sense of a passage in the New Testament, you will ascertain how it

[1] Vid. Vol. xxii., ep. cxlvi. Nota (d). (Ed. Migne.)

is rendered in the Vulgate, the Latin Vulgate," and Sanday adds for himself:—"An even stronger claim might be put for the part which contains the Old Testament."[1]

(13) Lower down in same page (11) you will find: "Each bishop was called Papa (Pope). Finally one bishop, in the biggest city, became the most bumptious bishop, and then claimed to be the only 'Papa' or Pope." Well and good, but have there never been "bumptious" Moderators of Presbyterian Assemblies who wished to have grand handles to their names?

(14) At the bottom of same page (11) we read "Roman Catholic advocates are angry at what Dr. Salmon has said about the early Roman lists." For my part I was not displeased at what Dr. Salmon said about the lists of the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome, but at what he did not say, and what in the circumstances he was bound to say, namely, that St. Irenæus twice names Hyginus as *ninth* bishop of Rome and thus includes St. Peter in the Roman Episcopate.

(15) In the middle of page 12 these words occur: "But Harnack, like Lightfoot, Renan, and many another scholar, has shown that the Clementine writings, *as we have them*, rest upon *much older apocryphal writings* of the second century."

I answer that is exactly what not one of these scholars has done. They have given mere speculation to support a favourite theory, but they have not given any genuine proof.

But no matter how far back the Clementine Romance may be traced, my proof in favour of the Primacy is entirely independent of any existing or imaginary legend. The Clementine Romance is in reality the last resort of controversy which had grown tired of repeating old fallacies, and eagerly seized in our day on something new, to enliven the discussion.

[1] 1st Ser., Vol. xii., pp. 217-18.

(16) On pages 14 and 15 we have the good old rant about "Christ's living gospel and God's Scriptures," hidden "away from the eyes of men," and "a kindred theory of the direct descent and *inspiration* of all bishops equally as 'successors of the Apostles,' and the Papal theory which "is essentially the same pagan theory—foreign to, and lacking faith in, the all sufficient high-priesthood and accomplished sacrifice of Jesus Christ our Lord."

I have italicised the word "inspiration."[1] I shall not, however, characterise these extracts according to their deserts. They are unjust to the writer himself. It is the simple truth that the conception of the average Catholic regarding God's Scriptures and Christ's living gospel, and the priesthood and sacrifice of Christ, are strictly correct and profoundly reverent.

I have now analysed the first eleven pages of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet. I have shown that they contain many misleading and erroneous statements, and that they indicate that every page of the After-Word as well as of the Fore-Word, no matter how confidently written, must be read with great hesitation and close examination. If such things occur in the green wood what may we not expect in the dry? I should much prefer to pass all these misstatements by, and defend the great, broad, and convincing proofs in favour of the Primacy which I have given from the New Testament, the writings of the Fathers, and the record of ecclesiastical history. To this more congenial task I shall now apply myself.

[1] Chapter XVII.

CHAPTER XX.

NON-CATHOLICS TESTIFY TO ST. PETER'S PRIMACY AND MARTYRDOM IN ROME.

The case restated.—Those who have read my pamphlet may remember that in the opening lecture I stated the Catholic position thus:—"Catholics then maintain (1) that St. Peter was invested by Christ with supreme authority over His Church, (2) that St. Peter finally fixed his See in Rome, (3) that the Roman Pontiffs are the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome." I then went on to say that some Protestant writers denied or doubted that St. Peter was ever in Rome: others asserted that though he visited Rome and preached there, he was not bishop of that See, and others again that even though he was bishop of Rome and was invested with the primatial office, still he had no successors in that office, inasmuch as his primacy was temporary and ceased with the admission of the Gentiles into the Church. Hence my first lecture was occupied in establishing—mainly from non-Catholic testimony—these three propositions:—(1) That St. Peter visited Rome, (2) that he was Bishop of Rome, and (3) that the Roman Pontiffs were his successors in that See. In support of each of these three propositions I quoted a large number of non-Catholic authorities representing every school of thought outside the Catholic Church, from the Reformation down to the present time—High-Church, Low-Church, and No-Church.

It is obvious that the value of their testimony, instead of being lessened, is vastly increased by their very diversities of time, prejudice, and religious belief.

No reply to non-Catholic testimony.—To this array of non-Catholic testimony what reply does Dr. Rentoul give? He carefully selects a certain number and pronounces these to be unworthy of credit because they were old, or rationalistic or "Laudian." He inconsistently brushes aside Bramhall's testimony, because of his "Laudian" principles, whilst he himself is constantly quoting Bright, that "outstanding man amongst the 'Anglo-Catholics' at home." "Anglo-Catholics" are in truth very good people as long as they see things through Dr. Rentoul's spectacles. It is, however, a little puzzling to find Puller[1] bringing Bramhall to witness against Rome *as a representative Anglican*, not tainted with Puseyism, and Dr. Rentoul rejecting his evidence in favour of Rome on the ground that he helped Pusey forward on his Romeward movement. Most people will follow Puller's authority. One witness and one only does he put aside as wrongly quoted in favour of St. Peter's Roman residence, namely, Blondel. But Mr. Bennett[2] gives the following quotation from Blondel on the "Supremacy," p. 107:—

"Rome, being a Church consecrated by the residence of St. Peter, whom antiquity acknowledged as the head of the Apostolic College, might easily have been considered by the Council of Chalcedon as the head of the Church."

Dr. Rentoul ignores the other authorities whose testimony I have given—such men as Grotius, Pearson, Dr. Lardner, Chamier, Neander, Palmer, Bishop Ellicott, Dr. Robertson, Dr. Nevin, Farrar, and Lightfoot. In other words, he objects to any jury unless he has the manipulation of the panel in his own hands, or at least, unless they view the issues through a Presbyterian medium.

St. Peter's martyrdom foretold.—Dealing with St. Peter's residence in Rome, he alleges that besides the authority of names, our proof consists of "three elements," the first of which he gives as follows:—

[1] *Primitive Saints*, Note C.

[2] *Church of God Vindicated by Non-Catholics*, p. 9.

(1) "In the close of St. John's Gospel it is indicated that Simon, who had betrayed Christ, should suffer imprisonment and death for His sake."[1]

The text to which he refers is the following:—

"Amen, amen, I say to thee; when thou wast younger, thou didst gird thyself, and didst walk where thou wouldst; but when thou shalt be old thou shalt stretch forth thy hands, and another shall gird thee, and lead thee whither thou wouldst not."

"And this he said, signifying by what death he should glorify God," xxi., 18, 19.

This is the first time I have seen the word "betrayed" applied to Peter's treatment of his Divine Master. Grievous as was his fall when he denied his Lord, it had not in it the elements of betrayal. But Dr. Rentoul makes the awful statement deliberately, and I can only express my amazement at his doing so.

Now you will remember that as a matter of fact I did not refer to this passage in St. John's Gospel at all, though Dr. Lardner, whom I quoted, does lay stress upon it. I do not underrate its value, but my materials were so abundant that the difficulty was to select the most telling proofs. And when Dr. Rentoul referred to this "element" of proof he should have added what is the very gist of it, namely, that unvarying tradition has pointed to Rome as the place of St. Peter's martyrdom, and that no other city but Rome has ever claimed to be the guardian of the Apostle's remains. Tertullian, who knew Rome in the second century, writes:—

"We read in the lives of the Cæsars, Nero was the first to stain the rising faith with blood. Then Peter is girt by another, when he is bound to the cross; then Paul obtains his birth-right of Roman citizenship when he is born again there by the nobility of martyrdom."[2]

And again:

"If thou art near to Italy thou hast Rome, whence our authority is also at hand. How happy is that Church on which the Apostles poured forth all their doctrine along with their blood; where Peter endured a passion like his Lord's."[3]

Tertullian's words were echoed back by Caius in the third century:

[1] *Early Church*, p. 91. [2] *Scorpiace*, 15. [3] *De Præsc*, xxxvi.

"I can show you the trophies (the reliques) of the Apostles," he declares, "For if thou wilt go to the Vatican or the Ostian Way, thou wilt find the trophies of those who founded this Church."[1]

And here let me pause for a moment to ask Dr. Rentoul a plain question. Does he or does he not believe that our Lord's words were fulfilled? If they received their verification, it would be interesting to know where else was it than in Rome.

Dr. Rentoul can invoke the authority of Lightfoot and of Salmon when it suits his purpose. He is surely aware that these writers are very pronounced on the fact of St. Peter's martyrdom in Rome. So manifest is this inference that Dr. Lightfoot, referring to the prophecy in St. John xxi. 18, writes:

It "has always been explained of the crucifixion of St. Peter: and it is difficult to see what other explanation can be given. . . . But the crucifixion of St. Peter is always connected by tradition with Rome, and with no other place. . . Unless we accept the Roman residence of St. Peter we know nothing about his later years and death."[2]

Salmon's statement is very clear:—

"We know," he says, "with certainty from John xxi. that Peter suffered martyrdom somewhere. If Rome, which early laid claim to have witnessed that martyrdom, were not the scene of it, where then did it take place? Any city would be glad to claim such a connexion with the name of the Apostle, and none but Rome made the claim."[3]

Bishop Ellicott thus emphatically declares that Peter died in Rome. "Nothing," he writes, "but Protestant prejudice can stand against the historical evidence that St. Peter sojourned and died in Rome."[4] And the Speaker's Commentary in a note on 1 Peter, v. 13, says that the presence and martyrdom of St. Peter in Rome "are maintained by Credner, Bleek, Wiesler, Meyer, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Mangold, and nearly all unbiassed critics."

1 Quoted by Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 496.

2 *Clem. of Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 492.

3 *Infallibility*, p. 349. See also *Intr. N. T.*, p. 441.

4 *Comment.* 1 Peter v. 13.

Dr. Lardner, the eminent Nonconformist divine whom I quoted in my first lecture is equally outspoken:

"And about this place [of Peter's martyrdom], there is no difference among Christian writers of ancient times. Never any other place was named besides Rome; nor did any other city ever glory in the martyrdom of Peter."[1]

Aye, even unbelieving Renan bears this testimony:

"It cannot be denied that Peter died a martyr's death . . . Now it is not to be supposed that St. Peter suffered martyrdom elsewhere than in Rome."[2]

(2) **St. Peter writes from Babylon (i.e., Rome).**—Having come to what Dr. Rentoul is pleased to call the second "element" of the proof that St. Peter resided in Rome, I may remind you that I had made only the most incidental reference to it. I must direct your attention, however, to his extraordinary treatment of this "element." Here is what he writes:—

"In Peter's epistle, written, to (probably *Jewish*) Christians, 'sojourners of the Dispersion in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Asia and Bithynia,' he says: 'The co-elect that is at Babylon, saluteth you, and (so doth) Marcus, my son.' Romanists, in common with some Protestant scholars, take this word 'Babylon' to be a hidden name for Rome."[3]

The "scholars," you will observe, are all Protestants. There are none, of course, to be found among the "Romanists." Now you would hardly suspect that under the words *some Protestant scholars* is included such an authority as Salmon, who tells us that Protestants "have thought it a duty" to deny that Babylon meant Rome, and that Lipsius and other German divines who held to that denial appeared to him not free from "anti-Romish bias."

"I think," he continues, "that any critic who puts the epistle down to the reign of Trajan ought to feel no difficulty in taking Babylon to mean Rome, for by the time of the Emperor's reign, the Apocalypse must have had large circulation, and might well have influenced Christian phraseology, and in that book Babylon unquestionably denotes Rome."[4]

And you would never dream that Lightfoot had written as follows of this Babylon:

"Can we doubt that it is the Church in Rome? It cannot be Egyptian Babylon, which was a mere fortress (Strabo xvii. p. 807).

[1] *Hist. Apost. and Evang.*, C. XVIII. [2] *Hibbert Lectures, pp.* 66-7.
[3] *Early Church*, p. 91. [4] *Intro. to New Test.*, p. 439.

If therefore it was not the great Babylon, it must have been Rome. To this latter the name of Mark points; for Mark is designated by a very early tradition as St. Peter's companion and interpreter in Rome. . . . Nor was Babylon a new name for Rome, dating from the Neronian persecution. It had been a mystical name for this world-wide power with the Jews before it was inherited by the Christians. As such it appears even in the early Sibylline Oracles (v. 158)."[1]

This is the testimony of the real Lightfoot. But Dr. Rentoul's Lightfoot suggests the very opposite. At page 92 of his book, the Professor introduces "Antioch" with an asterisk referring to Lightfoot. The reference is, to say the least, very misleading, and I unhesitatingly assert that no reader, unacquainted with the real facts, could come to any other conclusion than that Lightfoot was quoted as maintaining that the Babylon mentioned was not Rome.

Sieffert is another of Dr. Rentoul's authorities, and this is what he writes:—

"There is good reason for taking this as the symbolical name for Rome, as at a somewhat later date (69 or 70) it is used in Revelation. The historic Babylon, when Peter wrote, was almost entirely a heap of ruins. There was, to be sure, a colony of Jews there; but there was no tradition in the first five centuries connecting Peter with the ruined city. Moreover, it is somewhat difficult to understand how Mark, who a little while before was with Paul in Rome (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24), and a little after was again in Rome, could have been between times in Babylon. Again; figurative expressions occur in the Epistle; such as 'strangers,' 'dispersion,' the 'elect,' my 'son,' and this lessens the strangeness of a symbolical name for Rome. Moreover, if there had been any difficulty in understanding the name 'Babylon,' it would have been removed by Sylvanus who bore the Epistle (v. 12)."[2]

Ramsay's opinion is sufficiently explicit:

"That this Epistle was written from Rome I cannot doubt," he writes. "It is impregnated with Roman thought beyond any other book in the Bible."[3] And again, "That Babylon should be understood as the Chaldæan city appears to conflict so entirely with all record and early tradition as to hardly need discussion."[4]

Even Renan failed Dr. Rentoul here. "Babylon in this passage is plainly Rome,"[5] declares the French savant.

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 492. [2] Art. Peter, Schaff's *Herzog*.

[3] *The Church in the Rom. Empire*, p. 286.

[4] *Ibid.*, Note, p. 287. [5] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 67.

The Speaker's Commentary is admittedly a great, as it is also a recent authority, and this is its teaching:—

"We have to remark (1) that the city of Babylon was *certainly* not the seat of a Christian community; (2) that no ancient record has the slightest trace of St. Peter's presence or work in Chaldæa; (3) that *all ancient authorities are unanimous* in the assertion that the later year or years of his life were passed in the West of the Roman Empire. On the other hand, Babylon was well known in Asia Minor during the lifetime of St. John *as the symbolical designation of Rome*, and, as was before pointed out, the whole phrase has a symbolical form or tone. Accordingly we find *an absolute consensus of ancient interpreters that here Babylon must be understood as equivalent to Rome.*" And this is its summing up. "We adopt without the least misgiving this explanation of the word as alone according with the mind of the Apostle, and the testimony of the early Church."[1]

In the "Introduction" to St. Peter's Epistle the same writer tells us:—

"In fact," he writes, "*no other view of the passage was entertained or suggested before Calvin,* who argued that the old tradition was connected with false notions as to the position of the Roman Church," etc. . . . "The foregoing arguments" [extending through several pages] "seem to leave no alternative but to accept *the old unvarying testimony of the Fathers,* who must have known the sense in which the statement was understood throughout Asia Minor, that St. Peter designates ROME by the title of Babylon."[2]

The opinion of a great modern scholar like Dr. Hort, whose praises are sounded by Salmon, Sanday, Ramsay, and Robertson, should have weight in a question of this sort, and Dr. Hort tells us that he believes that it was from Rome St. Peter wrote his first Epistle.[3]

Bishop Ellicott's testimony is very distinct.

"It may be called the established interpretation that the place here mentioned was Rome. . . . And it seems pretty clear that the name [Babylon] was quite intelligible to Jewish readers, for whom it was intended. One of the first of living Hebraists told the present writer that no Hebrew of St. Peter's day would have had need to think twice what city was meant when 'Babylon' was here mentioned."

(3) **St. Clement on St. Peter's martyrdom in Rome.**—When Dr. Rentoul came to the third "element" of the "Romanists'" proof his patience seemed quite exhausted. He had been piling eulogy upon eulogy till he had almost exhausted the vocabulary of praise. Dr. Lightfoot was "a

1 Note on 1 St. Peter v. 13.
2 *Introd. St. Peter's Epist.*
3 *Judaistic Christ*, p. 155.
4 *Comment. in loc.*

great scholar," "a pre-eminent scholar," one of "the four most eminent, perhaps, of our recent scholars," his name was one "of commanding importance." Dr. Salmon was "that noble scholar," his name was "a word of honour and renown to Dublin's great University." He was "not only of world-wide reputation as an expert in those things which lie closest to his special chair of New Testament teaching, but he is trusted for his unswervingly fair and judicial temper." Renan, too, though he was at one time dubbed "flippant," was yet "a brilliant modern scholar," "the brilliant critic." Like Lightfoot's, his was a name of "commanding importance." To Professor Ramsay, also, Dr. Rentoul declared that he was "greatly indebted for much," and he immediately proceeded to show his gratitude by insinuating that this distinguished scholar, as well as the other remarkable men on whom he had lavished eulogy, were fit only for Bedlam. St. Clement of Rome had presumed to write as follows:

"By reason of jealousy and envy the greatest and most righteous pillars of the Church were persecuted, and contended even unto death. Let us set before our eyes the good Apostles. There was Peter who by reason of unrighteous jealousy endured not one, nor two, but many labours, and thus having borne his testimony went to his appointed place of glory."[1]

I have amplified the passage a little, but have kept to Lightfoot's translation.

"Now!" says Dr. Rentoul, "I ask sane men looking at that passage quoted by me from Clement what has it to do with Peter's presence in Rome?"[2]

Well, Dr. Lightfoot was generally thought to have all his senses about him, and he gave this interpretation of the passage from St. Clement.

"He reminds them of the Apostles who were persecuted and carried the struggle to death. There was Peter, who after undergoing many sufferings became a martyr and went to his appointed place of glory. There was Paul, who, after enduring chains, imprisonments, stonings again and again, and sufferings of all kinds, preached the Gospel in the extreme West, likewise endured martyrdom and so departed from this world. If the use of the

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., pp. 273-4.

[2] *Early Church*, p. 97.

word *μαρτυρήσας* in both cases could leave any doubt that they suffered death for the faith, the context is decisive. But why are these two Apostles, and these only, mentioned? . . . Obviously because Clement was appealing to examples which they themselves had witnessed. Paul was martyred in Rome, as is allowed on all hands. Is not the overwhelming inference that Peter suffered in the same city also? This inference is all the more certain, when we find that outside this testimony of Clement tradition is constant in placing his death at Rome."[1]

Salmon considers that St. Clement's reference "has to do with Peter's presence in Rome."

"In the earliest uninspired Christian writing, the Epistle of Clement of Rome," he says, "he makes mention of the martyrdom of Peter and Paul, but does not name the place where they suffered. There is a fair presumption, however, that in this Roman document Rome is intended. . . . If this evidence [testimony of Clement, Dionysius, and Caius] for Peter's Roman martyrdom be not deemed sufficient, there are few things in the history of the early Church which it will be possible to demonstrate."[2]

The writer of the article on St. Clement in Schaff's *Herzog* asserts:—

"Inasmuch as tradition invariably makes Rome the place of Peter's martyrdom, and Clement speaks of Paul's martyrdom immediately after the allusion, it is at least most probable that he means Rome was the scene of Peter's death."

The *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* says St. Clement's statement is "explicit."[3]

I might quote a number of other eminent non-Catholic authorities, but I shall content myself with the most recent Protestant writer on the subject. On page 97 of his pamphlet Dr. Rentoul asserts:—

"But the fact of the two names, Peter and Paul, having been mentioned together in the same chapter of this epistle, written by Clement, from the Christians, *at Rome*, to the Christians in Corinth (just as St. Paul himself had mentioned them together in *his* Epistle to the Corinthians, less than forty years earlier, as an evidence of the unity of the Church of Christ) was quite enough to set the ball of patristic imagination and legend rolling. This was one direct source of the Peter-Paul legend."

Here we have an unexpected avowal. Dr. Rentoul, in point of fact, admits that the writers nearest to St. Clement's time understood his words as meaning that St.

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 493. [2] *Infal. of the Church*, p. 349.
[3] Art., "Pope."

Peter was martyred in Rome. The belief, therefore, in St. Peter's connection with Rome did not owe its origin to the Clementine Romance, for it must have existed before that Romance was written, seeing that it was St. Clement's reference "set the ball of patristic imagination and legend rolling," and that "this was one direct source of the Peter-Paul legend."

The Anglican Bishop, Pearson, asks some very pertinent questions:—How could Clement have asserted the martyrdom of St. Peter if he was ignorant of the place where it occurred? How did he know that the Apostle suffered on account of his own zeal and the jealousy of his enemies? Clement, he tells us, must have known that the martyrdom took place at Rome, but did not expressly state the fact, as there was no necessity for doing so, it being too notorious to demand mention, when the text did not require it. The objection from St. Clement's omission of the place of martyrdom is really puerile. If I were to speak of the death of the late Pope, Pius IX., and not state that he died in Rome, who would draw the inference that I meant it to be understood that he died elsewhere? In the case of St. Peter, as Dr. Lardner remarks,[1] his martyrdom was too recent, and the details of it too well known to require any mention.

Lightfoot's real view of Peter's martyrdom in Rome.—Of Lightfoot's conclusion Dr. Rentoul remarks:—"Hence he supposed he saw some proof of St. Peter's Roman visit 'in the hint' some think they see in what Papias quotes from 'The Presbyter' about Peter's connection with Mark."[2] Here is what this "pre-eminent scholar" says:—

"It seems a tolerably safe inference therefore that Papias represented St. Peter as being in Rome, that he stated Mark to have been with him there, and that he assigned to the latter a Gospel

[1] *Hist. Apost. and Evang.*, C. xviii.

[2] See *Early Church*, p. 92, Note.

record which was committed to writing for the instruction of the Romans."[1]

But Dr. Rentoul, by implication, says in reply that the pre-eminent scholar's opinion is not worth spending time on.[2]

Another example of Dr Rentoul's direct conflict with Bishop Lightfoot may be found in p. 92 with reference to the testimony of St. Ignatius in favour of St. Peter's residence in Rome. Regarding this testimony, Dr. Rentoul writes:

"Nor indeed need we pause regarding Ignatius who gives not the slightest hint of Peter's connection with Rome."

But what does Dr. Lightfoot say? Let us hear him:

"Ignatius (*Rome* 4) on his way to Martyrdom writes to the Roman Church: I do not command you like Peter and Paul; they were Apostles. I am a condemned criminal: they were free; I am a slave until now! Why should he single out Peter and Paul. He is writing from Asia Minor; and the locality therefore would suggest John. He was a guest of a disciple of John at the time. He was sojourning in a country where John was the one prominent name. The only conceivable reason is, that Peter and Paul had been in a position to give directions to the Romans, that they both alike had visited Rome and were remembered by the Roman Church."[3]

This is the opinion of Lightfoot whose name is "of commanding importance" and whose great work on the Ignatian epistles will endure for ages. But Dr. Rentoul, as we have seen, deals very summarily with him and his opinions.

As all candid and competent scholars now agree, the remarkable thing in connection with the letter of Ignatius to the Roman Church in the second century is that he makes[4] special reference to the residence of Saints Peter and Paul in Rome.

In connection with the reference to St. Ignatius, I note that in Dr. Rentoul's lectures, enclosed within square brackets (p. 121) are the words, "I fancy scholarly opinion

1 *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 494.
2 *Early Church*, p. 92, Note.
3 *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 493.
4 See *Early Church passim.*

will swing round again to reject all these letters as spurious." Now very early in his lectures (p. 15) we are informed that "in the final revision" one or two brief passages from Canon Bright will be found within square brackets. If, however, Dr. Rentoul thinks that Bright rejects the authenticity of St. Ignatius' letters, it is clear he is not acquainted with that writer's works. And on the question of St. Peter's connection with Rome, Bright distinctly says in the book[1] which is so frequently quoted by Dr. Rentoul:

"St. Ignatius implies that they both [Saints Peter and Paul] spent some time at Rome and gave apostolic injunctions."

Summary of Lightfoot's evidence.—I must protest against Dr. Rentoul's repeated misquotations of Lighfoot in connection with St. Peter's visit to Rome. For instance, he quotes Lightfoot for the opinion that St. Peter *probably did come for a brief visit, to encourage the Jewish Christians in Rome at the time of the Nero persecution.*"[2] In several places, Dr. Rentoul states that Lightfoot held that St. Peter *probably* came to Rome. I emphasise these words of Dr. Rentoul and I emphasise the fact that in the pages of Lightfoot to which he gives a reference, not a syllable can be found about the alleged object of St. Peter's visit, and moreover, certainty rather than probability is predicated of that visit, though Dr. Rentoul tells us repeatedly that Lightfoot thought Peter's visit to Rome merely "probable."

But to sum up the evidence of Dr. Lightfoot, the greatest of Dr. Rentoul's authorities:—He argues conclusively (1) from the use of the word Babylon in St. Peter's Epistle, (2) from the prophecy regarding Peter's death, mentioned in St. John's gospel, (3) from Clement's reference to Peter's martyrdom, (4) from St. Ignatius' statement—*I do not command you like Peter and Paul,* (5) from the testimony of Papias of Hierapolis, (6) from that of

[1] *Rom.*, See p. 9. [2] Note, p. 99.

Dionysius of Corinth, Irenæus, the Muratorian Canon, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Caius the Roman presbyter, Origen, and of Lactantius.

And is not this the conclusion which Dr. Lightfoot derives from all the evidence?—

"Nevertheless reasons exist—to my own mind conclusive reasons—for postulating a visit of St. Peter to Rome, at a later date, on which occasion he suffered martyrdom there. If these reasons are not each singly decisive, the combination yields a body of proof which it is difficult to resist."[1]

The statement of Renan is no less explicit, even though he too is ranked by Dr. Rentoul amongst the "probable" authorities, as is also that of Sanday, who says:—

"The visit of St. Peter to Rome and his death there at some uncertain date seem, if not removed from all possibility of doubt, yet as well established as many of the leading facts of history."[2]

But what are we to say of the list which gives the name of Hilgenfeld among the merely "probable" authorities?

Dr. Rentoul[3] gives a list of "modern scholars of the foremost rank" who hold that St. Peter never came to Rome. It would be interesting to analyse the list and the arguments of the writers. Lipsius heads it, and so high an Anglican authority as the Speaker's Commentary, in its note on 1 St. Peter, v. 13, says that Hilgenfeld, in his "Introduction to the New Testament," and in an article in his *Zeitschrift*, 1877, pp. 486-508, "entirely disposes of the arguments alleged by Lipsius and other critics against the presence and martyrdom of St. Peter in Rome." Another on the list is Baur, the founder of the Tübingen school which, as many of you may be aware, explains away the supernatural character of the facts recorded in the Bible. What value attaches to his opinion on the subject of St. Peter's connection with Rome may be gathered from this fact. He held that the passage in St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans (xv. 20-24) contained such unanswerable evidence of St. Peter's having been in Rome, that whilst

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 491. [2] *Comment. Epist. Rom.*
[3] *Early Church*, p. 78.

accepting the Epistle to the Romans as genuine, he characteristically declared the fifteenth chapter to be spurious.[1]

Dr. Rentoul gives De Wette as an authority against St. Peter's Roman residence, but I find him quoted amongst the authorities in favour of it. There are just nine names altogether on the list, and you will be able to understand what kind of company Dr. Rentoul is in when he is seeking authorities against the fact of St. Peter's going to Rome. How many of these writers would he quote with approval, on the facts of the New Testament history? Here is what a great Presbyterian authority says of Schwegler, one of the best known of Dr. Rentoul's authorities.

"Through Strauss' *Leben Jesu* and other studies, he found himself at variance with the teachings of the Church, and in 1846, published (at Tübingen) his Post-Apostolic Age. It was written in six months and exaggerates the Baur hypothesis of the early church, and dislocates the origin of the writings of the New Testament."[2]

Dr. Rentoul's authorities undertake too much. They try to blot out the fact of St. Peter's Roman residence, but they endeavour, besides, to blot out of the New Testament everything that is miraculous or supernatural.

Dr. Rentoul is good enough to inform us that:

"The more learned and candid of even Roman Catholic theologians have now yielded so far to the force of facts as to admit that Peter's visit to Rome, to use Farrar's words, 'could only have been very briefly before his martyrdom.'"[3]

In a footnote he mentions a list of such writers given by Farrar. He omits the reference, but I take it that it is to *Early Days of Christianity*, p. 65. Catholics will be able to gauge Dr. Rentoul's acquaintance with Catholic controversial literature when they learn that on this list, mentioning just *eight* authorities, are the familiar names of Waterworth, Alnatt, and Alzog, to each of whom, as well as to Döllinger, another on the list, is attributed an opinion the very reverse of what they held.

[1] *Hagemann*, "Die. Romische Kirche, &c." 659.

[2] Schaff's *Herzog*, Art. Schwegler. [3] *Early Church*, p. 79.

St. Peter Bishop of Rome.—The second proposition I undertook to establish was that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome. Do none of the authorities quoted by me support this proposition?

Do not, for instance, Pearson, Chamier, Cave, Grotius, Leibnitz, Bramhall, Nevin, and Hall, strongly support it? And are these men of no weight or authority? Are they antiquated?

Let us take, for instance, the first named, and consider the estimation in which he was held in his day.

"His rapid promotion is accounted for," says Schaff, "when we find Burnet pronouncing him 'in all respects the greatest divine of the age.' His reputation stood excessively high in his own day, and it has retained a lofty position in the Church of England ever since; and if the eulogium from Burnet just quoted, be somewhat exaggerated, no one can fairly dissent from the words which follow, in which the historian of his own times speaks of Pearson as 'a man of great learning, strong reason, and a clear judgment.' His great work is the *Exposition of the Creed* (1659), long a text-book with Church of England clergymen; and it is praised not only by the general run of Anglican theologians, but by such men as Dr. Johnson, Dean Milman, and Henry Hallam. Pearson was by no means a high flown Anglican Catholic, but a cautious, moderate thinker, citing the Fathers in support of his positions, but nowhere exalting patristic authority. He must have been moderate in his ecclesiastical opinions or he would not have retained his lectureship at St. Clements, Eastcheap, where he delivered during the Commonwealth, the theological lectures which formed the basis of his distinguished treatise. The passages in his *Exposition of the Creed*, with regard to the Church would not have satisfied Thorndike, or Heylin, or even Bishop Bull."[1]

Dr. Rentoul will not question the impartiality of the source from which this estimate of Pearson's position is taken. The religious Encyclopædia edited by Schaff, in which it is found, possesses, I believe, much authority amongst Presbyterians.

Successors of St. Peter.—The third proposition I undertook to prove was that the Roman Pontiffs are the successors of St. Peter in the See of Rome. Do not any of the authorities whom I quoted support this proposition? Do not Pearson, Grotius, Leibnitz, Bramhall, Palmer, and Hall support it? Has Dr. Rentoul shown, or attempted

[1] Schaff's *Herzog*, Art. Pearson.

to show, that the extracts from their works given by me do not represent their genuine testimony? The only attempt he has made, in spite of all his declamation, is in the case of Renan. But I cited Renan for one purpose and for one purpose only, namely, to testify to the antiquity of the claims put forward in favour of the Roman Primacy. In this connection I cited Renan, who by reason of his Rationalism and his defection from the Catholic Church, should, as a matter of course, be regarded as a hostile witness. Dr. Rentoul, with a parade of parallel columns, repeats his charge of garbled quotations from Renan. But as my explanation[1] has been already put before the public, I am quite content to abide by the decision of intelligent and unbiassed readers. It is always in the power of a captious opponent to find fault with quotations no matter how fairly they may represent the mind of an author on the view of the question under consideration.

I would ask that the copious extracts from Renan's lectures given in the Appendix to the Primacy be read attentively, as they prove to demonstration that Renan's testimony was legitimately invoked in favour of the antiquity of the claims advanced in those early ages, in behalf of the Roman Primacy. Let it not be forgotten that, when Dr. Rentoul appeared on the scene, my controversy was carried on, with those who, when the constitution of the Church is under consideration, recognise the claims of antiquity, and the orthodoxy of the faith in the early ages of the Church's history.

The succession of the Roman Bishops from St. Peter is so well attested by ancient and modern writers that the learned Swiss Protestant Baratier deems the man a literary phenomenon, who would deny that succession:

"All the ancients," he says, "and the great majority of the moderns, have undertaken to derive the succession of the Bishops of Rome from the Apostle Peter. So great in this matter has been the agreement of all that in truth it ought to be deemed a

[1] See appendix to *Primacy of Rom. Pont.* for various quotations.

miracle that certain persons born in our day have presumed to deny a fact so manifest."[1]

I have dwelt at considerable length on St. Peter's residence at Rome because in dealing with non-Catholic testimony, with which, up to this we have been concerned, we must keep in mind that St. Peter's Roman *Episcopate* brings us to the parting of the ways, and that his Roman residence is denied by some Protestant writers simply because it leads to his Roman Episcopate, and ultimately to the Roman Primacy. But at the present day there are comparatively few Protestant writers who reject the statement regarding St. Peter's martyrdom in Rome which is to be found even in the Chronological Table appended to the Teacher's Edition of the Authorised Version. Dr. Rentoul, who denies that St. Peter was ever in Rome, and who inveighs so strongly against the Chronological Table of the Douay Version, has no explanation to offer of this remarkable agreement between Protestant and Catholic Versions.

[1] Quoted in *Chambers' Encycl.*, Art. R. C. Church.

CHAPTER XXI.

CATHOLICS PROVE THE PRIMACY OF ST. PETER (*NOT* THE *ROMAN* PRIMACY) NOT ONLY FROM MATTHEW XVI. 18, BUT ALSO FROM LUKE XXII., JOHN XXI., AND ACTS I-XII.

Judging by the frequency and vehemence of Dr. Rentoul's appeals to Scripture, we should naturally expect that when he came to deal with proofs deduced from the Sacred Writings, he would appear at his best. But as a matter of simple fact his weakness is never so clearly revealed as when he is brought face to face with those convincing texts from which Catholics deduce the doctrine of the Primacy of St. Peter.

And first of all he misrepresents the Catholic position in a most inexcusable manner. Having stated that of the "three propositions essential to the Papal claim, the first is that St. Peter was invested by Christ with supreme authority over His Church," he proceeds:—

"This huge assertion the advocates of Papalism seek to base upon one solitary passage of one Gospel, viz., the highly figurative words of our Lord to Simon when Simon confessed Him as Messiah: 'Thou art *Petros*, and on this *Petra* I will build my congregation.'" (Matt. xvi., 18.)[1]

In this we have merely a distant echo of words recently spoken by the Anglican Bishop of Manchester when dealing with this same matter.

You will observe that in opposition to the translation given in the Authorised and the Revised Versions of this passage of St. Matthew's Gospel, Dr. Rentoul substitutes

[1] *Early Church*, p. 48.

congregation for *Church*—"and on this rock I will build my *congregation*," instead of "my *Church*."

In the English translation of the Bible, completed in 1562, the word *church* does not appear. The word *congregation* is found in its stead. The object of this rendering is transparent. In the English Bibles printed in 1572 and 1579, we have *congregation* instead of *church* in St. Matthew xvi., 18. Dr. Rentoul rejects the translation given by modern scholars, although modern scholarship is with him the first as it is the ultimate court of appeal. The Protestant scholars responsible for the translations of the Authorised and Revised Versions give *church* and not *congregation* as the correct rendering of *ecclesia*. But modern scholarship fares as badly as ancient scholarship if it clashes with Dr. Rentoul's theory of church government.

Again you will notice that notwithstanding the clear and distinct proofs which all Catholic theologians derive from the Gospels of St. Luke and St. John, as well as from the Acts of the Apostles, Dr. Rentoul does not hesitate to state that "this huge assertion" of Peter's Primacy the "advocates of Papalism seek to base upon one solitary passage of one Gospel." I myself had devoted twenty-four pages almost exclusively to the arguments derived from the texts of St. Luke, St. John, and the Acts of the Apostles.[1]

In Mat. xvi. 18 St. Peter is the Rock.—In intrepreting the text of St. Matthew (xvi. 18) its meaning must be determined according as we understand the "rock" to refer to Peter or to Christ. Lightfoot rightly holds that "an essential difference lies at the root of the two explanations," and that "exegetically they have nothing in common." After giving the arguments from the *etymology* and the *imagery* which are usually advanced by those who

[1] See Chap. xvi., "Fulfilment of the Promise." Chap. xv. is devoted to "The Name and the Promise."

explain the rock of Christ. Lightfoot rejects these reasons, and says that "our only guide is the logical connection of the passage." And that logical connection led him to conclude thus:—

"But here there can be little doubt that the sense points not to Christ, the speaker, but to Peter, the person addressed as the rock."[1]

Lightfoot was an honest though sometimes a mistaken interpreter of Scripture and of the facts of ecclesiastical history. He always tried to keep his mind free from sectarian narrowness or prejudice. Marsh, Bishop of Peterborough, however, does not hesitate to say that ever since the time of the Reformation, prejudice has had much to do with the Protestant interpretation of the text.

"But though it was so easy to confute the arguments of the Romish writers on this subject," he writes, "both the Lutheran and the Calvinist divines, from the commencement of the Reformation, had recourse to the uncritical expedient of torturing the words of our Saviour to a meaning which they cannot convey. . . . The Lutheran and Calvinist divines saw no other expedient of confuting their adversaries than by asserting that the latter part of the passage [*and on this rock I will build my Church*] applied not to St. Peter at all . . . It seems a desperate undertaking to prove that our Saviour alluded to any other person than to St. Peter; for the *words* of the passage can indicate no one else."[2]

Dr. Rentoul tells us that "we Protestants 'have no axe to grind' as regards the interpretation of this passage," and then moved, no doubt, by purely hermeneutical reasons, he attempts the "desperate undertaking" of "torturing the words of our Saviour" to prove that the rock means not Peter but Christ Himself.

He tells us that he has changed his mind on the interpretation of this passage, and, in truth, on the question of St. Peter and the *rock*, Dr. Rentoul's mind appears to be subject to constant change. For instance, in page 52, he speaks of the "clear-sighted faith" of Peter, but in page 54 he refers to the "startling" facts of Peter's "quite material view" of Christ, whilst lower down in the same

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 486. [2] *Comparative View*, Appendix, Note D.

page he speaks again of Simon Peter "voicing the faith of others round him," and seeing "with spiritual insight" the Messiah Kingship of Christ and "strongly" confessing "Here is the Kingdom: Thou art its King! thou art the Messiah of God." Again, in pages 53 and 54, he speaks of Peter's vision being materialized by the notion of the "National Leader" the "Restorer of a world-kingdom to Israel," whilst in page 71 we read of the "living Christ, who, in His spiritual Messiahhood without any external power of World-Kingdom was once so nobly confessed by the Rock-man Simon Peter"—the same Peter who, we are told in page 54, was rebuked by Christ, as "very 'Satan,' and adversary," for the "quite material view" he took of Christ's Kingdom, and (page 70) "for being blind to the fact that His Kingdom was not one of worldly force and temporal power."

In finally adopting his later opinion regarding the meaning of the text, Dr. Rentoul is careful to tell us that even the interpretation which affirms a personal allusion in the *rock* to St. Peter is by no means favourable to the Roman claim. He does not hesitate to advance as a proof of this assertion "the fact that such stalwart Protestants in our day as Alford and Lightfoot in England, Fritsche, Meyer, and Weiss in Germany, Briggs and Schaff in America, and Dr. David Brown in Scotland, have affirmed that view." If there be any force in this argument, it would follow that these distinguished scholars would incontinently abandon the opinion, did it seem to favour the Roman claims—a conclusion dishonouring in the highest degree to all concerned.

As Dr. Rentoul seeks to confine Catholic proof for the Primacy within the limits of "one solitary passage of one Gospel" he ought to be particularly careful not to misstate the conclusion which Catholics undertake to deduce from that passage. Now this is precisely what he repeatedly manages to do. Catholics undertake to prove

the *Primacy of St. Peter, not the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff*, directly, from the text of St. Matthew. But Dr. Rentoul confounds the one with the other, and waxes warm over difficulties of his own creation.

Dr. Rentoul's four insuperable difficulties.—The four "insuperable difficulties" advanced in pages 49 and 50 against the "Roman interpretation" of St. Matthew's text, afford a painful illustration of the utter confusion of thought and expression into which, under the influence of a preconceived theory, even clever men may be sometimes betrayed.

The first insuperable difficulty, according to Dr. Rentoul, is that "Peter himself was quite ignorant of it, so was Paul, so was John; so were all the New Testament writers."

At best this would be but a statement advanced without a particle of proof, and advanced in face of the positive evidence I have given to show that Peter, and Matthew, and Paul, and John, and Luke, were perfectly aware of the pre-eminence and primacy of which the *promise* is recorded by St. Matthew and the actual *bestowal* by St. Luke and St. John. Harnack, in his article on Peter in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* from which Dr. Rentoul frequently quotes, says that the expression "the first" which St. Matthew (x. 2) applies to St. Peter "cannot be restricted to mere priority of enumeration in the list."

But when we enquire what is that indefinite *it* of which SS. Peter and Paul, and Matthew, and Luke, and John were ignorant, and which the "Romanist interpretation" is said to derive from the text of St. Matthew, we learn from Dr. Rentoul that it is:—

"The marvellous Roman claim, viz., that the bishops in Rome are Peter's only successors, and that Peter was made Supreme Prince of all the Apostles and head of God's Universal Church, and that the bishops of a city in Italy, and they only, speak with Peter's infallible voice and authority."[1]

[1] *Early Church*, p. 49.

No Catholic interpreter ever undertook to derive from the text of St. Matthew more than the Primacy of St. Peter and the perpetuity of that Primacy in the Church. The Primacy was given to Peter *qua* Peter, not *qua* Bishop of any particular See. It was given to him, as a matter of fact, whilst our Lord was still on earth, and therefore before he selected any See as his own. As far as the text of St. Matthew is concerned Peter might have finally selected Jerusalem, or Antioch, or Alexandria, as his See and the See of his successors. The *Roman* Episcopate of St. Peter and the *succession in the See of Rome* are proved by arguments entirely independent of the text of St. Matthew. Granted the Primacy of St. Peter and its perpetuity in the Church, the Roman Primacy follows, apart from all other historic evidence in its favour, from the fact that no other See ever claimed such a succession from St. Peter. But by confusing these two essentially different aspects of the case under the general heading which he is pleased to call the "Roman interpretation," and by thus distorting the argument for St. Peter's Primacy, Dr. Rentoul here and elsewhere, leads the unwary reader into serious misapprehension of the force of the proof from St. Matt. xvi., 18.

The Roman Primacy of Peter is proved from history. —The second of Dr. Rentoul's "insuperable difficulties," like the first, is based on a misrepresentation of the Catholic interpretation of the 16th chapter of St. Matthew. Here it is in his own words:—

"The Roman interpretation did not come into existence *till the fifth century.* We shall show this in a later lecture. The early Fathers knew nothing of the 'succession of Peter' existing only in the Church of Rome."[1]

Here again it is assumed that the "succession of Peter" as "existing solely in the Church of Rome" is derived from the text of St. Matthew—an assumption which I have shown to be entirely erroneous and misleading.

[1] *Early Church*, p. 50.

The third "insuperable difficulty," namely:—

That "if there could be any such thing as an 'Episcopal Apostolic Succession' depending on a 'chair of Peter,' or 'throne of Peter,' or 'seat of Peter,' that chair would belong to *Antioch* and other cities of the East rather than to Rome."[1]

I answer (1) that these statements even if true in no way interfere with the Roman interpretation of St. Matthew's text. As I have already pointed out, Peter might have finally selected any Eastern city as his See, but (2) it is contrary to the testimony of history to say that he did so. As logicians say, gratuitous assertions may be legitimately met by simple denial.

The fourth "insuperable difficulty" is thus stated:—

"That Peter ever was Bishop of Rome, or ever founded the Church of Rome, is opposed, at once, to historical truth, and to all that is even probable. It violates every canon of the credible."[2]

That Peter was Bishop of Rome has been abundantly proved in my former lectures, but for the present I answer, whether or not Peter was ever Bishop of Rome, or founded the Church of Rome, has nothing whatever to do with the text of St. Matthew from which we prove the Primacy of Peter *qua* Peter, and not of Peter *qua* Bishop of Rome. Now let any reader examine Dr. Rentoul's interpretation of the text of St. Matthew, which is opposed to common sense and to the interpretation of the greatest modern Protestant scholars, and then let him analyse the Catholic interpretation, as given in my pamphlet. I venture to say that, after a searching analysis not one intelligent reader in a hundred will agree with Dr. Rentoul.

Modern Scholars on "The Rock."—The latest non-Catholic interpretations of the text of St. Matthew are decidedly opposed to Dr. Rentoul's views. Sieffert is an authority for whom he professes a high regard, and this is Sieffert's interpretation:—

[1] *Early Church*, p. 50.

[2] *Ibid.* The student of ecclesiastical history who can make these statements in the broad daylight of modern criticism "violates every canon of the credible."

"By 'rock' Jesus meant the person of the Apostle addressed, as is proved by the fact that in the Aramaic, which he spoke, 'rock' and 'man of rock' would be both expressed by the same word—*Kepha*. The words reminded Peter of those used by our Lord when they first met. (John i., 45.) They were a pledge for the future."[1]

Dean Mansel, in the Speaker's Commentary, treating of St. Matt. xvi. 18, says:—

"*Thou art Peter*, i.e., thou art that which thy name implies, a rock. The name has been given before (see John i. 42). Peter's present conduct shewed its appropriateness."

"*And upon this rock.* The verbal allusion is lost in our translation, but the Greek σὺ εἰ Πετρος καὶ επι ταύτῃ τῇ πετρα can hardly be naturally interpreted except as referring to the person of Peter, and the fulfilment of the prediction is to be found in the fact that St. Peter was the chosen agent in laying the foundation of the Christian Church, both among the Jews (Acts ii. 41) and among the Gentiles (Acts x. 44-48. cf. Acts xv. 7). But the promise is given to St. Peter individually, as the person who by divine revelation had uttered his confession."

Dean Mansel, as a loyal Protestant, maintains that:

"Nothing is said or intimated concerning any office that Peter was afterwards to hold nor of any successor in such an office."

But the words of St. Matthew are so plain that he is constrained to write as follows:

"The personal allusion to St. Peter cannot be set aside by distinguishing between πετρος and πετρα. The masculine form, πετρος in the sense of a *rock* is so rare that it could hardly have been used in this place, either by our Lord, if He spoke in Greek, or by the translator of His words, if He spoke in Aramaic. There is therefore no force in the objection that, had St. Peter been personally referred to, the evangelist would have written ἐπι τουτῳ τῳ πετρῳ."

Puller, one of the latest champions of Anglican orthodoxy, in his work, *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*,[2] writes:

"To my mind it appears most probable that our Lord intended when He used the expression, 'this rock,' to signify by it St. Peter . . . Our Lord's words evidently convey a promise to *St. Peter*. One feels that if our Lord had said, 'Thou art *Peter*, and upon *Myself* I will build my Church,' such a promise would hardly seem suitable to the situation. Moreover, Christ is here the *Builder*, and it seems awkward to have the Builder and the Foundation one. It must also be remembered that our Lord spoke in Aramaic, and that in that language the word for Peter and the word for rock are identical. Our Lord's words may be represented thus: 'Thou art Cepha, and upon this Cepha I will build My Church.'"

[1] Schaff's *Herzog*, Art. Peter.

[2] Pp. 107-8.

Moreover, Puller, though it is needless to say he does not agree fully with the Catholic interpretation, shows that Peter received a Primacy of place or honour in these words, in reward of his confession of Christ's divinity, and he quotes Archbishop Potter, Archbishop Bramhall, Bishop Andrews, Bishop Bull, Dr. Isaac Barrow, Bishop Harold Browne, and Dr. Barrow, who all, he says, with the exception of some slight reserve on the part of Dr. Barrow, "express very clearly their belief in St. Peter's primacy of order."[1]

Again, Dr. Beyschlag, Professor of Theology at Halle, in his *New Testament Theology* (Edinburgh, 1895), writes:—

"Undoubtedly the expositions of Protestants of this text have not been happy. There can be no controversy among reasonable men in view of the words, 'Thou art Peter, etc.,' that the Redeemer, by the rock on which He will build His Church, did not mean Himself, nor the confession of Peter, nor even the faith which Peter has just confessed, but the man himself to whom He has just given the name of *rock*, and to whom he now confirms it as deserved! And the words which immediately follow certainly appear to establish decisively the idea of a representative and vicegerent of Christ on earth. . . . If the Redeemer did appoint a vicegerent on earth with judicial authority, there must always be a legal succession in this office, and it would be difficult for any other Bishop or official in the Church to advance better claims than the Bishop of Rome."

And the Rev. J. Fulton Blair still more recently, in his work, *The Apostolic Gospel* (London, 1896), says:

"Although Protestant interpreters have exercised their ingenuity for many centuries, they have not been remarkably successful in attempting to escape from this particular text: their exegesis is distinctly evasive."

The writer represents the latest development of the higher criticism, as understood by a particular school, but in judging of the success or failure of Protestant interpreters we may regard him as impartial.

Objections answered.—To justify Dr. Rentoul's interpretation we should (1) translate the clause "*and* on this rock" by "*but* on this rock," and we should suppose, as Dr. Rentoul vaguely hints, that our Lord made use of

[1] Note C, *Appendix*, p. 370.

some gesture, pointing to Himself, as He pronounced the words "and [but] on this rock." This supposition, it has been well observed, "gives a direct sanction to that fatal system of modern rationalism which confounds and destroys the sense of any part of Scripture." For if Dr. Rentoul has a right to suppose such gestures in order to make out a meaning different from that which the text supplies, "a Rationalist has just as good a right to suppose not only gestures, but other equally unauthorised hypotheses as modifications of any other text of Scripture. And this is, as we all know, their actual and favourite mode of procedure."[1]

But we are seriously told by Dr. Rentoul that "there has never been any adequate answer to the statement of the elder Lightfoot," namely:—"If He (Christ) had intended that the Church should be built on Peter, it had been plainer and more agreeable to the vulgar idiom to have said, *'Thou art Peter and upon thee I will build my Church.'*" The answer, however, lies on the very surface of the text, as will be seen by this simple retort:—If Christ had intended to represent the Church should be built on Himself, it had been plainer and more agreeable to the vulgar idiom to have said:—*"Thou art Peter, but upon Myself I will build my Church."*

Again, it is argued, "Christ is the rock on which the Church is built, the foundation other than which no man can lay." I answer Christ is the rock, and the foundation, and, therefore, as Lightfoot says, Peter cannot be the rock, in any way that trenches upon the prerogative of Christ. But Christ is the *Light of the world*, and still he says to the Apostles, "You are the light of the world." Christ is the Pastor or Shepherd; others were also pastors. Christ is the Bishop of souls; others are bishops. Christ came with a divine mission. He also sent the Apostles with a divine mission. "As the father sent Me, I

[1] *Murray's Essays*, Vol. iii., p. 249.

also send you." In each of the texts referred to, the very same words are used in the Greek to designate these titles as severally applied to Christ and to His Apostles. Christ, then, is the *rock*, and the *foundation*, etc., by His inherent power, Peter by delegation; Christ as primary, Peter as secondary; Christ as efficacious cause, Peter as instrumental one, Christ *from* whom, Peter *through* whom, the strength and unity of the Church are derived. Christ is the Lord and Master of the house, Peter is the chief and responsible "steward." There is no mixed metaphor, "startling" or otherwise, in representing a man at one time as a *rock*, at another a *pillar*, and again as a *steward*, according to the different relations which he bears to the house or Church. The metaphors are different, not mixed. Otherwise the various titles given to our Lord would involve mixed metaphors without number.

There is no difficulty, for instance, in our Lord being at once the Good Shepherd and the Door of the Fold. Figures such as these must be interpreted individually.

The Fathers on the "Rock."—Dr. Rentoul is never so reckless as when dealing with the testimony of the Fathers. He loses all moderation in his tone, and he seems carried away by a feeling of hostility to the Catholic Church, which completely blinds him to the plainest patristic evidence. As an illustration I may cite the following statement:—

"As a matter of simple historic truth, the interpretation which makes the Petra (Rock) mean Christ, and the other non-Romish interpretations, meet us in the earliest Fathers who allude to the passage [Matt. xvi. 18]. And they recur and reappear through all the early centuries. *The only interpretation which does not meet us in the early Fathers is the Romanist interpretation.*"[1]

The "Romanist" interpretation is that which teaches that the *petra* was Peter, and that Peter was here promised the Primacy of the Church.

In reply to Dr. Rentoul's assertion, I need only say that like so many other of his statements, it is made with-

[1] *Early Church*, p. 63.

out any attempt at proof, and that it simply ignores the exhaustive arguments under both heads given in my pamphlet.

In my lectures I had quoted from Waterworth's enumeration the following early Fathers to show that the *petra* was no other than Peter, and it is easy to verify the references given by Waterworth and a host of other Catholic authorities:—Tertullian teaches this twice; Origen, four times; St. Cyprian, nine times; St. James of Nisibis, once; St. Hilary, once; St. Ephrem Syrus, once; St. Gregory of Nyssa, once; St. Gregory of Nazianzum, three times; St. Basil, twice; St. Pacian, once; St. Epiphanius, twice; St. Ambrose, four times; St. Jerome, three times; St. Chrysostom, twice; St. Augustine, twice; St. Maximus, twice; St. Cyril of Alexandria, once; St. Leo, five times, etc.[1]

I had also quoted Puller, one of the most recent Anglican writers on the subject, as admitting that this interpretation is decidedly, amongst the Fathers, "the more common opinion, and the oldest."[2]

Partly in their exposition of the text of St. Matthew, and, still more, in adapting its words to the particular subjects with which they were dealing, the Fathers whom I have quoted, as well as others, interpret the *rock* of Peter.

When they speak of the rock as Peter's *faith*, or *confession*, they by no means exclude Peter. On the contrary, they refer to the faith as *in* Peter—that is, they refer to the formal cause of the dignity bestowed on Peter. Thus, St. Ambrose says (De Incarnat., c. 5, n. 34):—"Faith is therefore the foundation of the Church; for not of the flesh of Peter, but of his faith, was it said that the gates of hell shall not prevail over him." In the same sense, St. Jerome says that it was not the body, but the faith of Peter, that walked on the waters. No one, except in the

[1] *Faith of Catholics*, Vol. 2, p. 4, etc. [2] *Primitive Saints*, p. 96.

heat of controversy, would think of holding that the faith referred to in this case was an abstract faith, or any faith that was not identified with Peter himself.

If a merchant says to a faithful clerk: "Your fidelity has earned for you a substantial reward," would anyone be foolish enough to say that it was not the clerk, but the abstract fidelity, that was rewarded? Or, rather, would not every sane man say that it was the clerk *qua* faithful who received the reward? Examples might be multiplied without limit, but the multiplication is quite unnecessary. When, therefore, the Fathers interpret the *rock* of the confession or faith of Peter, they simply use language still commonly employed by Catholic theologians, as indicating the formal or meritorious cause of Peter's Primacy. But if we are to include the applications which the Fathers continually made of this as well as of hundreds of other texts of Scripture, to the illustration of moral precepts, or to the sanctification of daily life, it would mean that we must recognise not only four, as Dr. Rentoul enumerates, but four score different interpretations. As a matter of fact we find the same Father giving the literal meaning of the *petra* when his subject demanded it, and again applying the text in a metaphorical sense to the enforcement of some moral lesson. To ignore this patent practice of the Fathers for the purposes of scoring a point in controversy is not scholarly.

Four classes of interpretations.—Dr. Rentoul classifies the interpretations which the early Fathers give to our Lord's words—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church." He "ventures to think" that his analysis, giving *four* distinct interpretations, "will be found by scholarly readers more adequate and exact than the *two* categories into which Lightfoot groups the views."[1]

[1] The classification which Dr. Rentoul thinks will be so acceptable to scholarly readers is by no means original. It is, in fact, substantially the same as is frequently found in Protestant writers, as for instance, in Puller's recent work: *The Primitive Saints and the See of Rome*, p. 107. Note.

(1) Of these four interpretations, the first is that "the rock is Christ Himself." Dr. Rentoul tells us that "this meaning is expressed as early as Tertullian," and in a footnote he gives a quotation from Tertullian's work against Marcion. I give the quotation more fully, italicising what has been omitted in Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet:—

"Again He changes the name of Simon to Peter, *inasmuch as the Creator also altered the names of Abraham and Sarai, and Oshea, by calling the latter Joshua, and adding a syllable to each of the former.* But why Peter? *If it was because of the vigour of his faith, there were many solid materials which might lend a name from their strength.* Was it because Christ was both a rock and a stone? For we read of His being placed 'for a Stone of Stumbling and for a Rock of Offence'[1] *(I omit the rest of the passage). Therefore He would fain impart to the dearest of His disciples a name which was suggested by one of His own special designations in figure, because it was, I suppose, more peculiarly fit than a name which might have been derived from no figurative description of Himself."*[2]

It is hard to repress a smile at the attempt to draw out of this passage an argument against the Primacy of St. Peter. Tertullian not only asserts that Christ changed the name of Simon to Peter or Rock, but also adds that the name was suggested by one of Christ's own special designations in figure, as being peculiarly fit for "the dearest of His disciples." In my third lecture, you may remember, I pointed out how God had of old changed the names of those who were to do a special work, or to bear a representative character, and that the new names were *commemorative, significative*, or *prophetic*. In the case of Peter, I observed, it is significant that the name given to him was one by which Christ Himself was known in prophecy and in its fulfilment,[3] and Tertullian as here quoted argues on practically the same lines, so that so far from militating against the Primacy of St. Peter, this passage from Tertullian witnesses strongly in its favour.

(2) **Origen interprets in mystic and literal sense.**—Dr. Rentoul next assures us that "the Rock has reference to the faith of Peter, as spiritually illumined, to confess

[1] Isa. viii. 14; Rom. ix. 33; I Peter ii. 18. [2] iv. 13.

[3] Vid. *Primacy of the Roman Pontiff*, Lect. iii., chap. xv.

Christ 'the spiritual rock,' and as representative of *every believing man.*"

He illustrates this interpretation of the word "rock" by a passage from Origen, which is to be found in Lightfoot.[1]

"If we also, like Peter, say, *Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God* . . . the Spirit from heaven having illumined our heart, *we become a Peter*, and it would be said to us through the Word, 'Thou art Peter,' and the rest. For *every disciple of Christ is a rock* (from whom all they that partake of the spiritual rock which follows did drink; and upon every such rock, every churchly thought or utterance, and a mode of life in accordance therewith, is built[2] *for the Church a-building by God is in each one of the perfect, having the assemblage of things that fill up the blessedness of words and deeds and thoughts).*"

I have continued the passage in brackets from where Dr. Rentoul left off, and have italicised that portion of it which supplies a key to the right understanding of Origen's meaning. I shall make a similar use of brackets and of italics in dealing with the other portions of the passage.

Dr. Rentoul continues:—

"So, further, declares Origen,—*every Apostle* is as much a *foundation* for the Church as Peter, and has the keys of the Kingdom's door as much as he."

As a matter of fact, the word "Apostle" is not found at all in the Greek in connection with Origen's reference to the "keys." Lightfoot's text has "blessed Apostles," but Origen has simply the word "blessed."

And Dr. Rentoul quotes again:—

"But if thou supposest that the whole Church is built by God on that one Peter alone, what wouldst thou say concerning John the Son of Thunder, or any one of the Apostles? Otherwise, shall we dare to say that against Peter the gates of Hades shall not prevail, but that they shall prevail against the rest of the Apostles *(and the perfect. Is not, then, what has been said before. 'The gates of Hell shall not prevail against it'* [*applicable*] *to all and each one of them, and also the saying, 'On this rock I will build my Church?')*"

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 483.

[2] I here follow the translation by Butler, rather than that given by Lightfoot, which is unquestionably incorrect, opposed as it is to the whole drift of Origen himself. "Churchly," that is in the sense in which Origen goes on to explain this "church."

Dr. Rentoul tells us that Origen "goes on to say that the same 'promises' spoken to Peter are given 'to everyone' who has *faith* like Peter."

"For all become namesakes of the rock who are imitators of Christ, the Spiritual Rock *(following those who are being saved, that they may drink of it the spiritual drink. These, like Christ, are called after the rock; furthermore, being members of Christ, deriving their name from Him, they were called Christians; and [as members] of the rock, Peters. Starting from this, you will say that the just are called just from the justice of Christ, and the wise from the wisdom of Christ, and similarly you will make surnames for the saints after His other names. And to all such as this, the saying would be said by the Saviour, 'Thou art Peter').*"

The word "promises" is not found in the original, which has "the things which have been said," and Origen does not say "everyone who has *faith* like Peter," but "everyone who becomes like that Peter."

The quotation as it stands in Dr. Rentoul's pages seems effective for its purpose. But when we consult the context we find that Origen is not speaking of the Church, but of *the reign of grace in the individual soul.*

Dr. Rentoul, as a matter of fact, omits a clause given by Lightfoot, which shows distinctly that Origen is interpreting the text of St. Matthew in a mystic sense, and applying it in that sense to the faithful individually.

Here is the whole sentence as we find it in Origen:

"And if any one saith this to Him, flesh and blood not revealing it, but the Father who is in heaven, he shall obtain the things which have been said, as *the letter of the Gospel* says to that particular Peter, but as the *spirit* teaches to everyone who becomes like that Peter."

Through the whole passage he is working round again to the idea from which he started.

"The soul," he concludes, *"having spot or wrinkle or anything of the sort, and which, on account of its wickedness, is neither holy nor blameless, is neither a rock on which Christ builds, nor a church, nor part of a church, which Christ builds on the rock."*[1]

It has been well observed that in this passage Origen almost loses himself in the maze of his own metaphors. Still, with the clue I have presented, the meaning of the

[1] See Origen, *Comm. in Matt.*, Tom. xii., 10, 11, 12.

mutilated quotation given by Dr. Rentoul seems quite clear. The truth is that the passage has no connection whatever with the controversy in which it is employed, and its use is simply an *ignoratio elenchi*. That it is to be found in Lightfoot is, no doubt, due to the fact that that great scholar and most painstaking writer was unable to revise the work he brought out immediately before his death.[1] He clearly trusted to some controversial book, ready at hand, and did not know that Origen's real thought had been studiously eliminated from the passage. It has been rightly remarked that from any point of view this passage has no fellow in the whole range of patristic literature, and that so far as the doctrinal meaning attributed to it, it is not typical of Origen himself.[2] For it is perfectly clear that when Origen was explaining the text of St. Matthew (xvi. 18) literally, he accounted Peter the Rock on which Christ built His Church.

"See," he writes, "what is said by the Lord to that great foundation of the Church, and to *the most solid rock* on which Christ founded the Church: 'O thou of little faith, why didst thou doubt?'"[3]

Again:—

"Peter was by the Lord called a rock, since to him is said: *Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church.*"[4]

And once more:—

"*Peter, upon whom is built Christ's Church, against which the gates of hell shall not prevail,* has left behind him but one epistle that is universally acknowledged."

It is evident, moreover, that Origen considered Christ had conferred upon Peter a superiority over the rest of the Apostles. Let this single testimony suffice:

"And truly," he says, "if we sedulously attend to the evangelical writings, even in them we may discover—with regard even to those things which seem to be common to Peter and to these who have thrice admonished the brethren—much difference and pre-eminence in the words spoken to Peter, beyond those spoken to in the second place."[5]

[1] See *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. vi. [2] See *D. Rev.*, Jul., 1893.

[3] T. ii., Hom. v., in Exod., n. 4, col. 2, p. 145.

[4] T. iii., Comm. in Matt., n. 139, p. 927 (Alib. Tr. 35).

[5] *Ibid.*, Tom. xlii., n. 31, pp. 613-4. I follow Waterworth's Translation.

(3) **Tertullian interprets literally.**—In his third division of patristic opinion Dr. Rentoul says:—

"The 'Rock' according to other 'Fathers' has reference to Simon Peter in his *personal position as earliest* to confess Christ's Messiahhood, and earliest in throwing open, at Pentecost and at Cæsarea, the door of Christ's New Testament Kingdom to believing men."[1]

Dr. Rentoul here confounds two different things, namely, the meritorious cause of the promise of the Primacy to Peter, and the subsequent exercise of that Primacy by Peter. Still he attributes this confused interpretation of the "Rock" to Tertullian, and refers to his work *De Præscript. Hæret.*[2] where Dr. Rentoul assures us that "John is put on a perfect equality with [Peter] as 'the Lord's most beloved Disciple,' and 'whom He commended to Mary as a son in His own stead.'"

But it is only necessary to transcribe Tertullian's words to show how fully he recognises the Primacy of Peter as contra-distinguished from the privileges of John, and to show the utter irrelevancy of Dr. Rentoul's reference to Tertullian. As a matter of fact, Catholic writers quote, and rightly quote, this very passage in favour of the Primacy of St. Peter. Here are Tertullian's words:—

"Was anything withheld from the knowledge of Peter, *who is called 'the rock on which the Church should be built,'* who also obtained 'the keys of the kingdom of heaven,' with the power of 'loosing and binding in heaven and on earth?' Was anything, again, concealed from John, the Lord's most beloved disciple, who used to lean on His breast, to whom alone the Lord pointed Judas out as the traitor, [and] whom He commended to Mary as a son in His own stead?"[3]

Tertullian is here refuting the claim set up by some heretics of his day to the possession of secret spiritual knowledge, denied even to the Apostles. "They usually," he says, "tell us that the Apostles did not know all things."[4] As an irrefutable answer to this, Tertullian enumerates the characteristic gifts and privileges of the leading Apostles. St. Peter is placed first, and amongst

[1] *Early Church*, p. 65. [2] C. 22.
[3] *De Præscript Hæret.*, C. xxii. [4] *Ibid.*

his gifts are mentioned his relations to the Church as "the Rock," as the custodian "of the Keys," and as exercising in a special manner the power of binding and loosing. These as you may remember are the very relations and powers from which the Primacy is deduced. The totally different characteristics of John are next enumerated, namely, the fact of his having been the *most beloved*, and of his having been entrusted with the guardianship of the Virgin Mother.

Dr. Rentoul tells us that in chapter (24) of Tertullian's work.

"Peter's thus damaged claim, to equality and Apostleship, [is] vindicated again by the fact that he too, as well as Paul, had died a martyr's death."

It is difficult to deal seriously with Dr. Rentoul's "analysis" of the Fathers. The Protestant editors of the English translation of Tertullian,[1] tell us that the writer is here expressly dealing with *the heretical pretence of St. Peter's imperfection as an apostolic medium, because he was rebuked by St. Paul.* They thus summarise the very chapter from which Dr. Rentoul quotes:—

"St. Paul was not at all superior to St. Peter in teaching. Nothing was imparted to the former in 'the third heaven' to enable him to add to the faith,—however foolishly the heretics may boast of him, as if they had, forsooth, been favoured with some of the secrets imparted to him in paradise."[2]

Answering these heretics, Tertullian writes:—

"He [Paul] went up to Jerusalem for the purpose of seeing Peter, *because of his office*, no doubt, and by a right of a common belief and preaching."[3]

And having spoken of those who have "the unenviable task of *setting Apostles by the ears*," and of "those who *pass sentence on the Apostles*," Tertullian observes that it is well there is one fact too well known to the Christian world to be denied by those heretics who profess to exalt St. Paul so much above St. Peter—namely that "Peter is on the same level with Paul *in the very glory of martyrdom*."[4]

[1] *Clarke's Ante-Nicene Cht. Lib.*

[2] *Ibid. Headings*, Chapters xxiii., xxiv., *On Prescription against Heretics* (Clarke's Ed.). [3] Chap. xxiii. [4] Chap. xxiv., *De Præscript.*

Dr. Rentoul must, surely, be under the impression that Tertullian's works are not procurable in Melbourne, when he extracts from them such silly "difficulties" against St. Peter's Primacy. He has still another "difficulty" from the same writer. He gives the following quotation from the work *De Pudicitia*, written after the author had fallen into the Montanist heresy.[1]

"[Peter] himself, therefore," says Tertullian, "was the ***first to unbar***, in Christ's baptism, the entrance to the Heavenly Kingdom."

Tertullian seems to have a special attraction for Dr. Rentoul, whose eulogies are so largely bestowed on ancient heretics and modern rationalists. This writer fell into the Montanist heresy, and, after his perversion, he composed the treatise *De Pudicitia*, out of which Dr. Rentoul selects the following sentence, which he calls "a noble protest."

"***The power of loosing and binding*** committed to Peter had nothing to do with the capital sins of 'believers,' cries Tertullian."

There are none so blind as those who will not see. We are not dealing now with the remission of capital sins of believers which was denied by the Montanist heretics, but with the Primacy of St. Peter. And in favour of the Primacy of St. Peter we have in the context, the clearest expression of Tertullian's belief. Tertullian is arguing that the power of binding and loosing was a personal gift to St. Peter in "whom and through whom" "the Church was reared." To say St. Peter did not possess this privilege is, to the mind of the writer, the same thing as to argue that the Church did not possess it. This passage from Tertullian, I may observe, was one of Dr. Littledale's stereotyped objections to Peter's Primacy, and, like most of that controversialist's difficulties, it vanishes at the touch.

[1] *Ibia.*, C. xxi.

Dr. Rentoul's outrageous distortions of patristic evidence in favour of St. Peter's Primacy, would be utterly inexplicable had he not let us so unreservedly into his confidence.

"Part of the unwelcome fate allotted to me in life, as a teacher of New Testament and Early Christian learning," he declares, "has been the necessity of acquiring a knowledge of the 'patristic' writings of the first three or four centuries. It is a tragic study and story."[1]

He is one of those who read the Fathers simply on Protestant ideas; analyse them and catalogue them on Protestant principles of division; hunt for Protestant doctrines and usages in them; seek what is not there, and although they labour all the night, catch nothing.[2]

(4) **St. Cyprian on Peter the Rock.**—In his last division of patristic interpretations of *the rock*, Dr. Rentoul writes:—

"A fourth interpretation of the early Fathers was that Peter, in his confession is spoken of as 'rock,' as spokesman and representative of *all the Apostles, in their common faith and equal authority, 'with a like partnership both of honour and power.'* This is the view advocated in the middle of the third century, by Cyprian, the influential North African bishop."[3]

Dr. Rentoul here unjustifiably brings in the authority of St. Cyprian to bolster up an interpretation of St. Matthew xvi. 18, which has no foundation in the Scripture narrative. In the passage in St. Cyprian from which Dr. Rentoul quotes, there is not a syllable to show that this illustrious Father held the opinion, that St. Peter was merely "the spokesman or representative of *all the Apostles*," just as from the beginning to the end of the Sacred Writer's record of the event there is not the least indication that Peter spoke as the representative of the other Apostles who gave him no commission, no delegation, no intimation whatever, to speak for them, or to speak at all. Besides, the whole address of our Lord,

[1] *Early Church*, pp. 31-39.
[2] Vid. *Newman's Anglican Difficulties*, pp. 324-5.
[3] *Early Church*, p. 66.

beginning "Blessed art *thou*," etc., is explicitly and exclusively directed to Peter.

But if, for the sake of argument, we grant that Peter was "the spokesman and representative of *all the Apostles*," does it follow that the whole body of the Apostles were to be elevated to a similar rank of authority? The corporation of a city is no doubt highly honoured when its mayor receives a title from the sovereign, but it is the individual only who is invested with distinction. A man's family and relatives are honoured by his elevation to the peerage; but it is only the man himself who can claim the rights of the peerage. To understand St. Cyprian's words we must remember the scope of his work on *The Unity of the Church*, from which Dr. Rentoul quotes.

There was a growing danger. During the Decian persecution many of the faithful had incurred ecclesiastical censures for having failed to confess the faith. It was customary for these to have recourse to the martyrs on their way to martyrdom, or to confessors in prison, for certificates *(libelli)* which would secure a dispensation of the canonical penance they were undergoing on account of their sins of apostasy. But it lay with the bishop to determine, in every case, the extent to which these certificates should avail in shortening, or dispensing with, the normal term of penance. St. Cyprian felt that an abuse was growing into serious dimensions. The certificates were not always given to deserving persons, and the authority of the bishops, in their several sees, was being overlooked. The shadow of a coming schism, then, was before the mind of the great Bishop of Carthage, who traced all heresies to a neglect in *looking to* the head.

His work on the Unity of the Church insists, therefore, upon the necessity of being united, each one with the bishop who is the link, for the time being, in the chain reaching down to the original head, the Apostle Peter.

And, to prove that the power of every bishop is the same, he asserts that the other Apostles were equal to Peter in the power of the priesthood. St. Cyprian is not treating of the Primacy of St. Peter. Where he does refer to it, his language is too clear to admit of any controversy. But even here, where he says our Lord gives equal power (not equal *authority* as Dr. Rentoul most unjustifiably paraphrases)[1] to all the Apostles—a fact which no Catholic would venture to dispute—he yet takes care to add that our Blessed Lord has taught us where to find the head. "*Nevertheless*," he says, "in order to manifest unity, He, by His own authority, instituted the origin of the same unity, so that it should begin from one,"[2] namely, St. Peter. Although our Lord gave equal power to the other Apostles, *v.g.*, to consecrate the Eucharist, to absolve, to teach infallibly, to found churches, etc., yet He secured the manifestation of unity by providing *(disposuit)* an actual origin, "beginning from one" *(ab uno incipientem)*. St. Cyprian, it is to be remembered, never speaks of the Church as being founded on any other Apostle than St. Peter.[3]

As an argument against the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff we are reminded that Pope Cornelius and Cyprian wrote to each other "in terms of perfect equality," addressing each other as "brother." It is forgotten that the Popes, up to our own day, *always* address a bishop "as "venerable brother."

Anyone familiar with the writings of the Fathers quoted by Dr. Rentoul will see at a glance that he has been trying to do an impossible thing, namely, to extract from them testimony in favour of anti-Catholic doctrines. Such testimony is not to be found in them.

[1] *De Unit.*, Ecc. c. 4. [2] Vid. Rivington, *Primitive Church*, pp. 49-64.

[3] Dr. Rentoul's actual translation of St. Cyprian's words is correct. His paraphrase of them is not correct.

I must confess that it is beyond my comprehension how any person, pretending to the slightest knowledge of the original, can assert that St. Ambrose called the Primacy of St. Peter "a primacy of confession, not of honour; a primacy of faith, not of rank."

A glance at the whole passage would have enabled Dr. Rentoul to see that St. Ambrose was speaking of Peter's position before our Lord had promised to confer the Primacy on him. Elsewhere the great Bishop of Milan is most explicit in his profession of the Catholic doctrine. In the "difficulty" quoted by Dr. Rentoul, St. Ambrose is not speaking of *the* Primacy at all. This "difficulty," I may observe, is so transparently absurd that very few non-Catholic controversialists deem it worth mentioning. Of late, however, it has been occasionally in evidence.

Petros and Petra identical in Aramaic.—Dr. Rentoul's methods of controversy are a little peculiar. For instance, in answer to the arguments of eminent Protestant scholars, such as Lightfoot and Meyer, as well as of all Catholic writers, that *Petros*, in the text of St. Matthew (xvi., 18-19) is the masculine and personified form of *petra*, he writes thus:—

"The attempt to make *petros* equivalent at times to *petra* is treated with scant courtesy by Liddell and Scott (large edition—*there is no evidence*," etc.)[1]

Now, nine out of every ten, if not ninety-nine out of every hundred, readers of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet will conclude that Liddell and Scott are dealing with the word *Petros* as it is found in St. Matthew's Gospel, and that they contemptuously put aside the Catholic interpretation. But, as a matter of fact, what Liddell and Scott are considering is whether or not *petros* is synonymous with *petra* in the sense that it may mean *a cave*. Let me complete the sentence, which Dr. Rentoul has not done. "But there is no

[1] *Early Church*, p. 59. *Vid. De Incarn. Dom.*, *c.* iv.

evidence," write Liddell and Scott, "that *thorakios petros* means a cave rather than a huge boulder stone."

Whatever the classical meaning of the word *petros* may be, there can be no doubt that in St. Matthew's Gospel it is used to signify "*rock*," for *petra* signifies a *rock*, and *petros* is identified with *petra*. Our Lord calls Simon *Petros*, not *Petra*, because *petra* could not stand for a man's name. Though I admit that *rock* is not the ordinary meaning of *petros*, it is nevertheless, not an infrequent meaning of the word.

Dean Mansell, writing in the Speaker's Commentary, says:—

"The usual meaning of the masculine form *petros* is a stone, as distinguished from *petra* a 'rock,' though *petros* is said to be occasionally found in the latter signification in classical Greek (*e.g.* Soph. Phil. 272, but this and the other examples cited are doubtful). The distinction, however, cannot be pressed in this passage, as the masculine form would naturally be adopted in which the appellative is usually feminine. "*Petros*" says Bengel, "alias denoted *lapidem*, sed in Simone *petram*."[1]

Meyer, one of the most eminent Protestant commentators on the New Testament—"an epoch-making" authority, as Sanday calls him—quotes several passages from classical writers who use the word *petros* with the meaning "rock."

"The form *petros* is likewise common among classical writers, and that not merely in the sense of a *stone*, as everywhere in Homer in contra-distinction to *petra*. (See Duncan, p. 937, ed. Rost, and Butmann, *Lexil*, ii. p. 179) but also as meaning a *rock* (Plat. *Ax.* p. 371. E. Sisuphon petros: Soph. *Phil.* 272, O. C. 19, 1591; Pind. *Nem.* iv. 46. x. 126)."[2]

Aramaic the common language of Galilee.—In connection with the word "Rock" as interpreted by St. Augustine, Dr. Rentoul, in his usual dogmatic style, makes this assertion:—

"The fact is now accepted by modern scholars that the people of Palestine, at least in Galilee,—in our Lord's day were *bilingual* . . . that Our Lord and His Apostles spoke Greek as well as Aramaic, is quite certain."[3]

[1] In loc. [2] p. 418, Eng. Trans. Comment. on St. Matthew.
[3] *Early Church*, p. 189.

If Dr. Rentoul means that modern scholarship accepts the fact that Greek was as much spoken as the Aramaic amongst the people of Palestine, he is very much mistaken. Renan, one of his great modern scholars, asserts:—

"The Greek language was little spread in Judea beyond the class who had part in the government and cities inhabited by pagans like Casarea."[1]

Neubaur, a great authority on the subject, writes:—

"The language of the Palestinean Talmud, (or as it is generally called, the Talmud of Jerusalem) which consists of discussions by natives of Galilee, and which is really a Galilean composition, represents, according to our opinion, the language which the disciples of Jesus spoke and wrote."[2]

Delitzsch, who is, according to Dr. Rentoul, "the (probably) greatest Hebraist of our own day," asserts that "Our Lord and His Apostles commonly spoke and thought in Hebrew."[3]

Edersheim, one of the most modern scholars, says:—

"If Greek was the language of the court and camp, and indeed must have been understood and spoken by most in the land, the language of the people spoken also by Christ and His Apostles, was a dialect of the ancient Hebrew, the Western of Palestinean Aramaic. It seems strange that this could ever have been doubted. A Jewish Messiah who would urge his claim upon Israel in Greek, seems almost a contradiction in terms."[4]

Sanday's name must be familiar to every reader of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet, and Sanday whilst admitting that Greek was largely used in Palestine holds that Aramaic maintained its position as the mother tongue of the inhabitants of the country, and that consequently it must have been the language in which Our Lord preached the Gospel to the people.[5] Had He preached in any other language, Sanday cannot believe that the Gospel would have had the same effect on the people.

1 *Vie de Jesus*, c. iii. 2 *Studia Biblica*, p. 61.
3 *Heb. N. T., Brit. and For. Bib. Soc.*, p. 31.
4 *The Life and Times of Christ the Messiah*, p. 130.
5 *Expos.*, Vol. vii. (1878) pp. 373—377.

It is to be remembered that St. John retains the Aramaic expression *Kephas*, and that St. Paul, too, uses it by preference instead of *Petros*.

In our Lord's time, too, we find the Jews forming new names—as Haceldama, Bethesda—from Hebrew, not from Greek.

A learned man like Josephus found it so difficult to express his thoughts in Greek that he had for this very reason to put off the writing of his work on Jewish antiquities.[1] What, then, are we to say of the knowledge of Greek possessed by the mass of the people?

I refrain from quoting De Rossi, and other great Catholic authorities. I simply ask you to contrast the statements of Dr. Rentoul's authorities with his own daring assertion. He gives no hint whatever that *Aramaic* was the language *habitually* used. From his context we may even infer that Greek was as widely used, and that this is the conclusion at which modern scholarship has arrived.

The Hebrew original of St. Matthew.—But Dr. Rentoul's store of learned dust is not yet exhausted. He further tells us that "the main weight of modern critical and linguistic scholarship," holds that St. Matthew's Gospel "in its present complete form, was not written in 'Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic,' though a certain 'source' of it may have been written in Aramaic."[2] He takes no account of Catholic scholars who almost unanimously hold that St. Matthew wrote his Gospel in Hebrew or Syro-Chaldaic. But putting Catholic scholarship altogether aside, his statement does not bear examination. As he has not ventured on a proof of the assertion, I content myself with an absolute denial.

Dr. Rentoul will not accept the evidence of early witnesses, though non-Catholic writers of the highest

[1] See Preface, *Antiquities of the Jews*. [2] *Early Church*, p. 189.

eminence tell us that the early Church was of one mind on the subject. Alford, for instance, says "our conclusion must be in accordance with the testimony of the early Church, *unanimous as it is*, and derived from so many independent sources, that the Gospel was originally written in Hebrew. *The ancient Church is unanimous on the subject*,"[1] and Thiersch writes:—

"If any statement of the ancients can lay claim to our confidence as being primitive, universal, and never contested, it is this —that Matthew wrote his Gospel in the *Hebrew* language."[2]

"The Keys"—Isaias xxii. 22.—To the argument derived from the "Keys," Dr. Rentoul replies that the plain meaning of the text is altered by comparison with the text of Isaias, which I deny. I maintain that the text of St. Matthew is illustrated and confined in its obvious and Catholic meaning by the text of Isaias (xxii., 22).

Let us see what this passage of Isaias means. The prophet is commanded to announce to Shebna (Sobna) that Eliakim is to succeed him as the king's palace-prefect (or perhaps as high priest). It is in the description of this appointment that the words occur:—"And the key of the house of David will I lay upon his shoulder, so he shall open and none shall shut; and he shall shut, and none shall open." In the previous verse Shebna (Sobna) is told I "will commit thy *government* into his hand, and he shall be a *father* to the inhabitants of Jerusalem." And in the following verse it is added:—"And he shall be for a glorious *throne* to his father's house." Now, applying this prophecy to St. Peter, as it must be applied if the text of Isaias has any bearing on the text of St. Matthew (xvi. 18), for, surely, it is of Peter, and not of Christ, that it is said—"I will give to thee the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven"—and what follows? 1st, That St. Peter was to be the prefect of the King's palace; 2nd, that he was to have jurisdiction or government owing to his position; 3rd, that he

1 Quoted by McCarthy on St. Matthew, p. xi.

2 Quoted by Lee, "*Inspiration*," *Appendix* M.

was to be a father; and 4th, that he was to reign in the house symbolised by the house of David. But what is all this but to recognise the Primacy of Peter, the first Pope?

S. Francis de Sales, referring to this passage of Isaias, marks the distinction that existed between Peter, the head steward, and the other Apostles, who were also stewards, and between St. Peter, who is represented as *having the keys*, and the others who had the *exercise* of the same. "This difference," he says, "is taken from the very terms of the Scripture: for to 'loose and to bind' signifies only the action and exercise, while to 'have the keys' signifies the habit. . . . . See how different is the promise which Our Lord made to St. Peter from that which he made to the other Apostles. The Apostles all have the same power as St. Peter, but not in the same rank. . . . St. Peter has it as ordinary head and permanent officer."[1]

So far, then, as the matter contained in my lectures on the "Scripture proofs of the Primacy" is concerned, I believe I can fairly claim that Dr. Rentoul has not invalidated a single argument which I adduced. He has dealt largely in bold and repeated assertion. With a limited number of readers, I doubt not, such emphatic assertions will do duty for proof. He has arrogated to himself and to his cause the authority of modern scholarship. But modern scholarship is a very elastic term, and embraces all that is worst and most dangerous, as well as much that is excellent and instructive in recent controversial literature. Perhaps the most remarkable feature in Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet is the proof it affords of the decided difference between his opinions and the opinions of each one of the great scholars whom he invokes. The truth is that he agrees neither with the ancient nor with the modern scholars whom he has quoted. He represents, as his whole pamphlet proves, a knot of bitter anti-Catholic

[1] *Catholic Contro., Eng.*, Tr., 1886, p. 256.

writers, whose chief arguments consist of abuse and misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine with a sublime assumption of their own infallibility. They reject the Fathers because the Fathers bear testimony to the Primacy of St. Peter, and of his successors in the Roman See. They attack some amongst them with a special zest because their writings are filled with that sacerdotal and sacramental idea which was the very life of the early Church. They interpret Scripture, not according to its plain and obvious meaning, but in a forced and unnatural manner, so as to make it support their individual theories. They make a boast of the glorious liberty of private judgment, but they revile those who do not exercise it in one particular way, thus destroying, as far as in them lies, the very essence of liberty. In a word, they follow closely in the footsteps of those who, from the beginning, have assailed the Church of Christ, and, in doing so, have thought that they were rendering a service to God.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TONE OF AUTHORITY IN ST. CLEMENT'S LETTER REVEALS HIS CLAIM TO APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION.

(Second Lecture.)

You will remember that, in my last lecture, I began with an analysis of the Fore-Word of Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet. I next took up the evidence which is derived from the admissions of our adversaries, and I showed that it was as forcible as it was varied. Finally, in dealing with the direct proofs for the Primacy, I kept the Scripture arguments apart from those derived from the testimony of the Fathers and the Acts of the early Councils, and I directed your attention exclusively to the former, reserving for this lecture the consideration of the latter.

The Christian's debt to the Fathers of the Church.—It cannot have escaped your notice that, in dealing with the Fathers, Dr. Rentoul uses towards them words of absolute contempt. "Oh, these Fathers," he exclaims, "Peace to the Fathers," "How could they tell the facts as to what happened 100 or 130 years before?" It might have occurred to him that, at least in point of time, those who lived within 100 or 130 years of the events which they recorded were in a better position to judge of the facts than the great "modern scholars" who are separated by an interval of between fifteen and eighteen hundred years from the same events. But Dr. Rentoul seems to have set his heart on taking down the Fathers from the pedestals on which the veneration of not only Catholic, but almost all reverent Christian, hearts had placed them, to

make way for a number of "great modern scholars," whose scholarship, in more than one instance, did not save them from downright Rationalism. The four great Doctors of the Church must depart, and in their place will be found, if Dr. Rentoul can effect his purpose, "perhaps the four most eminent of our recent scholars"—Lipsius, Lightfoot, Sanday, and Harnack. Let me not be misunderstood. I value scholarship—modern scholarship, too—just as much as Dr. Rentoul. I, also, have cited these scholars. I have quoted their opinions, but only as opinions, not as dogmas, and in some cases the quotation had to be accompanied with a word of warning, lest young students should accept as gospel that which contained the deadly poison of unbelief.

A copy of a London paper which has recently reached me strongly confirms my apprehensions on this head. In a recent number of *The Enquirer*[1] appears a paragraph, the writer of which says:—

"Some of our readers will remember the Rev. J. C. Duncan, of America, who visited Manchester New College last year. He has since been to Germany, and, in a letter to the *Christian Register*, says some interesting things about Dr. Martineau and one or two of the greatest German theologians. Harnack is thus referred to:—

"'The most popular man in Berlin University at the present moment is that much attacked Church historian, Prof. Harnack. He is quite a young man, between forty and fifty, I should say. He is rather slight and active. He lectures in the morning about seven o'clock to some two hundred students on "The Early History of the Church." When I asked Dr. Martineau if there was any teacher who treated the origin of Christianity in the same way that he treated it in his "Seat of Authority," he promptly answered, "Harnack." The orthodox are very much afraid of this great scholar, inasmuch as his treatment of the origins of the Church and its dogmas is shaking the hitherto firm foundations of the Episcopate *and the Trinity.*'" (The italics are mine.)

It is well if students who are taught to admire Harnack when he undertakes to disprove the divine origin of the Episcopate, or of the Roman claims, are not also led to follow him when he undertakes to undermine the doctrine of the Trinity.

[1] 25th July, 1896.

Before dismissing the Fathers, to make room for newer lights, we should reckon the cost. If the Fathers cannot be relied on to testify to events which in their day were comparatively recent, the Canon of the New Testament is doomed. We have no trustworthy intrinsic evidence to establish it, and for extrinsic evidence Protestants are absolutely dependent on the testimony of those same Fathers who are invoked in favour of the Roman Primacy.

Apart from the Books of the New Testament, we have no ecclesiastical literature in the first century down to the Epistle of St. Clement, A.D. 95. The literature of the second century, which, as Lightfoot holds, must have been fairly abundant, is in great part lost. What extraordinary aids have modern scholars, of which the early Fathers were deprived? Or, rather, is not one of the chief aims of modern scholars to put together and to analyse the fragments[1] of early ecclesiastical literature which the Fathers had before them, but which only in our own day have been gradually recovered from the oblivion of centuries?

During the second century the Church, as Dr. Salmon graphically puts it, is passing through a tunnel. The tunnel is well lighted at each end, by the Books of the New Testament at the one end, and by the writings of the Fathers from the close of the second century, at the other. In the intervening period we have but a few openings, which allow a faint and interrupted light to enter. "If in our study of this dimly lighted portion of history," says Salmon, "we wish to distinguish what is certain from what is doubtful, we may expect to find the things certain in what can be seen from either of the two well-lighted ends.

[1] These are—(1) A considerable portion of St. Clement's Epistle; (2) The Didache, or Teaching of the Twelve Apostles; (3) The Apocalypse of Peter—a considerable fragment; (4) The Gospel of Peter—a considerable portion; (5) The second half of the so-called Second Epistle of St. Clement; (6) The Apology of Aristides; (7) The Diatesseron of Tatian; (8) The Apology and Acts of Apollonius the Martyr; (9) The Acts of Paul and Thecla; (10) The Acts of the Scillitan Martyrs; (11) The Old Roman Baptismal Creed.

If the same thing is visible on looking from either end we can have no doubt about its existence."[1] In my last lecture we were looking at the subject of St. Peter's Primacy from one end of the tunnel, *i.e.*, from the end lighted by the light of the New Testament. Let it be always borne in mind, no matter how much Dr. Rentoul may confuse the point, that it is only the *Primacy of St. Peter and its perpetuity in the Church,* which we undertake to establish *from the witness of the New Testament.* Having once established the Primacy of St. Peter, we must learn from other sources where that Primacy was set up and perpetuated.

St. Clement (95) First witness after N. Test.—Starting on our journey from that end of the tunnel, which is clearly lighted by the Books of the New Testament, the first distinct glimpse we catch comes from St. Clement's letter, written to the Church at Corinth, A.D. 95. It was written during the life-time of St. John to an Apostolic Church which was nearer to Ephesus, where St. John ruled, than to Rome, where St. Clement presided. Regarding the contents of this letter, and the Roman claims which it reveals, Dr. Rentoul complains that I have "launched out fiercely at Lightfoot for telling the truth about the contents of this epistle of Clement."[2] Now, I venture to assert that Dr. Rentoul stands almost alone in heaping opprobrium upon the renowned scholar's name. Having regard to the prejudices of his hearers, he deems it the safer course to aim at my head the blows which he intends for Lightfoot. Referring to St. Clement's letter, he says: "Archbishop Carr funnily calls it the 'authoritative' letter of 'Pope St. Clement.'" If he has really read Lightfoot, he must be aware that this "great and sensible bishop" speaks of the "*authoritative tone*" of the letter, and if he has read my lectures, which he undertakes to criticise, he must know that his own "pre-eminent scholars"

[1] *Expositor*, 3rd ser., Vol. vi., pp. 3-4 [2] *Early Church*, p. 94.

write of it in a similar strain. I quote again the weighty pronouncements of these authorities.

Bishop Lightfoot says of St. Clement's letter that it "is strenuous, even *peremptory*, in the *authoritative* tone it assumes,"[1] and, again, he pronounces it to be "*urgent* and *almost imperious*,"[2] and he declares that it "undoubtedly is the case" that "this noble remonstrance is the first step towards Papal domination."[3]

Dr. Salmon recognises:

"*The very noticeable tone of authority* used by the Roman Church in making an unsolicited interference with the affairs of another Church."[4]

Again, he tells us that St. Clement's letter:

"Speaks in *a tone of authority* to a sister Church of Apostolic foundation."[5] And, once more, that it is "written in a high tone of authority."[6]

Harnack, whose sympathies are largely rationalistic, may be regarded as the more likely on this account to give unbiassed testimony, and he declares:

"This is a most typical writing, in which the spirit of tradition, order, stability, and *the universal ecclesiastical guardianship of Rome is already expressed.*"[7]

Renan, too, testifies to the same effect:

"Already the idea of a certain primacy belonging to his Church was beginning to make its way to the light. *The right of warning other churches and of composing their differences was conceded to it.*"

"The Roman Church was henceforth the Church of order, of rule, of subordination. . . Its letter to the Corinthians *is the first manifesto of the principle of authority made within the Christian Church.*"[8]

Schaff, the Presbyterian Church historian, writes, that

"It is very remarkable that a person of such vast influence in truth and fiction, whose words were law, who preached the duty of obedience and submission to an independent and distracted church, whose vision reached even to unknown lands beyond the Western Sea, should inaugurate, at the threshold of the second century, that long line of pontiffs who have outlived every dynasty

[1] *Ign. and Polyc*, Vol. i., p. 398. [2] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 69. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 70.

[4] *Dict. Christian Biog.*, Art. Clement of Rome. [5] *Intro. N. Test.*

[6] *The Christian Ministry*, *Expos.*, 3rd series, Vol. vi., p. 14.

[7] *Hist. Dogm.* (Eng. Trans.), Vol. i., 218. [8] *Hibbert Lectures*, pp. 125-127.

in Europe, and now claim an infallible authority over the consciences of two hundred millions of Christians."[1]

St. Clement claims authority over the Corinthians.—I could go on piling similar evidence. Yet Dr. Rentoul can see absolutely no claim to authority in Clement's letter, but merely that tone of good-natured advice which he himself adopts when writing to some Presbyterian congregation in one of the South Sea Islands. In these unpublished pastorals issued by Dr. Rentoul I should be curious to know whether he imitated the language of St. Clement, and assumed the authority which breathes through his epistle. Did he, for instance, invoke the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity as he threatened punishment or invoked blessings on the fractious South Sea islanders, thus:—

"Receive our counsel, and ye shall have no occasion of regret. For as God liveth, and the Lord Jesus Christ liveth, and the Holy Spirit, who are the faith and the hope of the elect, so surely shall he, who with lowliness of mind and instant in gentleness, hath without regretfulness performed the ordinances and commandments that are given by God, be enrolled and have a name among the number of them that are saved through Jesus Christ, through whom is the glory unto Him for ever and ever, Amen."[2]

Or, again, did he say, as Clement did:—

"But if certain persons should be disobedient unto the words spoken by God through us, let them understand that they will entangle themselves in no slight transgression and danger, but we shall not be guilty of this sin."[3]

Or, still further, did he presume to claim such authority as the following words of St. Clement imply:—

"For ye will give us great joy and gladness if ye render obedience unto the things written by us through the Holy Spirit, and root out the unrighteous anger of your jealousy, according to the entreaty which we have made for peace and concord in this letter."[4]

Dr. Rentoul tells us that he has "been at pains to set out the exact words and meaning of this letter of the Christians at Rome to the Christians at Corinth (written

[1] *Hist. of Church*, p. 639.
[2] Par. 58, Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., pp. 301-2.
[3] Par. 58, Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 302.
[4] *Ibid.*, par. 63, p. 304.

by Clement's hand)." But he has been at pains, also, to keep at a long distance from anything like a critical examination of St. Clement's letter. The principle that seems to have taken possession of his mind is, that in polemical discussion prejudice will dispense with argument, so that if a man keeps on making assertions, some of these will be sure to be accepted. And, therefore with unflinching boldness, he keeps on asserting. Now, would such a principle as this be recognised in the ordinary affairs of daily life? There is not a competent jury in the world who would pay the slightest attention to an advocate who would give empty assertion instead of proof. Here is a fair sample of Dr. Rentoul's critical analysis of my references to St. Clement's letter: —

"Archbishop Carr," he says, "further informs his auditory that in this epistle 'Pope St. Clement' lays—'Claim to submission and obedience, on the ground that his words were the words of God, and were dictated by the Holy Ghost.'

"Also, he affirms that in this letter the Pontiff 'St. Clement' teaches—'the absolute necessity of *Apostolical succession* for a legitimate ministry, mentioning explicitly the *threefold order of bishops, priests, and deacons.*'

"Finally Dr. Carr surpasses himself by informing his audience that the 'Sovereign Pontiff, Pope St. Clement,' sent—'his own legates in order to secure the acquiescence of the Church of Corinth to *his will.*'"[1]

You will observe that the learned Professor makes no attempt at disproving my statements, founded on the express words of St. Clement. The paragraphs quoted in my former lectures, and which I have just now quoted once more, are incontrovertible evidence of the authoritative claims to obedience which St. Clement asserted in his letter to the Corinthians. As to Dr. Rentoul's other assertion that there is neither Apostolical Succession nor sacerdotalism in this letter, we shall first hear the evidence of the venerable Saint himself. Having stated that the Apostles received the Gospel from our Lord Jesus Christ, and that as Christ was from God, so the Apostles were from Christ, Clement continues thus:—

[1] *Early Church*, p. 95.

"So preaching everywhere in country and town, they appointed their first fruits, when they had proved them by the Spirit, to be bishops and deacons unto them that should believe. And this they did in no new fashion; for, indeed, it had been written concerning bishops and deacons from very ancient times: for thus saith the Scripture in a certain place, *I will appoint their bishops in righteousness and their deacons in faith.*"[1]

And, again, in paragraph 44, St. Clement writes:—

"And our Apostles knew, through our Lord Jesus Christ, that there would be strife over the name of the bishop's office. For this cause, therefore, having received complete foreknowledge, they appointed the aforesaid persons, and afterwards they provided a continuance, that if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration. Those, therefore, who were appointed by them, or afterward by other men of repute with the consent of the whole Church, and have ministered unblameably to the flock of Christ in lowliness of mind, peacefully and with all modesty, and for long time have borne a good report with all—these men we consider to be unjustly thrust out from their ministration. For it will be no light sin for us, if we thrust out those who have offered the gifts of the bishop's office unblameably and holily."[2]

These extracts from St. Clement's letter need no word of explanation; they clearly indicate his idea of the necessity of Apostolic Succession. As Christ received His mission from God, so the Apostles received their mission from Christ, and they, in turn, "provided a continuance [or, as the lately discovered Latin version of St. Clement's letter has it, *"they gave an additional law" to the end*][3] that, if these should fall asleep, other approved men should succeed to their ministration."

St. Clement on Sacerdotalism.—Dr. Rentoul is as strong as he is inaccurate in his statement about St. Clement's doctrine on sacerdotalism. Thus (page 114) he writes:—

"We have in our hands the letter of Clement of Rome at the close of the first century [96 A.D.], after all the Apostles were dead. But *that letter has not a trace either of Episcopacy or of a Sacerdotal order.* Archbishop Carr rashly (as it seems to me) appealed to that letter, and to the later writings of Ignatius and of Hermas."

Sacerdotalism, I may incidentally observe, is, with some Protestants, the stock-in-trade accusation against the

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 293. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 294.

[3] See Mason, *Principles Eccl. Unity*, pp. 97-8 (1896).

Catholic Church. "Priestcraft" and "priestly assumptions," with their "growth" and "intolerance," supply material for most copious philippics from pulpit and platform. And how is this sacerdotalism defined? As a general rule such definition is given of it that Catholics would repudiate all connection with it. If by sacerdotalism is meant that the priest claims to come between the soul and God, then the answer is obvious that the Presbyterian minister in his sermons, much more than the Catholic priest by the sacraments, comes between the soul and God. If it is argued that the priest comes between the sinner and the Saviour, so as to hide the latter from view, then it is simply true to say that nothing could be more opposed to the teaching and the practice of the Catholic Church.

We are reminded by Dr. Rentoul that all Christians are described as "priests" in the New Testament. But all Jews were designated "priests" (Exod. xix. 6), and yet will anyone attempt to maintain that there were no special, no sacrificing priests in Judaism?

"Whatever the Jewish priests were and did," says an Anglican authority, "they were and did by God's ordering and appointment. Their office, such as it was; their powers, such as they were, were given them by God. Am I, then, to understand that God appointed an institution which was charged with danger, or ordained functions which were steeped in evil tendencies? Or am I to conclude that the priest's office or work was innocent and edifying enough *then*, but has since become harmful? You would have imagined, had you heard the Grinderwald discussions that a sacrificing priest was a creature of the devil, and that sacerdotalism of any sort proceeded from the pit. And yet both the Jewish *Cohen*, *Sacerdos*, and his Jewish sacerdotalism were 'from heaven,' and not 'of men'."[1]

Again, we know that all Christians are "kings," but it would be a dangerous doctrine to assert that there are no special kings under Christianity. It is interesting, however, to note the many inconsistencies of those who argue against what they call sacerdotalism. They sneer, and often hold up to ridicule the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, and yet they themselves will not accept any man

[1] *The Mistakes of Modern Nonconformity*, by Hammond, LL.B. (1895).

as a minister merely on account of his qualifications, his learning, or his piety. They only recognise him who has been appointed such by their own ministers. In other words, they themselves insist on a ministerial succession, whilst they condemn Catholics for maintaining the necessity of an Apostolical Succession. It is a difference of date. We go back to the time of the Apostles; whilst they begin with Calvin or some other "reformer."

The Canon of the Mass.—Dr. Rentoul's assertion that St. Clement's letter has not a trace of sacerdotalism does not deserve any elaborate refutation. Non-Catholic as well as Catholic writers have emphasised the sacerdotalism of the Saint's epistle, and I quote the testimony of one of the most recent writers on the subject. You will note how unreservedly this non-Catholic writer admits the antiquity of the Canon of the Mass. In the *Church Quarterly Review* we read:—

"But a more important point is to find out from the documents what was the nature of the office to which they were appointed. In regard to this, our information is unmistakeable. St. Clement of Rome tells us that the principal function of the presbyter was προσφερειν τὰ δῶρα—to offer the gifts—an expression which notwithstanding the elaborate attempts to explain it away, means and can mean nothing else but to offer the consecrated species, *i.e.*, to offer the Eucharist. The expression τὰ δῶρα was the liturgical designation of the Eucharist elements. In the liturgy of St. James it is used all through for that purpose; and the Invocation, which is as old as the Apostolic age, is to the following effect:—'Send forth upon us and upon these proposed gifts thine All-holy Spirit.' In like manner, in the Roman liturgy, in a part which is certainly other than St. Hippolytus, the elements are designated *hæc dona, hæc munera, hæc sancta sacrificia illibata.* Δῶρον appears to have been in the time of Christ the general designation of sacrifice, as we may gather from his words (St. Matt. v., 23): 'If thou bring thy gift (τὸ δῶρον σου) to the altar;' and as the Eucharistic oblation was under two species it would naturally be called in the plural, τὰ δῶρα. We conclude, therefore, from the expression of St. Clement that the principal function of the presbyter was to offer the Eucharist; and being thus ordained to preside at the highest act of worship he would naturally preside also at the lower acts. Consequently, we may say, in general terms, he was ordained to lead the worship of the Church."[1]

[1] July, 1896.

I may incidentally remind you that Salmon, whom I quoted in my lectures on the Primacy, refers one passage of the Canon of the Mass to the second century, and we have now another Protestant authority admitting that another passage in the same part of the Mass is older than a writing in the early part of the third century.

I can only notice in a passing way Dr. Rentoul's unqualified assertion that *all the Apostles were dead* when St. Clement wrote. Not to mention other authorities, I might refer him to the Chronological Table of the Teachers' Edition of the Authorised Version, according to which St. John was living in 97 A.D., a year later than that to which the learned Professor ascribes St. Clement's letter, or to Dr. Lightfoot, and Schaff, who bring his life up to the reign of Trajan.

An admission.—A little further on I shall make another, and a very confident, appeal both to St. Ignatius and to Hermas, but just now I mean to appeal to Dr. Rentoul's statement (page 127) against his statement (page 114) which I gave a moment ago, and in which Dr. Rentoul asserts that St. Clement's "letter has not a trace either of episcopacy or of a sacerdotal order." This is what he writes (page 127):—

"But so soon as the episcopate and the presbyterate got looked upon as distinct orders, *so soon as men began to dream of a threefold order of bishops, presbyters (or priests), and deacons, then the Old Testament notion of high-priest, priest, and Levite came to be regarded as the type of the Christian ministry.* In that lay germs of the hierarchy and the Roman Papacy." (A portion of the italics is mine.)

It must have been very "soon" indeed that "the Old Testament notion of high-priest, priest, and Levite came to be regarded as the type of the Christian ministry," for St. Clement expressly refers to this type in language which can bear but one interpretation. I give his words:—

"They, therefore, that make their offerings at the appointed seasons are acceptable and blessed: for while they follow the institutions of the Master they cannot go wrong. For unto the high-priest his proper services have been assigned, and to the priests

their proper office is appointed, and upon the Levites their proper ministrations are laid. The layman is bound by the layman's ordinances."[1]

Monarchical Rulers of the Roman Church.—Turning from the text to the comments on it by some of the most modern scholars, we shall see that they find evidence of Apostolical Succession, Episcopacy, and Sacerdotalism where Dr. Rentoul could discover no traces of them.

We have already seen that Dr. Lightfoot recognised not only St. Clement, but his predecessors, Linus and Anacletus, as bishops, "in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church,"[2] thus tracing the Roman episcopacy directly up to the time of the Apostles.

Gore writes:—

"It becomes natural, then, as the prophet is called the Christian high-priest in the *Didache*, to see in Clement's analogical use of high-priest, priest, and 'Levite,' in speaking of the Christian ministry, a reference to the three orders, of whom the second and third are presbyter bishops and deacons, but of whom the highest are these 'rulers' and 'distinguished men' who correspond to the prophets of the *Didache*."[3]

Lipsius, quoted by Dressel,[4] admits that the hierarchy of the Old Covenant is accommodated by St. Clement to the Christian. The words τόπος and διακονία are applied respectively to the presbyters and deacons. But he considers that the chief priest (ἀρχιερεύς) refers to Christ. St. Clement (in paragraphs 36 and 64) undoubtedly speaks of Christ as "the High-Priest of our offerings," and as our "High-Priest and Guardian." But in paragraph 40, with which we are dealing, the question is not of the Great High Priest within the veil, but of the "offerings and ministrations" of the Church which is on earth, and as two orders, presbyters and deacons, are mentioned, it is necessary to find the third to whom the term ἀρχιερεύς points. Is it not the natural inference that this can only be the episcopal order, whose living, energising reality is brought

[1] Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 292. [2] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 340.
[3] *Christian Ministry*, p. 324. [4] *Patres Apostolici*, p. 86.

into such prominence a few years later in the letters of St. Ignatius?

Pullan, referring to St. Clement's allusion to the Jewish priesthood, is in agreement with Gore as to the meaning of the words. Here is his interpretation of St. Clement's doctrine of Apostolic succession and of threefold order:—

"We are now within the limits of the first century. In the letter of St. Clement of Rome, written to the Corinthians in A.D. 95, we get within sight of the epoch of the New Testament. The word *episkopoi* bears the same meaning as in the Acts. It is said that they and the deacons were appointed by the Apostles. A triple ministry, nevertheless, exists. The author mentions *proegoumenoi*, and distinguishes them from the presbyters, and in one passage suggests that the threefold character of the Jewish ministry is repeated in the Christian Church. He also speaks of 'approved men' being appointed to succeed the Apostles, men who themselves appointed presbyters."

"Light is thrown upon his [St. Clement's] meaning by the *Didache*, a work coming from a Jewish Christian community, and probably older than this letter of Clement's. It tells us of a localised ministry, which consisted of *episkopoi* and deacons. But above this local ministry are the 'prophets,' who are also called 'high-priests,' and who, though peripatetic ministers of the Gospel, have the right to settle where they will. They take a prominent part in the celebrations of the liturgy, as in Acts xiii., 2. The *Didache* does not mention the 'laying-on of hands,' but, as St. Clement unites with the writer of the Acts in implying that the appointment of ministers is from above, and as such an appointment is quite consistent with the *Didache*, the omission need cause no perplexity. The discovery of the *Didache* has not in the least invalidated the statement of M. Renan, who says: 'The idea that the president of the Church holds his commission from the members of the Church who have nominated him is not manifested once in the literature of this epoch.'"[1]

We are reminded by Professor Mason how every fresh discovery of Clementine manuscript helps to confirm the Catholic interpretation of the Saint's historic epistle.

"Clement's own witness on the subject of episcopacy has been materially reinforced since Bishop Lightfoot's pen fell from his hand," writes Mason. "Dom. Morin's discovery[2] of a very ancient

[1] *Lectures on Religion*, pp. 203-204 (1896).

[2] In 1875 a second Greek manuscript was discovered at Constantinople containing the full text. In the following year the Cambridge University acquired a manuscript containing a Syriac version of the entire epistle. Dom. Morin found a very early Latin translation in the library of the seminary at Namur; this he edited in Vol. ii., of his *Anecdota Maredsolana* (1894). Critics of the eminence of Harnack are disposed to attribute this translation in its original state to the second century. It unquestionably necessitates several alterations in Lightfoot's latest edition. The newly-discovered translation contains a remarkable Trinitarian passage quoted by St. Basil,

Latin version, hitherto unknown, of Clement's letter, has turned the scale decidedly in favour of the reading ἐπινομὴν (*postmodum legem dederunt*) in a passage of great historical importance."[1]

Though St. Clement speaks of mutual subordination as the principle of utility, he yet clearly indicates that there is question not merely of order, but of exclusive power. He gives two other striking illustrations. By the distinction of grades in the Roman army, and by the differentiation of limbs in the human body, he brings out clearly the different offices in the hierarchy of the Church.[2]

It is, indeed, a work of supererogation for us to undertake to advance proofs in favour of the doctrine of the Apostolic succession, the threefold ministry, and the sacerdotal system of the Early Church. Notwithstanding the loss of so much of the second century literature, there is yet extant abundant evidence that the Church laid claim to all three from the earliest times. Lightfoot, as you may remember, says of St. Irenæus, that "the episcopate, as distinct from the presbyterate, is the only episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognisance."[3] And Irenæus was born about 130 A.D., and inherited the tradition of St. John through his master, St. Polycarp.

Dr. Rentoul twice credits me[4] with having used the title "Sovereign Pontiff" in immediate connection with St. Clement's name. It may be too small a matter to notice, but he knew his readers, and deemed this sufficiently important to emphasise it by the use of inverted commas. As a matter of fact, I did not use the term at all. As I was giving the testimony of non-Catholic writers, so I was

but previously regarded as being, not from the genuine, but from the spurious epistle. It also contains a long and sublime prayer, couched in mystic and eloquent language, and generally looked upon as having been inspired by the liturgical practice of the Roman Church, and therefore the oldest piece of liturgy that has come down to us. See Butler, *Dub. Rev.*, April, 1896.

[1] *Principles of Eccl. Unity*, pp. 97-98. [2] *Clem Rom.*, par. 37, pp. 290-291.

[3] *S. Ign. and S. Polyc.*, Vol. i., p. 392. [4] P. 95.

trying to follow their phraseology. I called St. Clement *Pope*, for so does Renan,[1] and so, too, at least implicitly, does the Presbyterian historian Schaff in the passage I have already quoted, where he says that Clement inaugurated "that long line of Pontiffs who have outlasted every dynasty in Europe, and now claim an infallible authority over the consciences of two hundred millions of Christians."

I have called St. Clement's representatives to the Corinthians his "legates." No one denies that St. Clement himself wrote the letter. This is what the letter says:—

"Now send you back speedily unto us our messengers, Claudius Ephebus and Valerius Bito, together with Fortunatus also, in peace and with joy, to the end that they may the more quickly report the peace and concord which is prayed for and earnestly desired by us, that we may also the more speedily rejoice over your good order."[2]

St. Clement conceals his name.—Dr. Rentoul objects to my statement that, in a time of persecution such as that in which St. Clement lived, it would be unsafe for the head of a Christian community to publicly attach his name to a document which might fall into hostile hands. And, what is simply astounding, whilst in the extract which he gives from St. Clement's letter there is sufficient evidence of the precarious position of the writer, our Professor yet positively denies that any feeling of insecurity had to do with the suppression of St. Clement's name.

"Here is 'the opening paragraph' of Clement's letter," he writes, "and there is not a hint of any reminder about 'unsafeness' or the withholding of any name."[3]

But this is what St. Clement himself writes. I quote the extract as it is given by Dr. Rentoul:—

"The church (ecclesia=congregation) of God which sojourneth in Rome to the church (ecclesia) of God which sojourneth in Corinth, to them who are called and sanctified by the will of God through our Lord Jesus Christ. Grace to you and peace from Almighty God, through Jesus Christ be multiplied. By reason of

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 124.

[2] Par. 65, Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 305. [3] P. 95.

the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses which are befalling us, brethren, we consider that we have been somewhat tardy in giving heed to the matters of dispute that have arisen among you dearly beloved," etc.[1]

Dr. Rentoul is, once more, in conflict with his own authorities. Here is how Bishop Lightfoot views the opening paragraph of St. Clement's letter:—

"The persecuted and the persecutor," he says, "met face to face, as it were; they mixed together in the common affairs of life; they even lived under the same roof. Thus the utmost caution was needed, that collisions might not be provoked. We can well understand, therefore, with what feelings one who thus carried his life in his hand would pen the opening words of the letter, where he excuses the tardiness of the Roman Church in writing to their Corinthian brethren, by a reference to 'the sudden and repeated calamities and reverses' under which we have suffered. Not a word is said about the nature of these calamities; not a word here or elsewhere about their authors. There is no indication that the fears of the Roman Christians had ceased. On the contrary, after referring to the victims of the Neronian persecution, it is said significantly, 'We are in the same lists, and the same struggle awaits us.' The death of the tyrant may have brought a respite and a hope, but the future was still uncertain."[2]

It is not necessary to dwell on the insecurity of the Christians in the time of St. Clement. The most limited acquaintance with the early history of the Church will satisfy anyone that perils innumerable beset the lives of the faithful. But as Sanday's authority is so highly esteemed by Dr. Rentoul, I give his picturesque description of St. Clement's times:—

"It is allowed that, from the time of Nero's first action onwards, persecution never wholly ceased. The persecution of Nero, begun for the sake of diverting public attention, was continued as a permanent police measure under the form of a general prosecution of Christians as a sect dangerous to the public safety (p. 241). The difference is that whereas under Nero Christians were punished for definite alleged crimes, under the Flavii they were proscribed more systematically; not only were they punished for the mere fact of being Christians, but they were 'sought out': the police had standing instructions to make search for them. This continued the whole time from Nero onwards. There would be degrees of severity and activity in the persecution of Christians just as there would be in the pursuit of brigands. Some governors were indolent; others were merciful, and were proud of bringing back the axes of their lictors with no stains of blood upon them. But the first distinct and deliberate mitigation of the severity of the law was when Trajan's rescript ordered that efforts were no longer to be made 'to seek out' the Christians. The penalty of death remained against those who were clearly proved to be Christians;

[1] *Early Church*, p. 96. [2] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., pp. 382-3.

but so long as they were quiet and attention was not called to them, they might be let alone. This policy prevailed under Hadrian and the Antonines; indeed, it was still more strongly emphasized by Hadrian, who discouraged accusations, and, if the accusation failed, turned the penalties against the accuser."[1]

Captious criticism.—Dr. Rentoul spares no effort to make some point against St. Peter's Primacy. St. Clement, in a passage where the context evidently demands it, mentions St. Paul's name before that of St. Peter, and, we are gravely told, "this alone would be sufficient proof of the baselessness of the Romanist claim for a supremacy for Peter or for Rome."[2]

But, as a matter of fact, St. Clement is referring to the Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, in which the Apostle mentions his own name before that of Cephas, or Peter. It was not, surely, for the purpose of placing himself above St. Peter that St. Paul did this. His humility forbids the very thought of such intention. That he might the more successfully deprecate the practice prevailing among the Corinthian converts of attaching themselves unduly to an Apostle, or to an apostolic man, St. Paul puts his own name first in the enumeration, because, as the founder of the Corinthian Church, his name would be best known, and likely to be the more influential.

In the context St. Clement is dealing specially with St. Paul. He writes to the Corinthians at a time when there is serious disturbance in their church to remind them how also, in the days of their Apostle, there was serious disturbance, and how St. Paul had written to them words of warning and of complaint. "Take up the Epistle of the Blessed Paul," he says. "What wrote he first unto you in the beginning of the Gospel? Of a truth, he charged you in the Spirit concerning himself and Cephas and Apollos, because that even then ye had made parties."[3]

[1] *Expositor*, 4th ser., Vol. vii., pp. 406-7. [2] *Early Church*, p. 117.
[3] Lightfoot, *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 296.

We have only to look at the text (I Cor. i., 12) to see that in the enumeration the scale is an ascending one. St. Paul places Apollos, who was not an Apostle, before Peter. In fact, he begins with Paul and ends with Christ. Elsewhere, when the context allowed him a free selection, St. Clement mentions St. Peter before St. Paul.

The Argument from Silence fallacious.—The translation of St. Clement's letter I should, perhaps, remind you, does not occupy quite thirty-three pages of Lightfoot's two volumes, entitled *Clement of Rome*. The letter was written for the specific purpose of promoting unity in the distracted Church of Corinth, and not for the exposition of the truths of Catholic faith. It was, in fact, such a letter as a Pope of the present day might write to a church circumstanced as the Church of Corinth was. To argue that St. Clement *knows nothing* of this or that doctrine, because in his small pamphlet of less than thirty-three pages he *says nothing* of it, is surely to be guilty of an exaggeration of the fallacious argument from silence. In a letter such as St. Clement wrote references to doctrine can be but incidental. The strength, however, of the Catholic position is that when there are doctrinal references at all they are distinctly Roman.

To illustrate the absurdity of looking for a summary of the doctrines of Catholic faith in St. Clement's epistle, let us take, for instance, one of the encyclical letters of the present Pontiff Leo. XIII. Each of these letters has been written on a special subject and for a specific purpose. We select his encyclical on the *Chief Duties of Christians as Citizens*, and we find no mention in it of the Blessed Eucharist or of the other sacraments. But, if only this one Apostolic letter of Pope Leo should happen to survive, would posterity be justified in accepting it as the measure of what the Pope believed regarding the many doctrines of which he makes no mention in the encyclical? Yet

this is precisely what Dr. Rentoul asks us to do in the case of St. Clement.

It is unnecessary to dwell further on Dr. Rentoul's references to St. Clement's letter. I shall only notice a charge which he urges against me of having mistranslated a passage in that epistle. The charge regards these words, "your priests," "fold," and "sheepfold," which, he says, should be "presbyters," "flock," and "hope." Dr. Rentoul forgets to tell that I quoted a number of authorities, Protestant as well as Catholic, to show that the reading I gave was an accepted conjectural reading,[1] and that, as a matter of fact, the translation "hope," of which he makes so very much, is that on which Catholic writers of the highest eminence, such as Allies and Waterworth, rely. I repeat what I have said in my former course of lectures. The substitution of "hope" for "fold," instead of weakening, will be regarded by many as strengthening the argument, for it gives to St. Clement's letter a practical interpretation of our Lord's words to St. Peter—"Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth, it shall be bound also in heaven." But a sufficient justification of my translation, even if there was no other, would be found in the fact that, in each of the particulars objected to, it corresponds exactly with the translation given by Dr. Wake, Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury—a translation which, bear in mind, he tells us, was made from the original Greek, to secure the greater fidelity. It is clear, then, that Allnatt, whom I followed, must have had good authority for his translation.

[1] *Lectures on the Primacy.*

CHAPTER XXIII.

ST. IGNATIUS (107?) ON THE DIVINE INSTITUTION OF EPISCOPACY AND THE EUCHARIST.

Dr. Rentoul makes vain efforts to get rid of the witness of St. Ignatius. Presbyterians can never forgive the Saint for his outspoken testimony to the Divine institution of the episcopal order, and they can just as little forgive Dr. Lightfoot for his learned patristic monograph, which almost exhausts the literature of the subject, and which irrefutably vindicates the authenticity of the Saint's epistles. Some years ago the Rev. Dr. Killen, Principal of the Presbyterian Faculty in Ireland, wrote a flippant work, entitled *The Ignatian Epistles Entirely Spurious*, and in this work he frequently permits himself to be discourteous towards the illustrious Anglican prelate who had so ably vindicated the genuineness of the Ignatian epistles. "Anti-evangelical formalist, a puerile boaster, a mystic dreamer, and crazy fanatic" are the epithets which, as applied to St. Ignatius, soil the pages of another work by the same Presbyterian writer, for which I gladly confess he is upbraided by Schaff,[1] who attributes his unworthy language to a "strong anti-prelatic feeling." We are also reminded[2] by Schaff that a "moderate" historian like Neander "cannot conceive how a martyr so near the Apostolic age should have nothing more important to say than 'such things about obedience to the bishops.'"

Yes, it is Dr. Rentoul's difficulty that "this St. Ignatius" did live so *near* the Apostolic age, and that he, "on his way to Rome to be martyred, shed round him letters broadcast,

[1] *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, Vol. ii., p. 660. [2] *Ibid.*

to various cities as he passed, urging the Christian congregation in each place to be united and steadfast in the faith, honouring their *episcopos (bishops) with the presbytery and deacons.*" "He uses very wild and whirling words" and "whirling rhetoric," "this Saint Ignatius," says the Professor, as he meditates on "those strange letters over whose spuriousness or genuineness the heavy cloud of doubt will always hang. For *they stand alone in the first half of the second century.*"

The genuineness and date of the Ignatian Epistles. —Dr. Rentoul would fain get rid of St. Ignatius. "I fancy," he declares, "scholarly opinion will swing round again to reject all these letters as spurious."[1] It is not quite clear, indeed, whether these words are his own, or whether he thinks they are Bright's. They certainly do not represent Bright's mind, but they undoubtedly express the opinion of the Professor of Ormond regarding the writings of St. Ignatius. It is needless to remark that his own special authorities do not agree with this opinion. Sanday writes thus:—

"After Dr. Lightfoot's masterly exposition, there is, probably, nothing more to be said about the genuineness, date, and origin of the Ignatian Epistles."[2]

Salmon assures us that these Epistles need fear nothing from genuine scholarship.

"The progress of criticism," he says, "has tended to dispel the doubts once entertained about the genuineness of the Ignatian Epistles."[3]

Bishop Westcott says the same:—

"Lightfoot has established this conclusion [the genuineness of the Epistles] *beyond reasonable doubt.*"[4]

And Harnack could not be more emphatic. He simply laughs at Dr. Rentoul's opinion.

"The Epistles of Ignatius and the Epistle of Polycarp," he writes, "are no forgeries; they are written by the men by whom they profess to have been written—by an Antiochian Bishop, Ignatius, and by Polycarp, the Bishop of Smyrna, of whom Irenæus, Polycrates, and Tertullian have spoken with great

[1] *Early Church*, p. 121.
[2] *Gospels in Second Century*, p. 76.
[3] *Intro. N. T.*, p. 286.
[4] *Canon N. T.*, p. 30.

respect, whose martyrdom has been described to us by eye-witnesses."[1]

There he is, "this Saint Ignatius," "the earliest man who speaks of a distinction (in the stated Ministry) between the *presbyters as a whole*, and *one* presbyter called '*episcopos*.'" Dr. Rentoul, since he cannot get rid of him altogether, feels it incumbent to remove such a witness as far as possible from the Apostolic period; so he makes a heroic effort. Lightfoot, in the first volume of his second series of Apostolic Fathers,[2] says St. Ignatius' "martyrdom may, with a high degree of probability, be placed within a few years of A.D. 110, before or after."[3] Again, in the second volume of the same work,[4] after a dissertation, extending over thirty-eight pages, on the date of the Saint's martyrdom, the learned prelate thus sums up:—

"If in addition to these facts, we bear in mind that common tradition assigned the martyrdom to the reign of Trajan, we shall be doing no injustice to the evidence by setting the probable limits between A.D. 100-118, without attempting to fix the year more precisely."

But Dr. Rentoul, confidently tells us:—

"These letters Harnack places about 140 A.D., Lightfoot earlier (and I think wrongly), *about* 118."[5]

Doubtless, if Dr. Lightfoot were alive he would have to re-write his volumes if he would escape the censure of Dr. Rentoul, in whose view, as we have already seen, the learned bishop is very frequently "wrong." As, however, the date of these epistles is deemed a matter of supreme importance, let us hear what modern scholars have to say on the subject. Harnack admits that Lightfoot "can appeal on behalf of [his position] to the consensus of most scholars of modern times."[6] Fisher, in his *History of the Church*,[7] follows Lightfoot's opinion that St. Ignatius

[1] *Expositor*, Vol. iii., 3rd series, p. 185. [2] P. 30.

[3] Protestant Critics held out as long as they could against the authenticity of these letters of St. Ignatius. Nor is their attempt to prove them forgeries to be wondered at. The Ignatius Epistles give us a picture of the Catholic Church as she was at the dawn of the Second Century; and the picture bears no resemblance to Protestantism.

[4] P. 472. [5] *Early Church*, p. 121.

[6] *Expositor*, March, 1886, quoted by Gore, *Christian Ministry*, p. 290.

[7] P. 47.

suffered martyrdom A.D. 110, and in his work on the *History of Doctrine* (1896) he says—"Harnack is peculiar in advancing the hypothesis of a much later date for the martyrdom of the author, and so for the composition of his writings."[1] Moeller, another recent authority, dryly remarks that Harnack's attempt to change, or to put forward, the date is "hardly successful." Dr. Rentoul regards Sanday as an authority of the highest eminence, and Sanday accepts A.D. 107, or A.D. 115, as the date of the Saint's martyrdom.[2] This is, surely, at variance with the Professor, who says that the year 107 is an "antiquated date."[3] Zahn, who, Dr. Rentoul says, was an "eminent Presbyterian scholar" (though, according to Schaff, he was "an orthodox Lutheran"[4]), and who was, unquestionably, a great authority on the subject, accepts any of these dates, namely, 107, 110, 115.[5] Ramsay dates the letters not later than Trajan, and preferably between 112 and 117.[6] Hort, whose name is frequently appealed to by Dr. Rentoul's authorities, tells us that "the probabilities, however, are in favour of about A.D. 110, the time fixed by Lightfoot in general terms."[7] The Presbyterian historian, Schaff, seems in favour of 107.[8] Cruttwell, a more recent writer, accepts 110[9] Finally, Uhlhorn declares that "a cautious criticism" must reject the date which Harnack fixes for the Ignatian letters.[10] We see, then, the value of Dr. Rentoul's disagreement with Lightfoot, and of his reference to an "antiquated date."

It is noteworthy how Dr. Rentoul so largely lends himself to rationalistic theories. To take one out of a number of rationalistic writers, Dr. Martineau, in his *Seat of*

[1] P. 36. [2] *Gospels in Second Century*, p. 77.

[3] *Early Church*, p. 193. [4] *Ante-Nicence Christianity*, Vol. ii., p. 660.

[5] See Schaff, *Teaching of the Twelve Apostles*, p. 123. Westcott, *Can. N. T.*, p. 31.

[6] *Church in R. Empire*, p. 317. [7] *Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 28.

[8] *Ante-Nicene Church*, p. 49. [9] *Lit. Hist. Early Christianity*, p. 74.

[10] Schaff's *Herzog.*, Art. Ignatius.

Authority in Religion, places the age of the writer of the Acts in the second century for no other reason than that the book has "hierarchical tendencies." And for the same reason (apparently he has no other), Dr. Rentoul tries to put the date of the Ignatian Epistles as far away as possible from the Apostolic age.

When such liberties are taken with the text of Lightfoot, I cannot complain of a misrepresentation of my words. In my fifth lecture I was dealing with St. Ignatius' singular appellation of the Roman Church as "the Church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans," whilst the other Churches were simply addressed each as "the Church at" such a place. I could not put into clearer language my meaning. I was contending for the pre-eminence of *the Roman Church*, and *not*, just then, for the pre-eminence of the Roman Bishop. I quoted Lightfoot, with "precise references," as admitting that St. Ignatius testified to "a pre-eminence of rank," "*a* primacy," in fact, but, observe, not *the* primacy, in the Roman Church. I quoted Zahn's admission that the "Roman Church is said to have a certain primacy," and immediately after I quoted Harnack as "still stronger" than Zahn, for he says:—

"So much is evident that Ignatius marked out the Roman community as the President among the sister communities, and that an energetic activity of this community in supporting and instructing the other communities was familiar to him."

But Dr. Rentoul asserts that I was "twisting" Lightfoot's and Harnack's words "into a testimony to the Roman Papacy and its Universal Supremacy."[1] Intelligent readers have only to set my statements alongside the Professor's accusation, and they will be able to duly appraise the value of Dr. Rentoul's assertions.

Hiereus not applied to the Christian Priesthood.—I am convinced that Dr. Rentoul trusts too largely to memory, and that he does not take the trouble of verifying

[1] *Early Church*, p. 36.

his references. He evidently did not re-consult Lightfoot in several passages which he quotes, and I cannot think that he tried to verify my references to the teaching of St. Ignatius. In agreement with such high Anglican authority as Wake, Archbishop of Canterbury, I had translated St. Clement's word "*presbuteros*" as "*priest*," and I was told that the translation was wrong, because if the saint meant "*priest*" he would have used the word "*hiereus*." At this time I was arguing, not with a Presbyterian, but with one who believed in the doctrine of Apostolic Succession and in the necessity of a validly ordained priesthood. And I answered that "presbuteros," and not "hiereus," is applied to the Christian priesthood in the New Testament and in the Apostolic and sub-Apostolic Fathers. I give my exact words, as Dr. Rentoul has not done so:—

> "But to argue," I said, "against a Christian priesthood in the Catholic sense of the term, from the mere absence of the word '*hiereus*' from the Apostolic and the sub-Apostolic writers betrays a manifest unfamiliarity with their teaching. For instance, in the works of St. Ignatius, who was bishop in the life-time of the Beloved Disciple, the word '*hiereus*' does not occur, though he uses '*bishop*' and '*presbyter*' in the sense which they have since retained."

Dr. Rentoul has only to go to a Greek Concordance of the New Testament to learn that the word "*hiereus*" is never applied to a Christian minister. St. Paul uses it only in his Epistle to the Hebrews, and he applies it exclusively to Christ.

My reference to St. Ignatius might, indeed, be more precise, but it is, nevertheless, absolutely correct, for St. Ignatius never used the word "*hiereus*" in reference to the Christian priesthood, and it was to the Christian priesthood alone I was referring. Once, and I believe once only, did he use the word at all, and Dr. Rentoul admits that it was of the Jewish priesthood he was then writing. But if St. Ignatius did not use the term "hiereus," he yet brought into clearest view the living reality of the Christian priesthood in his day.

St. Ignatius on the B. Eucharist.—It has been attempted to explain away some of his references to the Eucharist as but the mere exaggerations of Oriental rhetoric. But there is one passage which no trick of debate, or glamour of words, or rancour of controversy, will ever obscure. Referring to the heretical sect, called Docetæ, who denied that our Lord had assumed to Himself a real humanity, and asserted that He was but a phantom, St. Ignatius tells us that they "abstain from the Eucharist and prayer, *because they do not confess that the Eucharist is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father in His goodness raised to life.*"[1]

There is no room, then, for doubt as to what St. Ignatius means here when he speaks of the Eucharist. His statement proves, and in the clearest conceivable language, too, that he means exactly what Catholics in this nineteenth century mean when they speak of the Eucharist. No cloud of words, no stringing together of "amazing" and "tragic" phrases, no array of "noble" or "pre-eminent" scholars, will avail against the simple, intelligible words of the Saint. The unlettered Catholic who hears them read will at once admit that these words are substantially the same as have been taught to him in his penny catechism. When, therefore, St. Ignatius uses the term *"thusiasterion"* in connection with the Eucharist, he means, and can only mean, what we Catholics mean when we speak of an "altar" in the same connection. *"Thusiasterion"* is, as Liddell and Scott tell us, "a place for offering, *an altar*." It is, as its component parts show, *a sacrificial altar*, and if St. Ignatius recognised the Eucharist to be the flesh of Christ, as his words conclusively prove that he did, then this and nothing else can be the oblation which is made on the altar. Nowhere in his epistles does he refer to a sacrifice of bread and wine.

[1] Ad Smyrn., 6.

It is the merest begging of the question to say, as Dr. Rentoul says, that "wherever *'thusiasterion'* occurs in Ignatius it *never refers to the Lord's table*, or to any *material altar* in the Christian Church." Italics do not give authority to unsupported rhetoric. Lightfoot is quoted, but Lightfoot's opinion in a purely doctrinal matter has no more weight than Dr. Rentoul's. The "wild," "whirling rhetoric" of "this Saint Ignatius" is not so easily brushed aside. St. Thomas and Estius, we are told, explain *thusiasterion* in Hebrews xiii. 10-13, of the *Cross*, and not of the Eucharist. Their interpretation does not exclude the opinion that there is a reference to the Eucharist. But even if it did, we have other Catholic interpreters differing from them, and, in any case, we are to remember that it is of St. Ignatius' Epistle to the Philadelphians we are speaking, and not of St. Paul's Epistle to the Hebrews, and that the meaning of the word "altar" in the context depends entirely upon what the Saint meant by the term *Eucharist*. He tells the Smyrnians that the Eucharist "is the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which suffered for our sins, and which the Father in His goodness raised to life."[1] And, with the Saint's declaration of faith before him, any Catholic child who has learned his catechism will tell Dr. Rentoul what must be the meaning of the word "altar" when bringing it into immediate connection with the Eucharist. Ignatius tells the Philadelphians that they are to "partake of one Eucharist, since there is one flesh of our Lord Jesus Christ, one chalice which unites us to His Blood, one *altar;* as there is one bishop with the body of the presbyters, and with the deacons, my fellow-ministers."[2] He brings here into immediate proximity the presence of Christ's Body, the sacrifice in which it is offered, and the priest who offers it.

The *Didache*, which many critics place early in the second half of the first century, expressly calls the

[1] Ad Smyrn., 6. [2] Ad Philad., 4.

Eucharist a sacrifice (*θυσία*),[1] and connects its oblation with bishops and deacons (*χειροτονήσατε οὖν ἑαυτοῖς ἐπισκόπους καὶ διακόνους*).

St. Justin Martyr on the B. Eucharist.—St. Justin Martyr, who, according to the Protestant translators of his works, was born about 114 A.D.,[2] will tell us that what St. Ignatius taught regarding the Eucharist was exactly what the faithful of his day believed.

"This food," he declares, "is called among us the Eucharist, of which no one is allowed to partake but the man who believes that the things which we teach are true, and who has been washed with the washing that is for the remission of sins, and unto regeneration, and who is so living as Christ has enjoined. For not as common bread and common drink do we receive these; but in like manner as Jesus Christ our Saviour, having been made flesh by the word of God, had both flesh and blood for our salvation, so likewise have we been taught that the food which is blessed by the prayer of His Word, and from which our blood and flesh by transmutation are nourished, is the flesh and blood of that Jesus who was made flesh. For the Apostles in the memoirs composed by them, which are called Gospels, have thus delivered unto us what was enjoined upon them; that Jesus took bread, and when He had given thanks, said: 'This do ye in remembrance of Me, this is My Body;' and after the same manner, having taken the cup and given thanks, He said: 'This is My Blood;' and gave it to them alone."[3]

Harnack recognises the irresistible force of these words of St. Justin:—

"It cannot be mistaken," he says, "that Justin (Apol. 1, p. 66) presupposed the identity, miraculously produced by the Logos, of the consecrated bread, and the body he had assumed."[4]

I shall adduce one other second century witness to the Real Presence, namely, St. Irenæus, who will distinctly tell us that the doctrine of Transubstantiation was the belief of the primitive Christians. He is arguing in support of the belief in the resurrection of the body. He proves its possibility from the analogy of the Blessed Eucharist. The same God, he contends, who changes the dead grain into living wheat, and bread made from wheat into His body, can change our dust into glorified bodies at the resurrec-

[1] Chapters xiv., xv.
[2] Clarke's ed., p. 3.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 64-5.
[4] *Hist. Dogm.*, Vol. i., p. 212.

tion. I quote from the translation published in Clarke's Ante-Nicene Library:—

"And just as a cutting from the vine," he writes, "planted in the ground fructifies in its season, or as a corn of wheat falling into the earth and becoming decomposed, rises with manifold increase by the Spirit of God, who contains all things, and then, through the wisdom of God, serves for the use of men, and having received the Word of God, becomes the Eucharist, which is the body and blood of Christ, so also our bodies, being nourished by it, and deposited in the earth, and suffering decomposition there, shall rise at their appointed time."[1]

That I do not misinterpret the saint's meaning is clear from the testimony of Lipsius, with whose pre-eminence as a scholar Dr. Rentoul's readers are familiar.

"In regard to the dogma of the Holy Communion, Irenæus, like Justin Martyr, expresses the thought that through the invocation of Christ's name over the earthly elements the Divine Logos does actually enter into such mysterious connection with the bread and wine as to constitute a union of an earthly and a heavenly pragma (πρᾶγμα) similar to that which took place at the Incarnation itself. In virtue of this union of the Logos with the bread and wine those earthly substances are made the flesh and blood of Christ; and it appears to have been with Irenæus a favourite thought that through the partaking of Christ's flesh and blood in the Holy Communion our earthly bodies are made partakers of immortality."[2]

Authority of Bishops in St. Ignatius.—The "whirling rhetoric" of "this Saint Ignatius" has clearly disturbed Dr. Rentoul's judgment. "The original identity of bishops and presbyters as presiding over the Church is still visible even in *him*."[3] This is the verdict of the learned Professor as he contrasts Ignatius with that writer of "traditional stuff," Irenæus of Gaul. It is another illustration of Dr. Rentoul's trusting too implicitly to memory. Had he glanced at the epistles to the Smyrnians, to the Ephesians, and to the Trallians, he would have remembered how the saint had written of episcopal authority.

"Let no man," he teaches, "do aught of things pertaining to the Church apart from the bishop. Let that be held a valid Eucharist which is under the bishop, or one to whom he shall have committed it. . . . It is not lawful apart from the bishop either to baptise or to hold a love feast[4] [agapé, or Eucharistic feast]; but what-

[1] *Iren.*, Vol. ii, p. 60, Clarke's ed.

[2] *Dict. Christ. Biog.*, Art. Irenæus.

[3] *Early Church*, p. 124.

[4] "To celebrate the agapé." Renan, *Hib. Lec.*, p. 171.

soever he shall approve, this is well-pleasing also to God, that everything which ye do may be sure and valid."[1]

These words can have no meaning whatever if they do not clearly imply that St. Ignatius considered the bishop the centre and source of jurisdiction and authority in his particular district.

In his epistle to the Ephesians he crystallises this teaching in one memorable sentence—"Your honourable presbytery, which is worthy of God, is attuned to the bishop, even as its strings to the lyre."[2]

"Irenæus is the first to voice . . . that 'bishops' are successors of the Apostles," declares Dr. Rentoul,[3] but as it so happens, we find his own authority, Professor Bright, contradicting him. Bright, referring to what Lightfoot calls "the startling comparison" in the Epistle to the Trallians,[4] writes:—

"It has been said[5] that Irenæus went beyond Ignatius in regarding bishops as the representatives of Apostles. But Ignatius makes them even more than this. He thinks of the bishop as representing (1) the Father in His relation to Christ during His earthly ministry, and (2) Christ, during that ministry, in His relation to the Apostles—that is, as representing the supreme authority. *A fortiori*, then, would the bishop, in Ignatius' view, represent the Apostles as invested, after the Ascension, with plenary authority in the Church."

The dominant note, in fact, of the Ignatian epistles, is that obedience is due both to bishops and presbyters as belonging to essential, universally recognised, and confessedly distinct, orders in the ecclesiastical hierarchy.[6] In close proximity to St. Ignatius comes the Shepherd of Hermas, who could not have written later than the middle of the second century, and who, according to Salmon[7] and Zahn,[8] belonged to the first century. Hilgenfeld places the writings of Hermas earlier than 140.

1 Ad Smyrn., 8. Lightfoot, SS. Ig. and Poly., Vol. ii., p. 569.
2 Ad Ephes. 4. *Ibid.*, p. 544.
3 *Early Church*, p. 124.
4 *Ign. and Polyc.*, Vol. ii., p. 157.
5 *Waymarks*, pp. 30-1, note.
6 See Pullan, p. 200.
7 *Introd. N.T.*, p. 46.
8 See Schaff's *Teaching Twelve Apostles*, p. 123.

Dr. Rentoul quotes Sanday in support of his statement that "the writing of Hermas in the middle of the second century, in its assertion of the rights of the presbyters, 'marks the time when the Presbyterian form of government was passing into the episcopal.'"[1] He also quotes Harnack as saying that "Hermas is proof that 'episcopacy' had not yet arisen in Rome."[2]

Hermas enumerates the three orders of the hierarchy "the bishops (ἐπίσκοποι) and teachers" (διδάσκαλοι), and in the Latin version doctors, *i.e.*, presbyters, as appears from Tertull. Præscr., c. 3; Acts of Perpetua, c. 13; Cyprian, Ep. 24, quoted by Pearson, ii., c. 13), and deacons who have borne the episcopate and have taught and ministered (διακονήσαντες).[3] He also distinguishes the *protokathedritai* from the *proegoumenoi*. If, as Renan maintains, the *proegoumenoi* be presbyters, then it almost certainly follows that the *protokathedritai* are bishops. Moreover, Hermas speaks of *episkopoi*, whom he mentions next to the Apostles. If the date of his writing be 140 A.D., then it is almost certain that the word *episkopoi* means what it means in the letters of St. Ignatius, and that Hermas assigns to bishops the *protokathedria*, or "chief seat." If the earlier date is correct, then the evidence of Hermas for the primitive institution of episcopacy is still stronger. His distinction between *proegoumenoi* and the occupiers of the *protokathedria*, or "chief seat," still holds good. Whichever of these words means presbyters, the other must mean some officials who are not presbyters. It is quite clear from his book that Hermas does not regard these officials as merely deacons.[4]

Hilgenfeld admits that Hermas represents St. Clement as occupying a rank superior to that of the presbyters. The scene of his visions is laid in Rome, in Clement's time, and the second of these ends thus:—"Thou shalt write two little books, and send one to Clement and one to Grapte.

[1] *Early Church*, p. 114.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 122.
[3] Vis. 3-5. Dressel, *Patres Apostolici*.
[4] See Pullan, pp. 200-3.

Clement will send it to the foreign cities, for [this] is permitted to him," or, as the Greek text reads, "it is addressed to him." Have we not here a recognition of St. Clement's peculiar right to address foreign churches, as he had already done in the case of the church in Corinth, and is there not a striking similarity between the office which Hermas claims for St. Clement and that which the bishops at the Council of Arles (A.D. 314) claim for Pope Silvester? If we remember that Clement lived in a time of persecution, when he might, any day, be hurried off to martyrdom, we shall be able to realise what Hermas meant when he says that it belongs to Clement's office "to send to" foreign churches.

The Episcopate a distinct office.—Dr. Rentoul argues that episcopacy had not established itself at Rome in St. Ignatius' time.

"The one letter," he says, "which Ignatius wrote to Rome is just the only letter which he wrote to a church *outside Asia Minor*. And it makes not the slightest reference to a bishop in Rome. It is addressed simply to the church 'which hath the presidency in the place of the region of the Romans.'"[1]

St. Ignatius, according to the almost unanimous opinion of Dr. Rentoul's own authorities, wrote within twenty years after St. Clement.

Now, Lightfoot, we have already seen, declares that Clement was a bishop in the sense of "a monarchical ruler," and sees "no adequate reason" why Linus and Anencletus, the two immediate predecessors of Clement, should not have been bishops in the later sense, "as single rulers of the Church," and as "bishops in the sense of monarchical rulers of the Roman Church."[2]

Dr. Rentoul, I may observe, makes Lightfoot write the exact opposite of this. "We cannot, as Lightfoot confesses," he says, "call them [Linus, Anencletus, Clement]

[1] *Early Church*, p. 121.

[2] See *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., pp. 68, 340.

'bishops' at all."[1] But whilst he quotes him for this opinion, he forgets to give the reference. Treating of the time when St. Ignatius wrote his letters, Lightfoot says that "it would be an excess of scepticism, with the evidence before us, to question the existence of the episcopate as a distinct office from the presbyterate in the Roman Church."[2] The silence of St. Ignatius regarding the Roman bishop is accounted for, and the meaning of the singular appellation. "the Church which presides in the place of the region of the Romans," explained, in my former lectures.[3] "He speaks of episcopacy as a thing perfectly familiar, at any rate, to the Church of Rome," says Bright,[4] who quotes approvingly the following statement from a writer in the *Church Quarterly*:—

"No one can doubt that the idea of Church Government, now universal among Catholics, is here, and that the Roman Church is supposed heartily to appreciate it. The Saint . . . assumes, undoubtedly, that the Roman Christians recognise a difference between the first and second orders of the ministry; . . . otherwise, supposing the Romans ignorant of such a distinction, he would give them the notion that Syria was left, not only without a supreme head, but without any presbyters at all."[5]

It is a sufficient answer, then. to Dr. Rentoul's difficulty to say that St. Ignatius takes for granted that the Roman Christians are familiar with episcopacy, name and thing, and that they are aware of the high office of their bishop. He tells them, in most pathetic words, that, when he will have been martyred, Antioch will have no bishop except our Lord, to Whose love, and also to the love of the Roman Church for them, they must solely look for help and guidance.[6] There is no parallel to this in any of the other Epistles.

The B.V. Mary in the Apostolic Fathers.—The Apostolic Fathers do not write directly against heretics, and do not profess to give a complete account of the Church's

[1] *Early Church*, p. 84.
[2] *S. Ign., S. Polyc.*, Vol. i., p. 395.
[3] See Chap. XVII.
[4] *Rom. See*, p. 25.
[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 25-6.
[6] Ad Rom. 9.

doctrine. But it is impossible to exaggerate the importance of their utterances when they do make reference to doctrine, for they are the utterances of teachers who enjoyed the privilege of personal communion with one or other of the Apostles. So far, indeed, as dogmatic teaching is concerned, the Apostolic Fathers may be said to reduce themselves to St. Ignatius. He speaks out clearly on a number of doctrinal questions around which, especially in these later centuries, a fierce controversy has been raging. He asserts the truth of the Sacred Humanity so boldly that one would almost think he had before his mind the heresy of the fifth century regarding the union of the Divine and Human Natures. He takes the ground away from Nestorianism. Our Lord is with him, both "Son of Mary and Son of God."[1] "Our God, Jesus the Christ, was conceived in the womb by Mary."[2] This is his clear definition of that doctrine of Catholic faith which afterwards found fitting expression in the term θεότοκος, "Mother of God," a title which Dr. Rentoul calls "awful," and from which he shrinks away in horror.

A distinguished American Protestant divine, Dr. Nevin, would tell him—"No man whose tongue falters in pronouncing Mary, Mother of God, can be orthodox at heart on the article of Christ's person." The words of St. Ignatius are replete with theological meaning. Nor was this language about the Blessed Virgin peculiar to him alone. With St. Irenæus, too, the prerogatives of Mary form an integral part of the theology of the Incarnation. He sees in her the second Eve, and as through the disobedience of the first Eve death came both to herself and to all mankind, so the obedience of Mary was the cause of salvation to herself and all mankind.[3] And it was not St. Irenæus only who drew a parallel between Mary and Eve. As Cardinal Newman has pointed out,[4] it appears in the

[1] Eph. 5. Lightfoot, Vol. ii., p. 545.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 549.
[3] *Adv. Hær.* iii., xxii., 4.
[4] *Letter to Dr. Pusey.*

earliest times and in the most distant quarters of the Church—in Justin Martyr in the dialogue with Trypho, and in Tertullian. Devotion to Our Lady, according to Protestant teaching, is quite modern in its origin, and "awful" in its nature. But I have traced it to the beginning of the second century, and have we not the best grounds for supposing that it descended to St. Ignatius and the early Fathers from the original teaching of the Apostles?

Dr. Rentoul is not so anxious about the circulation of St. Ignatius' letters as he professes to be about the circulation of St. Clement's. Catholics, however, are on good terms with all the early Fathers who are the witnesses to the faith in the planting and watering times.

I have dwelt at considerable length on the testimony of St. Ignatius, of Antioch, because he was the contemporary of St. Clement. When we remember that the English translation of the seven Ignatian epistles occupy just thirty-two pages in Lightfoot's great work of three volumes *(S. Ignatius, S. Polycarp)*, and that these epistles were written for the express purpose of promoting unity, in obedience to the bishops, among the members of the several churches addressed, we cannot but wonder that there should be found in them so many references to doctrinal truths.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE POSITION OF ST. IRENÆUS (140-202?) AS A WITNESS TO THE ROMAN PRIMACY—HIS EVIDENCE RE-EXAMINED.

From St. Ignatius, who was the friend, we pass to St. Irenæus, who was the disciple, of St. Polycarp, and St. Polycarp, we know, was the disciple of St. John. Though more than seventeen hundred years have gone since Irenæus wrote, there is no name more familiar to the student of Church history, and there is no name held in greater reverence by writers who treat of early Christian times. Dr. Rentoul holds the Saint in disesteem, and once more contemptuously rejects the testimony of the distinguished scholars whom he occasionally quotes with exuberance of eulogy.

"Stick to your New Testaments, you laymen," says the Professor; "there, at least, you will be sure you are not being befooled by some Gnostic legend that got accepted by 'the Fathers.' There you will not build on a foundation of sand. There is not an item in all this traditional stuff written by Dionysius, Irenæus, and Tertullian that is not probably erroneous."[1]

But how do Dr. Rentoul's "laymen" know that they *have* a New Testament to "stick to"? Is it on *his* sole authority they are to accept a certain book as *the New Testament*, and, if not, then on *whose* authority? Dr. Rentoul is a professor of New Testament exegesis, and he informs us (p. 31) that Salmon "is not only of world-wide reputation as an expert in those questions which lie close to his special chair of New Testament teaching, but he is trusted for his unswervingly fair and judicial temper." Now, when Salmon undertakes to defend the authenticity

[1] *Early Church*, p. 99.

of the Four Gospels, a chief witness on whom he relies is the very Father on whose name Dr. Rentoul pours most opprobrium. Irenæus in Gaul, Clement in Alexandria, Tertullian in Carthage, are the witnesses whom Salmon calls to prove that "the Four Gospels which we recognise had then been established in the place of pre-eminence, which they have held ever since."[1] And Bishop Westcott, another great non-Catholic authority on the Canon of the New Testament, places similar reliance on these three early writers who are his witnesses, also, to the authenticity of the Gospels.

Modern Scholars' esteem of St. Irenæus—Let us hear what some of Dr. Rentoul's great scholars have to say about St. Irenæus. They will tell us that he possessed, in a pre-eminent degree, the qualities one looks for in a witness to the events of early church history. To an equable temper he joined indomitable perseverance in sifting oral and written testimony, and to profound learning he added a wide and varied knowledge of men. St. Irenæus, moreover, possessed the judicial mind in a marked degree. But, perhaps, his most prominent characteristic was the conscientious care with which he gathered materials before setting to write.

Lightfoot says truly that "an appreciation of the position of the man is a first requisite to the estimate of his evidence," and this is his appreciation of the position of St. Irenæus:—

"Irenæus was probably the most learned Christian of his time. He certainly had acquaintance with heathen, as well as with sacred literature. He had travelled far and wide. He was born and schooled in Asia Minor; he resided some time during middle life in Rome; he spent his later years in Gaul. He was in constant communication with foreign churches on various subjects of ecclesiastical and theological interest."[2]

Dr. Rentoul seems to have a predilection for the German school of Scripture commentators. Lightfoot, however, does not hesitate to say how worthless the writings

[1] *Introd. N. Test.*, p. 31. [2] *St. Ign. and St. Polyc.*, Vol. 1, p. 392.

of those men are as contrasted with the works of St. Irenæus.

"Anyone," he writes, "who would take the pains to read Irenæus through carefully, endeavouring to enter into his historical position in all its bearings, striving to realise what he and his contemporaries actually thought about the writings of the New Testament, and what grounds they had for thinking it, above all, resisting the temptation to read in modern theories between the lines, will be in a more favourable position for judging rightly of the early history of the Canon, than if he had studied all the monographs which have issued from the German press during the last half-century."[1]

I make no apology for the length of my quotations. St. Irenæus is the most important witness in the early Church to the Canon of the New Testament, and everyone professing the Christian name must feel an interest in knowing his fitness to bear testimony. He is, besides, the most important witness, in his age, to the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and Catholics will not fail to note that every qualification which is claimed for him as a witness to the one can be asserted for him as a witness to the other. The evidence of St. Irenæus for the Canon of the New Testament stands or falls with his evidence for the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. If he is reliable regarding the former, he is equally so regarding the latter.

Schaff, whom Dr. Rentoul calls "an eminent historical scholar of our day," claims for St. Irenæus qualifications which any modern University Professor might well be proud to possess. This is what he declares:—

Irenæus is the leading representative of Catholic Christianity in the last quarter of the second century, the champion of orthodoxy against Gnostic heresy, and the mediator between the Eastern and Western Churches. He united a learned Greek education and philosophical penetration with practical wisdom and moderation. He is neither very original nor brilliant but eminently sound and judicious. His individuality is not strongly marked, but almost lost in his catholicity. He modestly disclaims elegance and eloquence, and says that he had to struggle in his daily administrations with the barbarous Celtic dialect of Southern Gaul; but he nevertheless handles the Greek with great skill on the most abtruse subjects. He is familiar with Greek poets (Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, Sophocles) and philosophers (Thales, Pythagoras, Plato), whom he occasionally cites. He is perfectly at home on the Greek Bible and

[1] *Essay on Supernatural Religion*, p. 141.

in the early Christian writers as Clement of Rome, Polycarp, Papias, Ignatius, Hermas, Justin M., and Tatian. His position gives him additional weight, for he is linked by two long lives, that of his teacher and grand-teacher, to the fountain head of Christianity. We plainly trace in him the influence of the spirit of Polycarp and John.[1]

Canon Bright bears still stronger testimony to the Saint's calm judgment and untiring devotion to study:—

"Irenæus is one of those characters in the ante-Nicene period which it is eminently worth while to contemplate. 'Probably the most learned Christian of his time,' says Bishop Lightfoot; a careful student—so he describes himself—of 'the commentaries of the Valentinians,' who also took pains to ascertain their views by personal intercourse and 'frequent discussion,' and even thought it worth his while to make a 'collection of the writings' of the Cainites, the extremest sect of anti-Judaic Gnosticism. This conscientiousness in preparation for controversy is of a piece with other admirable points in the character and disposition of him whom Eusebius admires as verifying his own name of 'Peacemaker,' whom modern writers have justly eulogised as a combiner of diverse elements in the Church of his own time. He was 'of a temper essentially moderate, conciliatory, harmonising;' so says De Pressensé, although regarding him as rather too much of an ecclesiastic. . . . It is opportune to remember Dorner's words about him: 'No one in the second century represents as he does the purity and the fulness of the development within the Church;' or as an English writer dear to memory has expressed it, he 'is the star of that happy generation which could refer to the fountain-head through a stream whose course was equally short and pure.'"[2]

Lipsius has a long article on St. Irenæus in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*. I have already quoted from it an unexpected admission of the Saint's belief in the Real Presence. He calls him a "striking polemic," and makes a most searching analysis of his works. There is not a word uncomplimentary to the character of St. Irenæus to be found in the whole article, and such of you as may have the opportunity of reading it should not fail to do so.

St. Irenæus as witness for the Canon of the N. Test. —I shall ask your most careful attention to the testimony of those who go to Irenæus for proof of the inspiration of the New Testament. We shall begin with Sanday, who, we have been reminded, is a scholar amongst great

[1] *Ante-Nicene Ch. Hist.*, Vol. ii., pp. 750-1.

[2] *Waymarks*, pp. 30-1.

scholars: he is, in fact, "the younger Lightfoot"; and just because he is so great a scholar does he feel indignant when the early Fathers are referred to in terms of derision. Dr. Rentoul would do well to ponder on these words—

"It is difficult," says Sanday, "to read without impatience the rough words that are applied to the early Christian writers and to contrast the self-complacency in which our superior knowledge is surveyed. If there is something in which they are behind us, there is much also in which we are behind them."[1]

Such is Sanday's opinion of St. Irenæus that he is willing to stake the fact of the inspiration of St. John's Gospel on the consistency of his testimony and that of Tertullian with the evidence of the later manuscripts. He writes as follows:—

"I will only venture to repeat the statement which I made at starting: that if the whole of the Christian literature for the first three quarters of the second century could be blotted out, and Irenæus and Tertullian alone remained, as well as the later manuscripts with which to compare them, there would still be ample proof that the latest of our Gospels cannot overstep the bounds of the first century."[2]

After having given a very interesting and eulogistic biographical notice of the Saint, Salmon throws out this challenge:—

Test by the evidence of this witness the theory of some, that St. John's Gospel made its first appearance about the year 150 or 160. Is it credible that, if so, Irenæus could have accepted a forgery of which, according to the hypothesis, his master, Polycarp, had never told him a word? For Polycarp, who, as I said just now, used to repeat from memory the discourses which he had heard from John, could not have been silent about a work which, if genuine, would be St. John's most precious legacy to the Church; and so the fact that this Gospel had not been mentioned by Polycarp would convince Irenæus that it was an audacious imposture. And again, it is impossible that Polycarp could have accepted as genuine a work of which he never heard his master, John, speak. There are, in short, three links in the chain—St. John, Polycarp, Irenæus; and I do not see how it is possible to dissever any one of them from the other two.'[3]

There is just one more quotation, and it is of the highest value. I would ask you to bear in mind the words I am about to quote from Dr. Westcott, Anglican Bishop of Durham. His testimony will be useful when we come to

[1] *The Gospels in the Second Century*, p. 345. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 343.
[3] *Introd. N. Test.*, pp. 34-5.

deal with the Clementine Romance theory as to the origin of the Roman Primacy.

Like Salmon, Westcott finds in Irenæus his chief witness, in the second century, to the Canon of the New Testament.

"Before dismissing the Canon of the acknowledged books," he writes, "it will be well to revert once again at greater length to the manner in which it is recognised by Irenæus and his contemporaries. . . . In the same Church where Irenæus was a presbyter 'zealous for the covenant of Christ,' Pothinus was bishop, already ninety years old. Like Polycarp he was associated with the generation of St. John, and must have been born before the books of the New Testament were all written. And how then can it be supposed with reason that forgeries came into use in his time which he must have been able to detect by his own knowledge? that they were received without suspicion or reserve in the Church over which he presided? that they were upheld by his hearers as the ancient heritage of Christians? It is possible to weaken the connexion of the facts by arbitrary hypotheses, but interpreted according to their natural meaning they tell of a Church united by its head with the times of St. John, to which the books of the New Testament, and the books of St. John above all others, furnished the unaffected language of hope and resignation and triumph. And the testimony of Irenæus is the testimony of this Church. Nor was this the only point in which he came in contact with the immediate disciples of the Apostles. It has been seen already that he recalled in his old age the teaching of Polycarp, the disciple of St. John; and his *Treatise Against Heresies* contains several references to others who were closely connected with the Apostolic age. *He stood forth to maintain no novelties, but to vindicate what had been believed of old.* Those whom he quoted had borne witness to the New Testament Scriptures, and he only continued on a greater scale the usage which they had recognised. When he wished to win back Florinus, once his fellow-disciple, to the truth, he reminded him of the zeal and doctrine of Polycarp, their common master, and how he spake of Christ's teaching and mighty works from the words of those who followed Him 'in all things harmoniously with the Scriptures.' And is it then possible that he who was taught of Polycarp was himself deceived as to the genuine writings of St. John? Is it possible that he decided otherwise than his first master, when he speaks of the tradition of the Apostles by which the Canon of Scripture was determined? He appeals to the known succession of teachers in the Churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, who held fast up to his own time the doctrine which they had received from the first age; and is it possible that he used writings as genuine and authoritative which were not recognised by those who must have had unquestionable means of deciding on their Apostolic origin?"[1] (The italics are mine.)

Treating of the evidence of Irenæus, Tertullian, and Clement of Alexandria, to the Canon of the New Testament, the Anglican Bishop of Durham emphasises the fact

[1] *Can. N. Test.*, pp. 338, 340, 341.

that their evidence was uncontroverted, and was, therefore, uncontrovertible.

"All the Fathers at the close of the second century agree in appealing to the testimony of antiquity as proving the authenticity of the books which they used as Christian Scriptures. *And the appeal was made at a time when it was easy to try its worth. The links which connected them with the Apostolic age were few and known; and if they had not been continuous it would have been easy to expose the break. But their appeal was never gainsaid;* and it still remains as a sure proof that no chasm separates the old and the new in the history of Christianity. Those great teachers are themselves an embodiment of the unity and progress of the faith."[1]

The words emphasised by me supply an unanswerable argument against the Clementine Romance theorists. St. Irenæus testified to the Roman Succession, as well as to the Canon of the New Testament, at a time when it was easy to test the worth of his statements. There must have been some then living who had intimately known persons who had seen St. Peter, or had lived in his time. But no one gainsaid St. Irenæus' testimony.

St. Irenæus re-examined on the Primacy.—And now I come to the classic passage of St. Irenæus, with regard to which Dr. Rentoul has brought a charge against me of mistranslation. I have dealt so fully with this passage in my second lecture on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff that I should, perhaps, apologise for referring to it again. In my desire to be impartial, I translated the words *convenire ad hanc ecclesiam* as meaning *to agree with this Church*, or *to resort to this Church*, provided it were understood that it was *all churches* that must have recourse to *the Church at Rome*. I use, and I still use, the two translations[2] indiscriminately, for they mean practically the same thing when it is to the *Church at Rome*, and not *to the city of Rome*, that *all churches* must resort. I quoted non-Catholic authorities of the highest eminence in favour of

[1] *Can. N. Test.*, p. 347.

[2] The reader can see from the citations that follow how varied as regards the words, while substantially agreeing in sense, are the translations of this famous passage. Ten scholars, working separately, may translate an elaborate passage of Virgil in as many different ways and each may be a good translation.

the Catholic interpretation of the words. I now quote three others, of whom the first is Harnack.

"St. Irenæus," he says, "must have intended to say that, as a matter of fact within his ken, the faith of the Roman community was held to be the decisive rule, and that many communities had recourse to Rome to obtain recognition."[1]

Dr. Davidson, a learned Protestant writer, renders the passage thus:—

"With this Church, on account of its pre-eminence, it is necessary that every church should agree, because in it has been preserved the tradition received from the Apostles."[2]

The Professor of Ormond will not accept the evidence of "High-church Blunt," though I do not see why High-church testimony should not be, any day, quite as trustworthy as Presbyterian, or No-church testimony. Here, however, is *Low-church* Blunt's interpretation of St. Irenæus:—

"Irenæus says that certainly 'considering how chief and principal a Church it is, all churches, *i.e.*, all faithful people, everywhere must be found in sentiment conformable to it, seeing that in it is preserved that Apostolical tradition which has obtained always and in all places."[3]

In a footnote[4] the writer vainly tries to weaken the force of the admission which he is constrained to make. He feels that something must be said to soften the unquestionable Romanism of St. Irenæus, and appeals to the Greek which is lost, against the Latin which has been preserved, and with which alone he could be concerned. He says:—

"The translation here given from the Latin, which is all we have, may *seem* to favour the Church of Rome in a manner which the Greek, very probably, had that been preserved to us, would not have even so much as seemed to do."

Dr. Rentoul is pleased to say that "the only excuse" he "can see for this strange translation, viz., to make *convenire ad* mean 'to agree with,' is that 'the Protestant translators' in Clark's series so render it." Can he be serious when he

[1] Quoted by Dom Gasquet, *D. Rev.*, January, 1888.

[2] *Sacred Hermeneutics*, p. 86.

[3] *Right Use of Early Fathers*, pp. 45-46. [4] P. 46.

writes thus? Is not Salmaise one of the greatest authorities Calvinism can boast of, and did I not quote this writer as admitting that the words *ad hanc convenire ecclesiam* are a Græcism for *cum hâc convenire ecclesiâ?* And, as quoted by me, does not this writer explain the words as meaning *"to agree with and be of one mind in matters of faith and teaching with the Roman Church"?*[1]

I also quoted the authority of Giesler in favour of my interpretation, and to the names I have already given I may add those of Thiersch and Stieren, who admit that the words *convenire ad hanc ecclesiam* refer to *doctrinal* concurrence or agreement with the Church of Rome.[2]

The meaning of the word *undique* is settled by the text itself, for the words *"qui sunt undique fideles"* are clearly equivalent to *"omnem ecclesiam;"* and *"omnem ecclesiam"* can mean nothing else than *every Church throughout the whole world,* for in the very same chapter in which these words occur St. Irenæus previously uses the expressions *"in omni ecclesiâ," "in toto mundo," "omnium ecclesiarum."* Besides, he is throughout speaking of the Church *"quæ est universa, unam et eandem fidem habens in universo mundo"—i.e.,* of the Church which is universal, having one and the same faith throughout the whole world.[3]

An unworthy insinuation answered.—But Dr. Rentoul charges me with having done something worse than mistranslating. He charges me with having deliberately attributed to Canon Bright an opinion which, as held by others, he had emphatically condemned. Here is the charge which is made against me, and you will, I am sure, readily admit that the learned Professor could not have made it stronger:—

"To make this matter worse still, Dr. Carr declares—'Thus, to mention a few out of the many distinguished names, Canon Bright,

[1] See *Lectures on Rom. Pont.*, p. 56.

[2] See Schneeman, *St. Iren. Communt.*, Friburg, 1870.

[3] See St. Iren. *Adv. Hæres.*, Lib. i., c. 10, n. 3; iii., c. 12, nn. 7-24; iv., c. 33-35, n. 3, etc.

Regius Professor of Oxford, and Gieseler, admit that the words *convenire ad* mean *to agree with.*'"

"This strange assertion I meet simply by quoting Canon Bright's own words, which affirm the exact opposite:—

"For *convenire ad* would be a strange Latin equivalent for 'agree with.' And, further, *the ensuing words would have lost their point* if 'agreement with the Roman Church' had been the idea."

"What are we to say regarding these assertions of Archbishop Carr?"[1]

As people read this indictment in Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet they may well wonder what answer it is possible for me to make. According to Dr. Rentoul, I have deliberately misrepresented Canon Bright by making him responsible for an opinion which he repudiates. Well, adopting the words of the learned Professor, I reply:— "This strange assertion I meet simply by quoting Canon Bright's own words, which affirm the exact opposite." Bright has written more than one work. His book entitled *The Roman See in the Early Church,* from which Dr. Rentoul quotes, had not reached me, nor, as I believe, had it reached Melbourne at the time of my lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. I gave a reference then, not to the *Roman See,* but to the *Roman Claims Vindicated by Antiquity,* and I must hold Dr. Rentoul utterly inexcusable that, before making so dishonouring a charge against me, he did not feel bound by every obligation of justice, as well as of honour, to examine for himself the reference which I had most precisely given. Had he done so he would have found that these words were written by Canon Bright:—

"Thus the Roman Church was a typical Church—a leading Church, in fact—the first Church in rank and influence. This sort of 'primacy,' involving a moral guarantee of its soundness of belief, may be that '*principalitas*' which led St. Irenæus to say that 'every Church' that was itself true to Apostolic tradition '*must needs agree with it;*' so that it was a sample Church, a miniature of the whole body, and by referring to it one could see what was held by all."[2] (The italics are mine)

[1] *Early Church*, p. 154.

[2] "*The Roman Claims Tested by Antiquity*, by William Bright, D.D., Canon of Christ Church, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. London: Published at the English Church Union Office, 35 Wellington-street, Strand, W.C." P. 8.

I was strictly accurate, therefore, in my statement that Canon Bright had admitted that *convenire ad* meant *to agree with*. The writer has since changed his opinion without giving the slightest intimation that he had at one time contended for what he now repudiates. As a matter of fact, the pamphlet containing his former opinion is still in print, and can be easily obtained.[1] What are we to say then, regarding Dr. Rentoul's dishonouring insinuations?

Was Lightfoot misquoted?—Dr. Rentoul charges me with having misquoted Lightfoot. That you may be able to appreciate the full value of this charge, I place his accusation and my statement, with Lightfoot's actual words, in parallel columns.

DR. RENTOUL'S VERSION OF MY STATEMENT.

"Amongst Anglican writers, however, Bishop Lightfoot is a remarkable exception, and I gladly acknowledge the fact. Though his conclusions are sometimes in strange conflict with his premises, still he never suppresses any important fact connected with his subject. For instance, *he admits that all authorities 'are agreed as to the authenticity of St. Irenæus' enumeration of the Bishops of Rome, which includes St. Peter, and he admits, also, that there could be no accidental tripping,'* because St. Irenæus gives the enumeration in the very next chapter to that in which he had given the list of the *successors* of the Apostles in the See of Rome. But *for no other reason, apparently, than that such an enumeration does not harmonise with his own theory, he* (Lightfoot) *coolly says that he believes St. Irenæus was mistaken."* (Lect. V., p. 169-170.)

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To this I appended the following note:—Read Dr. Lightfoot fully on the Early Roman Succession. *(Clem. Rom.*, pp. 201-345. *Primacy of the Roman Pontiff*, pp. 169-70.)

[1] I may state that a friend of mine in London sent me a copy of the pamphlet, which he purchased some weeks ago. He informs me that it is easily procurable, as it is still freely sold.

DR. RENTOUL ON LIGHTFOOT.

"In a footnote Lightfoot points out that, as to 'the two places' in which Irenæus seems to contradict his own list, beginning as it does with Linus, and excluding Peter and Paul, there is a confusion of the text.

"At the risk of weariness I have been at pains to set out this matter in full. It illustrates the value of Archbishop Carr's charges against Salmon and other Protestant scholars, and the worth to be attached to his 'quotations' throughout. Just let us look at this one instance for a moment. He asserts that according to Lightfoot 'all authorities are agreed as to the authenticity of St. Irenæus' enumeration of the Bishops of Rome, which *includes* St. Peter.' But what Lightfoot says is, that Irenæus' list *excludes 'the Apostolic founders,'* that is, both Peter and Paul, and *'begins with Linus';* and that in another passage of Irenæus (Hær. i., 27, 1) there is a reading describing Hyginus as *ninth* bishop, and this word *ninth* is confirmed by the later 'fathers,' Cyprian, Eusebius, and Epiphanius ('all the authorities' as to these singular Irenæan 'lists' of early Roman bishops). I will here turn to Irenæus and quote the passage. 'Cerdon was one who took his system from the followers of Simon (Magus) and came to live at Rome in the time of Hyginus, who held the ninth place in the episcopal succession from the Apostles down.' (Iren., Hær. i., 27, 1.)

"It does not say a word about Peter or his inclusion in the list of bishops. And Lightfoot further points out that the word *'ninth'* must be a mistake, because in the other passage the Latin text of Irenæus calls Hyginus the *eighth,* thus showing that Peter was not counted 'bishop' of Rome.

LIGHTFOOT'S STATEMENT.

"But in two other places (Hær. i., 27, 1, iii., 4, 3), speaking of Cerdon, he says that this heretic appeared in Rome in the time of Hyginus, whom he describes as 'the ninth in the episcopal succession from the Apostles' (*ἔνατον κλῆρον τῆς ἐπισκοπικῆς διαδοχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων ἔχοντος*), 'the ninth bishop' (*ὃς ἦν ἔνατος ἐπίσκοπος*). Here, therefore, if the readings be correct, either the Apostolic founder or founders must have been included in the enumeration, so that Linus would be the second bishop, or there must be some accidental tripping in the number. In either case, Irenæus is probably copying from some earlier writer, such as Justin Martyr or Hegesippus. At all events, we can hardly suppose him to have deliberately adopted a different enumeration in the second of these passages, which occurs only a chapter later than his own complete catalogue of the Roman bishops. An alternative remains, that the catalogue which he followed in these passages made two persons, Cletus and Anencletus, out of one; but this solution seems quite untenable, since no traces of this duplication are found till considerably more than a century and a half after his time, and it never appears in Greek writers."

And on all this there is a note which I subjoin.

"In the first passage (i., 27, 1) the text of the old Latin translator has 'nonum,' and this reading is confirmed by Cyprian (Epist. 74, ed. Hartel) and Eusebius (H. E. iv., 11), as well as by Epiphanius (Hær. xli., 1). Here, then, all the authorities are agreed. In the second passage (iii., 4, 3) the Greek is preserved only in Eusebius,

"Then, further, Archbishop Carr actually asserts that Lightfoot 'admits there could be no accidental tripping.' But what Lightfoot says is, *'or there must be some accidental tripping.'* Again, Archbishop Carr asserts —'Lightfoot coolly says that he believes St. Irenæus was mistaken,' and 'for no other reason than that such an enumeration does not harmonise with his own theory.' But, as an actual fact, Lightfoot says—and his reason is *solid grounds of textual criticism* —that the text of Irenæus has been tampered with or emended 'so as to include the episcopate of Peter.'". *(Early Church,* pp. 33-5.)

who has ἔνατος, but the Latin translation of Irenæus has 'octavus.' I am disposed to think that in both passages—in the latter certainly—the 'ninth' was a later emendation, so as to include the episcopate of Peter." (*Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., 204-5.)

Tampering with quotations.—Here it will be observed that Dr. Rentoul makes me attribute to Dr. Lightfoot the words within the inverted commas, beginning with "are agreed," and ending with "accidental tripping," whereas the only words I attributed to Lightfoot, as a glance at the text will show, were "accidental tripping" and "all authorities," words which are found in Dr. Lightfoot's text. If these misquotations within inverted commas were not so frequent in Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet I should be willing to attribute them to mistakes in printing. But as they occur here and elsewhere in connection with grave charges of misquotation, it is difficult to believe that the eagerness for some proof did not unconsciously prompt them.

It will also be observed that, on the following page (34), Dr. Rentoul, while professing to give my exact words, omits the word *"apparently"* which qualifies the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs.

Again, as will be seen (1) Dr. Rentoul, in his version of Lightfoot, breaks off his quotation at a point which leaves the sense of the whole passage quite incomplete. For instance, he omits all reference to the alternative, viz., that Cletus and Anencletus may have been mistaken for two

different persons—an "accidental tripping" which Dr. Lightfoot rejects.

(2.) In his comment on Dr. Lightfoot's note he converts *"I am disposed to think,"* into *"must be"* a mistake.

(3). He changes "I am disposed to think that in both passages—in the latter certainly—the 'ninth' was a later emendation" into "But, as an actual fact Lightfoot says—and his reason is *solid grounds of textual criticism*—that the text of Irenæus has been tampered with or amended."

(4.) He states that what Lightfoot says is that Irenæus' list *excludes* the *Apostolic founders* from the list of Roman bishops. But what Lightfoot really says is that Irenæus' list "*separates* the Apostolic founders of the Roman Church from the bishops, and begins the numbering of the latter with Linus." But though Irenæus' *list* thus excludes the other Roman bishops from being Apostolic founders, it does not exclude the Apostolic founders from being Roman bishops. Again, Lightfoot expressly says that Irenæus' *enumeration*, making Hyginus "*ninth*," would, if there be no accidental tripping about the number, make Linus *second bishop*, and, consequently, *include* the Apostolic founder or founders amongst the Roman bishops. And Lightfoot *does* say, as stated by me, notwithstanding Dr. Rentoul's denial, that all the authorities are agreed as to the authenticity of St. Irenæus' enumeration of the bishops of Rome, which includes St. Peter. Here are his words contained in a note which Dr. Rentoul, indeed, gives, but the force of which he entirely ignores when charging me with misquoting Lightfoot. Speaking of the first passage, in which Hyginus is enumerated as *ninth*, Lightfoot says:—"In the first passage (i., 27, I.) the text of the old Latin translation has *nonum* (ninth), and this reading is confirmed by Cyprian and Eusebius, as well as by Epiphanius. *Here, then, all the authorities are agreed.*" But if all the authorities are agreed about the *nonum* or ninth place for Hyginus, then, in Lightfoot's own words, "the Apostolic founder or founders must

have been included in the enumeration, so that Linus would be the *second bishop*." Is not this the precise statement I attributed to Lightfoot?

I may here, incidentally, observe that the Professor of Ormond has reminded us that the original Greek of St. Irenæus, having mainly perished, "it is represented to us by a Latin text, into which, of course, very many corruptions may have been introduced."[1] In the present case, however, we need not trouble about the Latin text, excellent or otherwise though it may be, since, fortunately, the Greek original of the passage in question has been preserved.

(5.) Dr. Rentoul complains that I attribute to Lightfoot the admission that there could be no accidental tripping in the enumeration of Irenæus. One, and only one, cause, as far as I can see, of accidental tripping in regard to the number *nine* is suggested by Lightfoot, namely, the doubling of the name of Cletus. But he rejects it on the ground that no traces of this duplication appear till considerably more than a century and a half after Irenæus' time, and it never appears in Greek writers. Hence there could be, in Lightfoot's opinion, no accidental tripping as to the number. His own words are decisive on the point. He tells us he is disposed to think "the 'ninth' was a later emendation, so as to include the Episcopate of Peter."

(6.) Dr. Rentoul represents Lightfoot as pointing out that the word 'ninth' must be a mistake, *because*, in the other passage, the Latin text of Irenæus calls Hyginus the eighth." I have emphasised the word "because," as, by using it, our Professor makes Lightfoot responsible for a statement which that great scholar was careful not to make. Lightfoot simply says—"But the Latin translation of Irenæus has 'octavus.' " He does *not* say what influence this fact had on his judgment as to the correctness or otherwise of the reading, "ninth." (*Iren. Hær. I.*, 27, i.). Not only this, but he absolutely gives no reason why he is

[1] *Early Church*, p. 150.

"disposed to think" that the "ninth" in this passage was a later emendation. I was, therefore, fully justified in saying that apparently it was undue predilection for a theory—and not "solid grounds of textual criticism"—which led Dr. Lightfoot to reject a reading on which "all the authorities" are confessedly agreed.

St. Irenæus and the Paschal Controversy.—I have, on a former occasion, dealt so fully with the relations of Pope St. Victor to St. Irenæus and the Asiatic bishops on the Paschal question, that the only reason I can have for touching on the subject again is to emphasise Dr. Rentoul's manifest confusion of thought in reference to it.

"The oddest thing of all," says our learned Professor, "is, that Polycrates [Bishop of Ephesus] is quite ignorant of any Romish notion about Peter being the head of the Apostles, or about the Bishops of Rome being his successors."[1]

Would Dr. Rentoul, then, explain why it was that this same Polycrates, to whom, as metropolitan, Victor wrote, convened the Asiatic bishops in council as soon as he had received the order from Rome to do so? Will he also give something in the shape of an intelligent answer to Harnack, who asks this common-sense question:—

"How could Victor have ventured on such an edict (to declare that any Church which did not adopt the Roman method was excluded as heretical from the communion of the one Church)[2] . . . if it was not already established and recognised that it belonged to the Roman Church, as its distinctive prerogative, to determine the conditions of the κοινὴ ἕνωσις, when essential doctrines of the faith were concerned.[3]

Dr. Rentoul does not seem to have made up his mind as to the importance of the question involved in the Paschal controversy. In pages 144-6 he evidently deems it a question of essential doctrine. He there quotes Polycrates approvingly, for having told Victor "that the Roman

[1] *Early Church*, p. 145.

[2] The words in brackets are Harnack's, taken from the preceding sentence.

[3] *Dogmen*, Vol. i., p. 368. The Catholic answer would be that the powers, which Pope Victor exercised, existed from the first and are recognisable in Pope Clement. They were kept in abeyance until such time as they were needed. When the question of Unity arose in a pressing form there was no lack of self-assertion.

observance was *not* the observance of the Apostles; not that of the Apostle Philip; not that of the Apostle John; not that of the Holy Spirit who guided the noblest martyrs; not that of '*the rule of faith*;'" and that "we must obey God rather than man." These words of Polycrates "are noble in their dignity and firmness." "He flung at him [Victor] not only the names of the Apostles Philip and John, but especially the 'Holy Scripture.'" And, following Polycrates, Irenæus comes upon the scene, and he, "the most learned bishop and Saint of the West," tells Victor, "who, according to the modern Romanish creed, *is infallible in pronouncing doctrine*," that "his *teaching* and pronouncement are wrong, and contrary to the Apostles."[1] Now all this can only mean that the controversy regarded an essential doctrine of faith; that Polycrates was the uncompromising defender of orthodoxy; and that Victor had fallen into doctrinal error.

But, curiously enough, Dr. Rentoul tells us in these same pages that Irenæus was only making a stand against "an iron uniformity and a centralised authority;" and "that there are certain things on which difference should be allowed, and that the faith is better for want of uniformity in these indifferent matters." I say nothing of Dr. Rentoul's extraordinary paraphrase of St. Irenæus' letter, and only note his admission that "Irenæus was willing for himself to observe the Roman and Western mode." So that, after all, it was a question of *discipline, not of doctrine,* and it was within the right of St. Irenæus, as it is within the right of any bishop, to plead that there was no matter of faith involved, and to becomingly warn the Pope of dangers that might arise from the enforcement of his authority.

St. Irenæus' Lists of Roman Bishops.—Dr. Rentoul clearly realises the significance of St. Irenæus' second enumeration of the Roman bishops, and he takes care to make no reference to it in the tabulated statement which

[1] *Early Church*, p. 146. (The italics are mine.)

he designates "a synopsis of the 'lists' [of Roman bishops] in simplest condensed form." But he is not content with omitting the enumeration; he seriously misrepresents St. Irenæus' reference to the succession of bishops in the Roman Church.

"Irenæus of Gaul, near to the same date [as Tertullian]," he writes, "says that Peter and Paul preached, and founded the Church, at Rome, and then those blessed Apostles entrusted the ministration of the Church to *Linus* (Hær. iii., 3, 2, 3, and Lightfoot, Clem., vol. ii., 495; vol. i., pp. 63-64)."[1]

Again the quotation is inaccurately made. The Saint does not say that the Apostles "entrusted the ministration of the Church to Linus," but that they "entrusted (or, to speak more accurately, handed over, ἐνεχείρισαν,) the ministration (or office) of the *episcopate* to Linus." At first sight it would seem that the learned Professor's misrepresentation was but accidental, for, in the next page (85) he mentions St. Irenæus as the authority for the statement that "both Peter and Paul entrusted the episcopate to Linus." On coming, however, to page 146, I regret to say that no such allowance can possibly be made, for here Dr. Rentoul clearly implies that St. Irenæus did not recognise Linus as a bishop, properly so called, but that, in point of fact, he regarded him as holding merely the office of presbyter. Having given the following quotation from the Saint's letter to Pope Victor—*"The presbyters before Soter, who presided over the Church which now thou rulest.* We mean Anicetus, and Pius, and Hyginus, and Telesphorus, and Xystus"—Dr. Rentoul makes this astounding remark —"Yes, *that* is significant. It is a clear reminiscence of the time when it was *Presbyters who presided over the Church of Rome.*"

Comment on these words is unnecessary. If language has any meaning, Dr. Rentoul distinctly represents Irenæus as teaching that Anicetus, Pius, Hyginus, Telesphorus, Xystus, and *a fortiori*, their predecessors, Linus included,

[1] P. 84.

were not entrusted with the office of the episcopate as distinct from the presbyterate. Now, if Dr. Rentoul is qualified to speak on this subject at all, he cannot be ignorant of the fact that, to repeat the words of Lightfoot already quoted by me, "the episcopate, as distinct from the presbyterate, is the only episcopate which comes within the range, not only of his [Irenæus'] personal acquaintance, but even of his intellectual and historical cognisance;" that Irenæus "always employs *episkopos* with precision of the episcopal office alone;" that the word "*presbuteros* has [in him] a very wide significance, being used of antiquity, or of old age, as well as of office"; and that it "expresses venerable dignity such as is accorded to those who are depositaries of the wisdom of the past."[1]

As an illustration of this wide significance, let me quote just this one passage from St. Irenæus:—"We ought to listen to those presbyters in the Church *who have their succession from the Apostles*, as we have shown, who, *together with the succession of the episcopate*, have received the sure gift of the truth, according to the good pleasure of the Father."[2] The presbyters or elders here mentioned are unquestionably bishops in the full sense of the term. It is difficult, then, to fitly characterise Dr. Rentoul's gross misrepresentation of St. Irenæus, and, if he knew his audience, he paid a very poor compliment to their intelligence when he asked them to accept, as the genuine teaching of the great Bishop of Lyons, that Linus, Anicetus, etc., were not entrusted with the episcopate, properly so called, but with a merely presbyterian ministration.

I should be sorry to do the learned Professor an injustice. He is anxious not to misrepresent St. Irenæus, and in disputed passages he has "taken care to give the translation of another, so that no charge of bias can be made."[3]

[1] See *S. Ign., S. Polyc.*, Vol. i., p. 392; *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. ii., p. 435.

[2] *Hær.*, iv., 26, 2. See *SS. Ign. Polyc.*, Vol. i., p. 393.

[3] *Early Church*, p. 150.

In illustration of this care, he quotes the translation of the American Protestant Bishop, Coxe, "whose special labours on Irenæus make his opinion," he assures us, "of great value."[1] It would not be easy, however, to find a writer more bitterly opposed to the Catholic Church than Bishop Coxe, whose unreasoning prejudice frequently causes him to make utter nonsense of the words of St. Irenæus.

The List of Hegesippus.—Dr. Rentoul's "utter defiance of historic reality" is specially conspicuous in his "lists" [of Roman Bishops] "in simplest, condensed form." Take his "list" of St. Irenæus. It completely ignores the two-fold enumeration in which, by making Hyginus the *ninth* bishop of Rome, the Saint unquestionably makes Peter the *first* bishop of that See. The Professor of Ormond brings the Irenæan "list" to a close with "Euarestus," and sub-joins this explanatory paragraph:—

"Linus, appointed by the Apostles, Peter and Paul, supposed to rest on a lost writing of Hegesippus."

Lightfoot, no doubt, maintains that Irenæus followed the list of Hegesippus, but Döllinger stoutly denies this. Irenæus, says the latter, "certainly did not know Hegesippus' book, or he would have appealed to it against the heretics."[2] But as Dr. Rentoul evidently follows Lightfoot, he should have informed his hearers that, according to the learned Anglican bishop, the list of Hegesippus is no other than that given by Epiphanius, who writes thus: —"Howbeit the succession of the *bishops* in Rome is as follows:—*Peter and Paul*, Linus and Cletus, Clement, Euarestus, Alexander, Xystus, Telesphorus, Pius, Anicetus."[3]

Dr. Rentoul admits that the list of St. Irenæus is "supposed to rest on a lost writing of Hegesippus," and, as he himself has introduced the name of the latter, he cannot put his evidence entirely aside when he is dealing with the

[1] *Early Church*, p. 197. [2] *First Age of the Church*, Vol. ii., p. 150.
[3] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 329.

"earlier Fathers'" testimony regarding the question of St. Peter's Roman Episcopate. If Dr. Lightfoot's opinion is correct, then Hegesippus makes Peter and Paul *bishops*, as well as *founders*, of the Roman Church. Dr. Rentoul gives the following list as St. Jerome's:—"1. Peter (Bishop 25 years, A.D. 42-67!). 2. Linus. 3. Anacletus. 4. Clement." And he tells us "Jerome gives the list in the 'Irenæan' way."[1] We have his own distinct admission, then, that St. Irenæus reckons St. Peter as first bishop of Rome. Hippolytus, too, is one of the "earlier Fathers" who, according to Dr. Rentoul, never speak of Peter or Paul as bishops. But Hippolytus "counts Peter as first bishop of Rome."[2]

Tertullian's List.—Dr. Rentoul's "list" of Tertullian is, however, an improvement on his Irenæan "list":—

> "As to the so-called early 'bishops' themselves," he writes, "Tertullian of Rome and Carthage, in the close of the second century, *presents* Clement as first bishop of Rome, declaring that he was ordained by Peter."[3]

This "statement" of Tertullian is dubbed a "stark Roman contradiction" of Irenæus, who, we are told, makes Linus first bishop of Rome. "Stark contradiction" there undoubtedly would be if Dr. Rentoul's statements were correct. But, it is one more case of mistaken interpretation. Tertullian nowhere "presents Clement as first bishop of Rome." What he really does say is that the Church of the Romans relates that Clement was ordained [*i.e.*, consecrated] by Peter.[4]

This statement by itself, as is evident, does not claim for Clement a priority of succession to the Roman See. Occasionally there have been in a particular diocese, at the same time, auxiliary bishops who were consecrated by the prelate in actual charge of the see. If I am not mistaken, the Archdiocese of Westminster, in Cardinal Manning's time, supplied an illustration in point. Any one of

[1] P. 86. [2] *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Vol. i., p. 577.
[3] P. 84. [4] See *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 160.

these auxiliary bishops, or each in turn, might or might not have succeeded to the bishopric, so that the statement that Clement was ordained by Peter, even though he eventually became Bishop of Rome, would not be proof that he actually became so. St. Epiphanius of the fourth century, speaking, according to Lightfoot, for St. Hegesippus of the second century, tells us that St. Clement was ordained during the life of S.S. Peter and Paul, yet that, nevertheless, he did not succeed to the see till after the deaths of Linus and Cletus, or Anencletus.[1]

Lightfoot declares that Tertullian "presumably regards Clement as the Apostle's [Peter's] next successor in the episcopate."[2] "This position, however," he assures us, "is not assigned to him in any list of the Roman bishops, but only appears in this rather as an isolated statement."[3] If Dr. Rentoul, then, thinks it honest to represent Tertullian's brief reference to the ordination of Clement as a "list of early Roman bishops," he should give the first place to Peter, which he does not do.

St. Jerome's List.—But whilst he may make some kind of defence for his treatment of Tertullian, he cannot easily explain away his misquotation of St. Jerome. Here are Dr. Rentoul's words:—

"1. Clement. Ordained by Peter the Apostle. (So, also, 'most of the Latins.')—Jerome."

St. Jerome was a very voluminous writer, and Dr. Rentoul gives no reference. But I take the words, "most of the Latins" to show that the reference is to the treatise *De Viris illustribus* (15), and if he consults that work he will have to admit that he seriously misrepresents the statement of the illustrious writer. St. Jerome does not say a word about St. Clement having been ordained by Peter. What he does say is that "very many of the Latins think that Clement was the second [bishop of Rome] after Peter." I

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 329. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 344. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 64.

give the Saint's own words, however, so that Dr. Rentoul's extraordinary liberties with the text may be more clearly seen:—

"Clemens de quo Apostolus Paulus ad Philippenses scribens ait cum Clemente et ceteris co-operatoribus meis quorum nomina scripta sunt in libro vitæ, quartus post Petrum Romæ episcopus, si quidem secundus Linus fuit, tertius Anacletus, tametsi plerique Latinorum secundum post apostolum Petrum putent fuisse Clementem."[1]

There is not the slightest reference here to St. Clement's ordination by Peter. "But," we are told, "Jerome has not forgotten that Tertullian spoke of Clement as immediate successor of Peter,"[2] and, in support of this assertion, we are referred to "*De Vir. Illust.*, i., 15 (cf. Bright, p. 15)." I have consulted the authorities thus indicated, with the result that I do not find in them the slightest warrant for asserting that Jerome ever knew anything of *Tertullian* having spoken of Clement as immediate successor of Peter. And, what is specially noteworthy, I find Bright emphasising St. Jerome's statement that "*most of the Latins*" believed in St. Peter's Roman episcopate. It is St. Jerome's statement as to the opinion of "most of the Latins" we are dealing with, not the correctness of that opinion. Yet Dr. Rentoul quotes the Saint's unmistakable reference to "most of the Latins" against Peter's episcopate!

The List of Eusebius.—Of the Eusebian list of Roman bishops Dr. Rentoul allows himself to write as follows:—

"The succession in Eusebius is Linus, Anencletus, Clement, etc., thus putting Clement as *third* bishop of Rome, and extirpating poor Cletus altogether. This is supposed by Lightfoot to be the 'traditional' order.'"[3]

As you will observe, there is not the slightest hint given that *Cletus*, who, we are told, is "extirpated" from the Eusebian list, is identical with *Anencletus*, who is found on it. I should insult the learned Professor were I to charge him with ignorance in this matter. His own eminent scholars, Lightfoot, Lipsius, Salmon, Bright, Hort, draw

[1] See *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 173. [2] P. 86. [3] P. 85.

attention to the fact that the names Anencletus, Anacletus, and Cletus, are given by different writers to one and the same individual. Yet, for the sake of discrediting Eusebius' list of Roman bishops, Dr. Rentoul's hearers are distinctly led to understand that Anencletus and Cletus were different persons.

As I have already shown that St. Irenæus, St. Jerome, and Eusebius bear clear testimony to St. Peter's episcopate in Rome,[1] and as against that testimony Dr. Rentoul brings nothing in the shape of argument, or historical facts, that will stand the test of examination, I feel that I may be only wearying your patience in following him further through his "lists" of Roman bishops. Let me give you just one more example. Here is his Eusebian "list":—

"Eusebius (based on Irenæus), Cir. 330-335. 1. Linus. 2. Anencletus. 3. Clement. Places Clement as *third* bishop. Does not count the Apostolic founders. Gives precedence to *Paul* as founder. This appears in two forms: in the Hist. and the Chronicle. The latter appears in three variant shapes—(1) Armenian, (2) Syriac, (3) Jerome"[2]

Now, against Dr. Rentoul's "list" you have these words taken from Eusebius' History:—

"Linus, whom he [St. Paul] has mentioned in his second epistle to Timothy as his companion at Rome, has been before shown to have been the *first, after Peter, that obtained the episcopate at Rome.*"[3]

If there is any purport in language, these words mean that Peter preceded Linus in the Roman episcopate. If, for instance, I say that Lord Rosebery was the first, after Gladstone, that obtained the premiership, my hearers will at once understand that Gladstone preceded Lord Rosebery in the premiership, even though they may have never previously heard that Gladstone had held that office.

In the Armenian version of the Chronicle of Eusebius we meet with this statement:—

"The Apostle Peter, when he had first founded the Church of Antioch, sets out for the city of Rome, and there preaches the Gospel, and stays there *as prelate of the Church* for twenty years."[4]

[1] *The Primacy*, Fifth Lecture, chap. xvii. [2] P. 87.

[3] H. E. B., iii., 2. Trans. Bohn's ed., p. 74. [4] II., 150.

The Syriac version confirms the Armenian. It says that "Peter, after he had established the Church at Antioch, presided over the Church at Rome for twenty years." And though St. Jerome's chronology is different, yet we have his Latin version of Eusebius' *Chronicle* in perfect harmony with the Armenian and Syriac versions as to the fact of Peter's episcopate in Rome. St. Jerome, in his translation, says of Peter, "He is sent to Rome, where, preaching the Gospel for twenty-five years, he perseveres as bishop of the same city."

Rome's unbroken Succession.—But, the learned Professor urges, "a 'chain' of 'infallible,' *inspired*[1] successors of the Apostle Peter, Vicar of Christ, ought to have no uncertainty about its links. *Especially its first links!*"[2] Now, the *first links* bring us back to a period of persecution, when each bishop of Rome held his life in his hands. In a martyr age there is more pressing work to be done than the compilation of ecclesiastical annals. What concern had the early Christians with dates or the order of succession *so long as they themselves at the time* knew who was the rightful occupant of Peter's Chair? An unbroken chain of succession was all that they could be expected to look for, and they knew that they had this unbroken chain. Will Dr. Rentoul point to the page, in an early ecclesiastical writer, where so much as a single question was raised about the absence of, or the uncertainty regarding, any of the *first links* in the chain of the Roman succession? May I ask Dr. Rentoul, does he adopt this line of argument when addressing his students on, say, the genealogies in the Gospels, or on the Resurrection of our Lord? He knows that scoffers at the Christian name urge the "inconstant traditions" against the truth of the Gospel records. His line of argument against the succession in the Roman

1 The italics are mine. Doctor Rentoul, as usual, misrepresents Catholic doctrine.

2 *Early Church*, p. 83.

episcopate, if directed against the truths of Revelation, would strike at the foundations of the Christian faith.

I might, also, ask Dr. Rentoul to name any other bishopric in the whole world which can lay claim to a line of succession so complete as that of Rome. I could quote many authorities, but the Presbyterian historian Schaff will sufficiently testify how complete that succession is. This is what he writes:—

"It must in justice be admitted, however, that the list of Roman bishops has by far the pre-eminence in age, completeness, integrity of succession, consistency of doctrine and policy, above every similar catalogue, not excepting those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople."[1]

Hard Facts for Anti-Romanists—The Clementine Theory fails.—As we have, since the middle of the second century, at any rate, the unquestioning belief of Christendom in Peter's Roman episcopate, and as Dr. Rentoul denies that Peter was ever Bishop of Rome, he is bound to furnish us with *certain* proof that his denial rests on a solid foundation. He makes the writer of the Clementine Romance responsible for Peter's name finding its way into a list of Roman bishops, and for the Roman See being called the Chair of Peter. Here are a few of the serious difficulties with regard to the Clementine Romance theory which he makes no attempt to face.

(1.) **Date of the Romance.**—According to Lipsius, the Roman Church, so early as A.D. 160, had a catalogue of its bishops, tracing their succession back to the Prince of the Apostles.[2] Now, there is not a particle of evidence that the Clementine Romance, which was of Eastern origin, had been introduced into Rome at this period. As a matter of fact, some of the most eminent scholars mentioned by Dr. Rentoul maintain that it was not even written till long after A.D. 160. Here is Dr. Hort's evidence:—

[1] *Ante-Nic. Christianity*, Vol. i., p. 166.

[2] See *Dict Chr. Biog.*, Vol. i., p. 26; also Schanz, *Chr. Apol.*, Vol. iii., p. 477.

"The much-debated question of the date and origin of the Essene form of Ebionitism, that of the Clementines, cannot be properly examined except in connection with a minute study partly of the extant literature, and still more of the quotations and references in the Fathers. *There is, as far as I can see, nothing whatever to connect it with the Apostolic age, or even the greater part of the second century.* The existing works, the Clementine *Homilies* (extant in Greek), and the *Recognitions* (Latin and partly Syriac only), are apparently independent abridgments, for very different purposes, of a voluminous book, Περίοδοι Πέτρου, which was current *early in the third century. But of earlier (it is said much earlier)* κηρύγματα Πετρου *there is no trace at all*; nor does the borrowing of matter from the *Steps of James* by the Clementine writer afford any evidence that these steps were themselves what we may call Clementine (Ebionite they certainly were); so that the date implied in their presumed use by Hegesippus proves little."[1]

And again he writes:—

"There is, in fact, not a vestige of evidence for either this [the book of Helxai] *or the Clementine Romance before the third century, and it is probably little, if at all, older."*[2]

Biggs, quoted by Bright,[3] holds that the Ebionitish "Homilies" are "a recension of an orthodox work which contained the Clementine legend, and came into existence about A.D. 200." The "Homilies" this writer dates in the fourth century.

This is the initial difficulty. St. Hegesippus came to Rome during the time of Anicetus (154-166, or 155-167), and, when there, made out a list of Roman bishops, including St. Peter. Unless the Clementine Romance was introduced into Rome before the arrival of Hegesippus, it clearly could not influence him in drawing up his list. No historian says it was in Rome so early. There is not an iota of evidence that Hegesippus had ever heard of it. As a matter of fact he does not follow it in his list of Roman bishops. He makes Clement third bishop after Peter, whereas it makes him first bishop after Peter.

Bright sees the difficulty regarding Tertullian's statement that Clement was ordained (*i.e.*, consecrated) by Peter, and this statement, bear in mind, dates thirty or

1 *Judaistic Christianity*, p. 201.

2 *Ibid.*, p. 202. Some of the italics are mine.

3 *Rom. See*, p. 13.

forty years after the list of Hegesippus. The Romance theory about the origin of the belief in St. Peter's Roman episcopate will not avail unless the Romance itself can be made in some measure responsible for Tertullian's reference to St. Clement's ordination. An effort has to be made, therefore, to connect Tertullian with the fiction.

In the *Church Quarterly*, in which his *"Roman See in the Early Church"* originally appeared, Bright is cautious. In the book itself he musters up courage to suggest that *"some earlier form"* of the Romance *"might* have reached the West *in the latter part* of the second century,"[1] and that the Romance *"might* well have been current *in some 'first draft' of the story."*[2] As the Romance itself could not possibly have been in Rome sufficiently early, then something like it—in fact, *"some first draft"* copy of the story—*"might* have reached the West." The exigencies of controversy must be pressing, indeed, when stuff like this, the pure figment of the writer's imagination, can find its way into a book professing to deal seriously with the facts of sober history.

Still, Canon Bright, as you will observe, is careful not to commit himself absolutely to the nonsensical Clementine Romance theory. *"Might," "could," "may," "perhaps,"* are the strongest words he ventures to use. But the Professor of Ormond is a courageous man. Why should he concern himself about such trifles as historical facts? So he brings his paradoxes to the charge at a dashing gallop, and leaps over every difficulty as to time and place. Absolute assertion is what he believes in. The second century Fathers, he tells us, "testify what is self-evidently ridiculous," and "palpably and provably a legend." In fact, *they made use of a fantastic legend about Peter's journeyings, which had caught hold of the pious imagination, to strengthen their argument for the faith's unity."* "Just now," says our Professor,

[1] *Rom. See*, p. 13. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

"let me put the result as to the Roman visit of Peter *thus*: —*'To all candid students of history the Peter-Paul founding of the Church of Rome is palpably and provably a legend.'*" "And Peter's visit to Rome, *I very much fear*, is a legend also."[1] The allusion "to *all candid students of history*," is rather severe on the eminent Protestant authorities whom I have before quoted. We have got, however, to know what some people mean by "candid students of history," and can let the reference go for what it is worth.

From start to finish Dr. Rentoul keeps ringing the changes on "legend" and "legendary." *Hard words*, he evidently supposes, will pass for argument with his hearers. He forgets that fair-minded men who read his pamphlet will look for *hard facts;* but, as to the Clementine Romance theory regarding St. Peter's Roman episcopate, they will look in vain for facts of any kind that will justify Dr. Rentoul's rhetoric.

(2) **Was Hegesippus deceived?**—Supposing, however, that the Romance did reach Rome before the arrival of St. Hegesippus, there is still a difficulty to be explained. How could what "is palpably and provably a legend" so completely mislead men as to immediately change the faith of Christendom? To begin with St. Hegesippus. Was he a man likely to be deceived? "He was possessed of an inquiring mind, as we have already seen. He travelled much; he endeavoured in the course of his journeys to learn all that he could, both of the past and present state of the churches that he visited. . . . Combine with all this his unpretending and unexaggerated style, and we are entitled to infer that he was very far indeed from being either a hasty observer or a credulous chronicler."[2] This is the testimony of the learned Presbyterian Professor, Dr. Milligan. Hegesippus, it must be remembered, did not go to Rome merely as a tourist. From his own statement he

1 Pp. 81-82. The italics, in the above quotations, are mine.

2 *Dict. Chr. Biog.*, Vol. ii., p. 876.

could not possibly have been there for a shorter period than eight years, and it is not inconsistent with his statement to maintain that he was twenty years in Rome.

He arrived in the time of Anicetus (154-167), and did not leave till after the accession of Eleutherus (A.D. 175) to the Roman See.[1] Lightfoot tells us that "at Corinth, which he (Hegesippus) had visited on his way, he was careful to note how the orthodox doctrine had been transmitted, unimpaired, from the first century to the age of Primus, who was bishop at the time of his visit. *So, in like manner, in Rome he made it his object to ascertain the continuity of the doctrine from the beginning, as a refutation of all religious pretenders. The Roman succession was a guarantee of the unbroken transmission of the original faith.*"[2] The one object, then, of St. Hegesippus was to get at the truth, and in Rome he had special facilities, for there must have been several then living who had conversed with those who had lived in St. Peter's time, and had witnessed his execution. There must, too, have been many actually living at the time who had seen and heard St. Clement. Evidence of this kind, which, *admittedly*, brings us back to the fountain-head, is not to be disposed of by a few rhetorical flourishes.

(3.) **Did the heretics appeal to the Romance?**—We have already heard the unmistakable evidence of Dr. Rentoul's own witnesses as to the character, mental as well as moral, of St. Irenæus. He "was probably the most learned Christian of his time," and "eminently sound and judicious." He "had travelled far and wide," and "was in constant communication with foreign churches on various subjects of ecclesiastical and theological interest." " He is linked by two lives, that of his teacher and grand-teacher, to the fountain-head of Christianity." "*He stood forth to maintain no novelties, but to vindicate what had been believed of*

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 347.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 203. The italics are mine.

old." Contending against the heretics of his day, "he appeals to the *known succession of* teachers in the churches of Rome, Smyrna, and Ephesus, who held fast, up to his own time, the doctrine which they had received from the first age." *"And the appeal was made at a time when it was easy to try its worth. The links which connected them with the apostolic age were few and known; and if they had not been continuous it would have been easy to expose the break."* But Irenæus' *"appeal was never gainsaid."* Not a single person dared to dispute the absolute accuracy of his statement regarding the succession of bishops in the Roman See. Irenæus told the heretics of his day that the unchanged faith of Rome was the standard by which their innovations were to be tested, and that Rome's unbroken succession of bishops from the episcopate of St. Peter was his proof that Rome's faith was unchanged. Yet not one of them ventured the reply that Rome had just completely changed its faith, and that the claim to unbroken succession from the episcopate of Peter was without foundation, and was unknown to their fathers.

(4.) **Was Irenæus deceived by the Romance?**—Again, on Dr. Rentoul's own showing, was not St. Irenæus himself, of all men, the least likely to be silent regarding so momentous a change? Have we not been told that there was "a dash of Protestantism" about "the most learned bishop and Saint of the West," who did not hesitate to tell "startling facts" and deal "a sore blow" to Victor, when, as is admitted, the question at issue was merely one of ecclesiastical discipline?[1] But when the question is one of doctrine, and that, too, of the most far-reaching consequence, St. Irenæus, despite his "dash of Protestantism," is, forsooth, so completely deceived that he stakes his reputation as a Christian apologist on the absolute truth of what we are told was "palpably and provably a legend."

[1] See *Early Church*, p. 146.

Could Irenæus be deceived by what was a transparent fiction? Lightfoot tells us that "we may question whether its author ever intended it to be accepted as a narrative of facts;[1] that "of Rome and of Roman history it betrays gross ignorance," and that "it betrays no knowledge of Rome or the Roman Church."[2]

(5.) **Did Western Christendom protest?**—Once more, according to Dr. Rentoul, "if the Latin [of the well-known passage of St. Irenæus] means anything, it means that, not chiefly by Rome herself, but by the many Christian *strangers* who are always coming to Rome from every Christian Church outside, is preserved the pure Apostolic faith—the faith which is the unity of the Church, 'the tradition of the Apostles manifested throughout the whole world.'"[3] What happened these "many Christian strangers, coming to Rome from every Christian Church outside," that they should have forgotten to tell one another of the daring innovation which taught that the Prince of the Apostles was the first Bishop of Rome, and that the Bishops of Rome were Peter's successors. Why did they not protest against this novel doctrine, or, as Dr. Rentoul elegantly terms it, this "ferocious claim"? Yet there is not in existence a scrap of evidence to show that a single word of protest was raised in any part of the world against Rome's alleged usurpation. The Romance was of purely Eastern origin, as is undisputed. How, then, were the people of Western Christendom so completely befooled?

I have mentioned a few of the many difficulties which the supporters of the Romance theory should set themselves to answer. Dr. Rentoul keeps far away from these difficulties.

[1] *Clem. Rom.*, Vol. i., p. 16. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 56-64.
[3] *Early Church*, p. 152.

CHAPTER XXV.

ST. CYPRIAN CALLS THE ROMAN CHURCH THE CHAIR OF PETER, THE CENTRE OF UNITY, THE ROOT AND MOTHER OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

Regarding the misquotations of St. Cyprian with which Dr. Rentoul charges me, it is sufficient to observe—(1) That the clauses quoted by me are to be found in the standard Benedictine edition of the Saint's works, in the editions of Minutius (1563), Pamelius (1568), Regaltius (1648), and, among other modern editions, in the selected works of St. Cyprian, recently edited by Fr. Hurter. They appear, also, in the Vatican MSS., in a Bavarian MS., and in four ancient English MSS. mentioned by Fell. I may observe, too, that Cruttwell, a recent non-Catholic authority on early Christian literature, quotes the first of these clauses, without the least reference to the fact that its authenticity is disputed.[1]

(2) Again, they are in perfect harmony with St. Cyprian's teaching as it is found in other passages, the authenticity of which no one has ever thought of controverting. I shall put the controverted clauses alongside some passages which have never been disputed, and it will be seen that, doctrinally and almost verbally, they are similar. The clauses within square brackets are those controverted.

Controverted Cyprianic Passages.	Universally Admitted Text of St. Cyprian.
"The Lord said unto Peter, 'Thou art Peter,' etc. [Upon	"Peter, whom the Lord chose as the first, and upon whom He

[1] *Hist. Ear. Christian Lit.*, Vol. ii., p. 607.

him, being one, He builds His Church."] (*De Unit. Eccl.*, n. 4.)

"He who opposes and resists the Church, [and who deserts the Chair of Peter, upon whom the Church was founded], does he trust that he is in the Church?" *(Ibid.)*

built His Church." (Epist. lxxi., n. 3; lxx., Clarke's Edit.)

"There is one God, and one Christ, and there is *one Church*, and one Chair, *founded by the voice of the Lord upon a Rock.* Another altar cannot be constituted, or a new priesthood be made, beside the one altar and the one priesthood. Whosoever gathereth elsewhere scattereth." (Epist. ad Pleb. xl.; xxxix., Clarke.)

"Whither is he to come who thirsts? Shall he come to the heretics where there is no fountain and river of living water at all, or to *the Church which is one, and is founded upon one who has received the keys of it by the Lord's voice?"* (Ep. ad Fab., lxxiii.; Clarke, lxxii.)

"There is *one Church, founded by the Lord upon Peter for the origin and purpose of unity."* (Epist. lxx., n. 3; lxix.)

"The Chair of Peter and the Ruling Church whence the Unity of the priesthood has its source; nor do they consider that they are the same Romans whose faith is praised in the preaching of the Apostles, TO WHOM HERETICAL PERFIDY CANNOT GAIN ACCESS." (Epist. ad Cornel. lv.; liv., Clarke.)

"Cornelius made bishop by the judgment of God and of His Christ . . . *when the place of Fabian, that is, when the place of Peter, and the degree of the sacerdotal throne was vacant."* (Ep. lv.; li., Clarke.)

Writing to Antonianus he says:—

"You wrote, moreover, for me to transmit a copy of those same letters to Cornelius, our colleague, so that he might lay aside all anxiety and know at once that *you held communion with him, that is, with the Catholic Church."* (Ep. lv.; li., Clarke.)

Cyprian assures Pope Cornelius that he had procured a general letter from the African

bishops, "that so they should all decidedly approve of, and maintain, him (Cornelius) and his communion, *that is, the unity as well as the charity of the Catholic Church.*" *"Ut te universi collegæ nostri et communicationem tuam, id est Catholicæ Ecclesiæ unitatem pariter et caritatem, probarent firmiter ac tenerent."* (Epist. xlv.)

The Roman Church the Chair of Peter.—It would be easy to adduce several other passages of a similar purport from St. Cyprian, but these quotations which I have given prove to demonstration that there was no necessity to corrupt the text in the interests of Rome. As will be seen, the doctrines set forth in the alleged interpolations find just as strong, if not stronger, expression in these undeniably authentic passages.

Neander had no bias in favour of the Roman Supremacy, and he admits that one of the clauses said to be interpolated contains nothing that St. Cyprian does not teach in a passage of undisputed genuineness. Using the old Protestant argument, that the spiritual supremacy of Rome is but "a transference" of its political supremacy into the spiritual form, he is constrained to write as follows:—

"In Cyprian we find this transference already complete. In proof of our assertion we will adduce not only the passage in his book, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ* where the reading is disputed, but an uncontroverted passage, ep. 55 ad Cornel., where he styles the Roman Church, the *Petri cathedra, ecclesia principalis, unde unitas sacerdotalis exorta est.*"[1]

And again, with some limitation, he says:—

"Cyprian, as we have already remarked, looked upon the Roman Church as really the Cathedra Petri, and as the representative of the outward unity of the Church."[2]

Dr. Rentoul bewails "the unwelcome fate" that has "familiarised" him with "the drastic distortion of facts to which Roman Catholic advocates have recourse" in their treatment of the early Fathers. The humour of this is

[1] *Hist. Ch.*, Vol. i., pp. 297-8. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 299.

exquisite, for the learned Professor's own treatment of St. Cyprian is a standing argument "of the drastic distortion of facts to which" Protestant "advocates can have recourse" when sorely pressed by patristic testimony.

Let us take a few illustrations. Dr. Rentoul tells us that, "in Cyprian, all the 'bishops' then existing . . . were regarded as recipients . . . of *direct inspiration* by God."[1] In support of this assertion he refers us to Epistle lxvi., as also to "Lightfoot, *Phil.*, p. 240-2." As to Epistle lxvi., there is not a sentence in it to justify Dr. Rentoul's statement. Lightfoot tells us that, according to Cyprian, the bishop "is inspired directly from God." When, however, we consult the references to Cyprian which he gives, we find that though the Saint himself seems to believe that he, personally, had had revelations, he nowhere teaches that bishops, as such, were similarly favoured, much less directly inspired.

Dr. Rentoul does not hesitate to make Cyprian call "the equality of all bishops in the unity of the Church of Christ" "the root and matrix of the Catholic Church."[2] Now the expression *"ecclesiæ Catholicæ radicem et matricem"* occurs in Epistle xlviii.[3] to Cornelius. Here St. Cyprian explains that, not having had, at the time, sufficient proof of St. Cornelius' ordination, he exhorted those who went from Africa to Rome "to acknowledge and hold the root and womb of the Catholic Church." What could have been the object of exhorting them, under the circumstances, to acknowledge "the equality of all bishops in the unity of the Church of Christ"? Who would exhort another to do what that other was already doing? Who, for instance, would exhort a Theist to acknowledge the existence of God, or a Christian to acknowledge the truth of Christianity, or a Catholic to acknowledge the Real Presence? Yet, if we accept Dr. Rentoul's interpretaton, Cyprian's exhortation must have been just as absurd and

[1] P. 158. [2] *Early Church*, p. 158. [3] xliv., Clarke's edition.

unnecessary. According to Dr. Rentoul, Cyprian exhorted the African Catholics setting out for Rome to acknowledge what they must have been already acknowledging (if our Professor reads Cyprian aright), namely, "the equality of all bishops in the unity of the Church of Christ." It is obvious that Cyprian never gave expression to such an unnecessary exhortation; that by "the root and womb of the Church" he meant the legitimately appointed successor of Fabian; and that he exhorted those going to Rome to acknowledge and hold such a one, whoever he might be, just as he himself and his colleagues afterwards "decidedly approved of and maintained" Cornelius, as soon as their doubts concerning his ordination were removed.

St. Cyprian and Pope Stephen.—Nor is Dr. Rentoul's treatment of Stephen's controversy with the Rebaptisers more in keeping with fact. He dogmatically tells us, for instance, that "Stephen impotently tries to revenge himself by cutting off all fellowship with most of the churches in the West and East."[1] As to this sweeping statement the testimony of St. Augustine is decisive. What is his testimony? Is it that most of the churches in the West and East sided with Cyprian? No; but that Cyprian's party consisted of "some fifty Orientals, and seventy, or a few more, Africans, against many hundreds of bishops, to whom this error was displeasing throughout the whole world." Yet Dr. Rentoul gives us to understand that most of the churches in the West and East were opposed to Stephen.

Furthermore, St. Augustine writes:—

"But Stephen had thought that we should hold aloof from those who endeavoured to destroy the primitive custom in the matter of receiving heretics; whereas Cyprian, moved by the difficulty of the question itself, and being most largely endowed with holy charity, thought that unity should be preserved with those who thought differently. Therefore, though he was exceedingly, yet fraternally, moved by anger, nevertheless the peace of Christ prevailed in their hearts, that in such a dispute no danger of schism should arise."[2]

[1] *Early Church*, p. 162. [2] *De Bapt. contra Donat.*, *B.* v., c. 25.

"Stephanus autem etiam abstinendos putaverat, qui de suscipiendis hæreticis priscam consuetudinem convellere conarentur; iste autem quæstionis ipsius difficultate permotus, et sanctis charitatis visceribus largissime præditus, in unitate cum eis manendum qui diversa sentirent. Ita quamvis commotius, sed tamen fraterne indignaretur, vicit tamen pax Christi in cordibus eorum, ut in tali disceptatione nullum inter eos malum schismatis oriretur."[1]

Again and again, in arguing with Donatists, the Saint lays stress on the point that Cyprian, though wrong in his teaching, kept in communion with the Pope. Yet, though the Donatists claimed Cyprian for their patron saint, none of them dared say that Augustine was mistaken. This is conclusive evidence that the African Church of the following century knew nothing of the great rupture to which Dr. Rentoul refers. That Stephen threatened to cut off certain churches may indeed be granted; but for the statement that he actually cut off most of those in the West and East there is no adequate evidence.

Again, with regard to that Council held by Cyprian, which, we are told, "struck strongly and one stroke," declaring "that the unworthy and deposed bishops had 'deceived Stephen, our colleague, placed at a distance, and ignorant of what had been done and of the truth,'" why does not Dr. Rentoul even attempt an explanation of the fact that the said Council did not strike so strongly and directly as to deny Stephen's right to interfere in the case at all? Such denial must naturally have found expression in the Council, if Dr. Rentoul's reading of Cyprian be correct.

The Facts of the Controversy.—But what are the facts? Two Spanish bishops—Basilides and Martial—having been deposed by their surrounding colleagues, appeal to Rome. Stephen hears them, decides in their favour, restores them, or orders them to be restored. In such circumstances the bishops appointed to succeed them go to

[1] *Ed. Migne*, Tom. ix., p. 194.

Cyprian for advice and help. Cyprian holds a Council, which recognises them as the lawful bishops, advises the people to cling to them, and declares that the deposed bishops had *deceived* Stephen. Here, then, are the questions which stare Dr. Rentoul in the face, and which he does not so much as condescend to notice. If the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome were not recognised as superior to that of other bishops, (1) why did Basilides and Martial appeal to Rome from the sentence of their colleagues? (2) Why did not Cyprian and his fellow-bishops ignore Stephen's authority instead of calling a Council? (3) Why did the Pope proceed as if his authority was acknowledged by all concerned? (4) Why is the authority of Stephen to restore a deposed bishop never once disputed during the whole transaction—the restoration being pronounced null solely on the grounds that the crimes of Basilides and Martial were certain, and that Rome had been *deceived?* Surely these are no trifling difficulties in the way of accepting Dr. Rentoul's view of Cyprian. Yet he gives not his audience the slightest hint of their existence, much less of the manner in which he would propose to solve them.

There is a consistency, however, in the learned Professor's idea of polemics. As he does not recognise the difficulties of his own position, so he keeps at a long distance from the argument in favour of the Roman Primacy which I drew from the words and actions of St. Cyprian. He seizes upon two alleged interpolations which, as I have shown, do not affect the question of St. Cyprian's teaching at all, but closes his eyes to the unmistakable teaching of the Saint, and then thinks to ride off on a suggestion "that (I) have had recourse to forced meanings," and "quite unnatural interpretations," in order to make Cyprian support my contention. He is careful not to make specific reference to the particular "forced meanings" and "unnatural interpretations" of which he complains.

St. Cyprian thoroughly 'Romanist.'—St. Cyprian's belief is so explicit that many Protestant historians rank him among the most outspoken supporters of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. The difficulty is to tone down the admission. Mosheim, whom I quoted before, and whose bitter prejudice against the Catholic Church is well known, has to admit the "Romanism" of Cyprian's teaching, whilst he regrets his infatuation or stupidity.

"Cyprian and the rest," he writes, "cannot have the corollaries which follow from their precepts about the Church before them. For no one is so blind as not to see that between a certain unity of the Universal Church, terminating in the Roman Pontiff, and such a community as we have described out of Irenæus and Cyprian, there is scarcely so much room as between hall and chambers, or between hand and fingers."[1]

Hallam lays stress on Cyprian's controversy with Stephen, but yet he confesses that the Saint not only *positively admits*, but *rather asserts*, the Primacy of the Church of Rome.[2]

Schaff's opinion is as outspoken as it is valuable. He emphasises whatever he considers Cyprian to have done in opposition to Rome, but he, nevertheless, recognises the thoroughly "Romanist" character of St. Cyprian's teaching, and you will observe how he seems to accept, without demur, one of the alleged interpolations as unquestionably expressing the mind of the Saint.

"Cyprian," he says, "is clearest in his advocacy of the fundamental idea of the papacy, and in his protest against the mode of its application in a given case. Starting from the superiority of Peter, upon whom the Lord built His Church, and to whom He entrusted the feeding of His sheep, in order to represent thereby the unity in the college of the Apostles, Cyprian transferred the same superiority to the Bishop of Rome, as the successor of Peter, and accordingly called the Roman Church the chair of Peter, and the fountain of priestly unity, the root also, and mother of the Catholic Church."[3]

Before leaving the subject of St. Cyprian's teaching, I must confess to a serious misgiving whether I have not wasted time in at all noticing Dr. Rentoul's references to

[1] De Gall, *Apell.*, s. 13. [2] *Middle Ages*, Vol. i., p. 156, note.
[3] *Ante-Nicene Christianity*, Vol. i., p. 161.

the great Bishop of Carthage. When a writer can be so easily betrayed into the use of such unworthy language as to say that "the question of the 'rebaptism of the lapsed,' and the validity of heretic baptism," is only "fighting about 'goat's wool,' "[1] he should, perhaps, be left to himself. The overwhelming majority of those professing the Christian name look upon these questions as of supreme importance. Blunt tells us that it was *the all but universal belief* that *true Baptism, acknowledged to be such, ought on no account to be repeated*,[2] and every Christian who holds to the old faith regarding the Sacrament of Baptism will consider Dr. Rentoul's words as nothing short of a profanation.

Prejudice against the Popes.—As might be expected, in no part of his pamphlet does the prejudice of Dr. Rentoul appear so conspicuously as where he is dealing with the lives of the Roman Pontiffs. Whenever there is a question of a Pope against whose orthodoxy or reputation a whisper of doubt or of censure was ever spoken even by bitterest foe, we may expect antecedently that Dr. Rentoul will take the side of the accuser. The instances are so numerous that it would be an unreasonable tax on your time to examine them separately. The general spirit by which he is actuated may be observed in page 181 of his pamphlet, where he is dealing with Pope Gregory's attitude towards the Emperors Phocas and Brunehild. After accusing the Pope of base flattery towards persons stained with great crimes, he adds in a note:—

"Schaff, Kurtz, Zoepffel, as well as other historians of the period, regard it as probable, in each case, that Gregory *did not know the facts* or the character of either Brunehild or Phocas. Of course," he adds, "if so, it raises odd questions as to the 'inspiration'[3] a Pope is supposed to possess."

[1] *Early Church*, p. 162. [2] *Dict. Doct. Hist. Theol.*, Art. Rebaptism.

[3] The insinuation that Catholics claim inspiration for the Pope is unpardonable. Every controversialist should make it his business to know the truth on such a fundamental point. No theologian, much less the Vatican Council, claims more than "*assistentia*," *i.e.*, a Special Providence protecting the Pope from error when teaching the Universal Church, *ex cathedra*, in matters of faith and morals. The claim is negative—an exemption from error.

Unfortunately, the plea of ignorance cannot be advanced to excuse such unworthy trifling with the subject. If Dr. Rentoul expected his hearers or readers to believe that *inspiration* is claimed by Catholics for the Pope, he must have had a very mean opinion of their intelligence or common sense. In most cases where there is question of a Pope he does not allow even such a scoffing plea in arrest of judgment, but passes sentence without calling a single witness for the defence. When he tries to be unusually fair he allows some show of evidence to appear in a note; but, then, he rarely fails to distort and misrepresent such evidence. Let us take a typical case. On page 155 he heads a chapter, *St. Hippolytus' Picture of Roman Bishops,* and he tells us in that chapter that Hippolytus was a great "Father" of the third century, that he was a bishop of Rome, and that he is a "Saint" besides. He then gives Hippolytus' picture of Pope Callistus, in which the latter is represented as unsound in faith, and loose and blackened in life. He winds up with a feeble attempt to deduce an argument from this picture against the *infallibility* of the Pope, with which, at present, we have nothing to do.

Döllinger's "Hippolytus and Callistus."—But in two notes he allows Döllinger to appear as a witness in favour of Pope Callistus. In one of these we are told that Döllinger makes Hippolytus, the Pope's accuser, an anti-bishop; and in the other, after expressing his own pious hope that the picture of Callistus' crimes may be over-drawn, he tells us that Döllinger thinks so, but he adds for himself that "Hippolytus was one of the best of the 'Fathers,' and not likely to lie." Here, at least, we have something tangible—something that does not belong to ancient history—something that each one may test for himself and appreciate at its true value.

Döllinger is introduced as damning Pope Callistus with faint praise, and as admitting the substantial truth of the

accusations against the Pope, but thinking that the picture of his misdeeds is overdrawn.

Now, I ask is that a fair or an honest representation of Döllinger's testimony? I may observe that Döllinger's testimony is regarded as of the highest authority on all questions connected with early Church history. He made the history of the first ages of the Church a special study. The Anglican translator of the *Philosophumena*—in which work the accusations against Pope Callistus appear—states that the testimony of Dr. Döllinger, considering the extent of his theological learning, and in particular his intimate acquaintance with the Apostolic period in Church history, virtually decides the question of the authorship of that work. Döllinger wrote a special work,[1] in which he examined with the greatest care and most minute research not only the question of the authorship of the *Philosophumena*, but also the truth or falsehood of the accusations themselves. The Anglican editor and translator of Döllinger's work, so far from representing him, which Dr. Rentoul does, as admitting the substantial truth of the accusations against the Pope, represents Döllinger as "tearing to shreds the evidence of Hippolytus against Callistus."[2]

If Dr. Rentoul had ever read Döllinger's work he must have known that this is exactly what Döllinger has done in his exhaustive treatise *Hippolytus and Callistus*. He takes up each of the eight or nine charges brought against this Pope, and he shows in each case that, so far from being justified by the conduct of the Pope, they proceeded from a violent and grossly unfair partisan, and that they regarded matters in the management of which Callistus was worthy of praise rather than of blame.

The truth appears to be, as Döllinger points out, that Hippolytus, or whoever was the author of these accusa-

[1] *Hippolytus and Callistus*, translated by Alfred Plummer, Master of University College, Durham, etc., 1876. [2] Pref., p. xvi.

tions, had become a schismatic, if not a heretic. Opposed by the reigning Pope, he launched out into unmeasured invective, and made charges founded on statements accepted without any due inquiry. He was provoked by the efforts of the Pope to extend the milder discipline of the Church. Similar efforts towards the close of the second century had provoked the anger of earlier heretics, such as the Montanists, which found such unrestrained expression in the works of Tertullian, written after he had fallen into the Montanist heresy.

The Defence of Callistus.—To sum up, Döllinger (1) regards Hippolytus as the first anti-Pope elected by a heretical faction in Rome, just as Novatian was thirty years later.

(2) He considers the accusations made by Hippolytus against Callistus before he became Pope are marked by such a spirit of rancour and hostility as to deprive them of the appearance of justice or truth.

(3) The accusations which regard the Pontificate of Callistus, so far from being substantiated, reveal, he contends, the action of a prudent and progressive ruler of the Church.

Dr. Rentoul's misrepresentation of Döllinger is the less excusable because some of the writers whom he is constantly eulogising are most emphatic in their references to Hippolytus' partisanship. Dealing with his charges against Callistus, Schaff gives this warning:—

"Here the author shows himself a violent partisan, and must be used with caution."[1]

Bright agrees with Schaff.

"Hippolytus," he says, "writing in a strongly partisan vein, vehemently accuses the Roman Bishop of heteordoxy on this score [Sabellianising], while his own language has been considered open to grave criticism in the opposite direction."[2]

Salmon is still more pronounced.

"I take the side of the Bishop of Rome," he writes, "against his assailant."[3] "Instead of believing on the word of Hippolytus

[1] *Ante-Nice. Ch.*, Vol. ii., p. 765. [2] *Waymarks of Ch. Hist.*, pp. 62-3.
[3] *Infallibility*, p. 389.

that the Roman bishops who differed with him were heretics, we may question whether it was not he himself who was in the wrong. . . . And as for the charges of immorality, we are not bound to take as gospel truth everything that is alleged by a witness so bitter and evidently prejudiced as Hippolytus. He clearly puts the worst construction on all the facts of the life of Callistus. Did he become bankrupt, it was because he had embezzled the funds entrusted to him. Did he get into trouble by his Christian zeal, it was because of his crimes, and because, being unable to commit suicide, he was anxious for an occasion of death. And so on."[1]

If, then, the Hippolytus who is known as Saint and Martyr were the author of the *Philosophumena*, he must have renounced his schism and heresy, and as Nicepheus, the historian, expressly says:—"By his martyrdom which he bore for the name of Christ, he wiped away and obliterated the stain of his ignorance."[2]

It would be well if others who have imitated Hippolytus in aspersing the good name of Popes would imitate his repentance and "obliterate the stain of their ignorance."

[1] *Infallibility*, pp. 393-4. [2] Lib. iv., Cap. xxxi., p. 221.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE EARLY COUNCILS AND THE ROMAN PRIMACY.

And now that we are dealing with the evidence which the early Councils of the Church give in support of the Roman Primacy, it is only necessary to point out a few of the misrepresentations contained in Dr. Rentoul's pages on the subject. As the Council of Arles is the first, in antiquity, of the councils mentioned by him, let us examine his reference to it.

"I do not stay here," he says, "to discuss the Western Council of *Arles* (in Gaul), which Constantine previously summoned (314) on an appeal by the Donatists against the decision of a small Council in Rome, under its bishop, Miltiades (Melchiades). Romanist advocates try to represent this as somehow supporting the notion of Papal supremacy, because Marinus, the Bishop of Arles, who *presided* at that Council, and other members reported to the Bishop of Rome, Sylvester (who had 'succeeded' that year), the Council's *decisions*, that they might be *announced* in the metropolis, as in other places. Funny kind of argument to make an appeal from a decision in Rome to a Council of Bishops in Gaul a proof of Rome's infalliable supremacy."[1]

It is a pity that Dr. Rentoul did not think it worth while to "stay here." In his hurry to get away from the subject, he has tripped seriously and repeatedly. That we may be the better able to understand his reference to the Council of Arles, let me briefly explain the state of affairs with which the Council had to deal.

The Real Council of Arles (314).—A great scandal had arisen in Africa. A strong party under Donatus, a Numidian bishop, had opposed Cæcilianus, Bishop of the metropolitical See of Carthage. They charged him with being a *traditor*—that is, one who in the time of persecution

[1] *Early Church*. p. 164.

had surrendered the Holy Scriptures to the pagan inquisitor, and who was thus ineligible for consecration. They charged his consecrator, also, Felix, Bishop of Aptunga, with being a *traditor*, having, as they alleged, delivered up the sacred writings during the persecution of Diocletian. The Donatists, as those opposed to Cæcilianus are called, appealed to the Emperor against the Bishop of Carthage.[1] Constantine, having heard of the schism from his pro-counsul, Anulinus, as well, desired to put an end to it, and had the matter referred to a Council in Rome,[2] of which Pope Melchiades was president. He deprecated the appeal of the Donatists, because bishops were the proper judges of bishops.[3]

"I say, as the truth is," he declared, "that the judgment of bishops ought to be accounted as if the Lord himself sat and judged."[4]

"Because Constantine," says St. Augustine, "did not dare to judge the case of a bishop, he delegated it to be discussed *and terminated* by bishops, *which, also, was done in the city of Rome*, under the presidency of Melchiades, the bishop of that Church, with many of his colleagues."[5]

The Council of Rome acquitted Cæcilianus. St. Augustine repeatedly calls its decision "the judgment of Melchiades,"[6] though he also calls it "the decision of the bishops who sat at Rome." St. Optatus gives the decision, which, as regards Cæcilianus, runs thus:—"I decide that he should be deservedly kept in his ecclesiastical communion, his *status* being unimpaired."[7]

The Donatists again appealed to Constantine, and he summoned another Council; this time at Arles, in France.

Before the Roman Council was held he had been asked by the Donatists to send bishops from Gaul to hear the charge against Cæcilianus. The Gallic bishops, they alleged, were free from imputation of having delivered up

[1] *Optat. Milev., c. parmen.*, lib. i. [2] Euseb. H.E. X., v.

[3] St. Aug. Ep., 43, 7. [4] Quoted by Pusey, *Ch. Councils*, p. 98.

[5] *Ep. ad Donat.*, 105, 8.

[6] In his conferences with the Donatists in 411; and ad Donat. post Coll., l. i., c. xiii. [7] C. Parmen., l. i.

the sacred writings. The decision of the Council of Arles was as unsatisfactory to them as that of the Council of Rome had been; so they appealed once more to the Emperor. "What audacity, what madness, what folly!" he exclaimed. "They have appealed from it like heathens."

And now let us analyse Dr. Rentoul's statement.

(1) There is not a particle of evidence to show that Pope Melchiades did not approve of Constantine's action in summoning the Council of Arles as well as the previous one of Rome. The inferences point the other way. The fact of Constantine calling the Council secured protection and freedom for those taking part in it. We must remember that we are treating of the period when the Church had just emerged from her hiding-place, and when many of her bishops still bore the wounds which the persecutor had inflicted. Moreover, it was *not* with *dogmas* of faith, but with *facts* of current history, that the Council of Arles was concerned. The Donatists asserted that some facts had been suppressed, and that there were other fresh facts to be brought forward. They even said that the Pope himself was a *traditor*. In this new condition of things, what difficulty could there be about Melchiades giving them another opportunity of proving their case? Peace-making was, pre-eminently, his office. "Prudent and peace-making" are the words St. Augustine applies to his judgment at Rome, whilst of Melchiades himself he writes:—"O best of men, O Son of Christian peace, and Father of the Christian people."[1] When the Council was held, Melchiades had been succeeded by Sylvester, who was represented at Arles by two priests and two deacons. The Council, when forwarding the decrees to the Pope, sent a most affectionate and dutiful letter.[2]

"Letters according to Custom."—(2) Dr. Rentoul is not by any means justified in asserting so absolutely and

[1] *Ep.* 43, al. 162. [2] *Vid. Primacy*, chap. xviii.

so emphatically that Marinus presided at the Council. Doctrinally it is not a matter of importance who presided. It is, however, a matter of very great importance that the decision of the Council should be correctly stated. And it is a perversion of facts to say that "Romanist advocates" build an argument for Papal Supremacy because "Marinus and other members reported to the Bishop of Rome the Council's *decisions*, that they might be *announced* in the metropolis, as in other places." If Dr. Rentoul had read the first canon of the Council he would have found that the Fathers assembled at Arles had asked the Pope *"to send, according to custom, letters to all,* that the Feast of Easter might be kept on one and the same day *throughout the world."* Yet Dr. Rentoul tells us that Sylvester was only expected to announce the decision of the Council in the metropolis!!

To understand the full meaning of this request, that the Pope should, *according to custom,* send letters throughout the world to secure a uniform observance of Easter, we must not forget the time it was made. The Roman Church is just a few years out of the Catacombs when a council in France, having three British bishops among its members, declares that it was *customary* for the Bishop of Rome to send encyclical letters to the faithful *throughout the world* regarding important matters of discipline. Why should it be *customary* for the Bishop of Rome, rather than for the bishop of any other see, to send letters to the faithful throughout the world? There is only one intelligible answer. It is because the Bishop of Rome was recognised as the fountain-head of authority and the centre of unity. It was *according to custom* that Clement wrote to the Corinthians. Hermas, you may remember, said something of Clement very like what the Council of Arles, nearly two hundred years later, said of Sylvester. Pope Victor, too, *according to custom,* wrote encyclical letters on the same Easter question.

(3) "Funny kind of an argument," says Dr. Rentoul, "to make an appeal from a decision in Rome to a council of bishops in Gaul—a proof of Rome's *infallible* supremacy!" Quite so. But no Catholic writer ever advanced such a proof of "Rome's *infallible* supremacy." The matter to be submitted to the Fathers at Arles was one of current history, and could be easily settled by the production of oral or documentary evidence. The witnesses were living. The Government officials, for instance, or their books, were accessible, and from these it could be easily known whether Cæcilianus or the others had been *traditores*. What Dr. Rentoul calls "Rome's infallible supremacy" was not needed at all. The fun, then, is in seeing a controversialist blundering so egregiously.

Council of Nicæa (325)—Who presided?—Dr. Rentoul complains of the "Roman audacity" of Hefele, who "assumes and asserts"; but for an illustration of the learned Professor's own powers of *assumption* and *assertion*, I refer you to his chapters on the early Œcumenical Councils. Just let me point out a few of his "facts."

1. "The Emperor, when present, was president,"[1] he says, of the Council of Nicæa. Dr. Rentoul does not condescend to offer a scintilla of proof in support of his assertion. He surely knows he has to explain these difficulties. (*a*) Eusebius, an eye witness of the Council, and an attached friend of the Emperor, says clearly:—"After that" [the opening discourse by the Emperor] the Emperor made way for *the Presidents of the Synod*.[2] (*b*) The acts of the Council of Nicæa, *so far as they have come down to us*, contain the signatures of the bishops, *but not that of the Emperor*.[3] (*c*) The Emperor, Basil the Macedonian, declared at the eighth Œcumenical Council that "Constantine the Great had signed, at Nicæa, *after all the bishops*."[4]

[1] *Early Church*, p. 166. [2] Euseb. *Vita Con.*, l. iii., c. 13.
[3] Hard. i., 311; Mansi, *Collect Concil.* ii., 692 seqq.
[4] Hard. v., 921-923, 1106.

The president of a council signs first. (*d*) The Emperor's own words seem to repudiate the idea of his presiding at a council of the Church. "You are bishops," he said, "for the *interior* business of the Church; I am the bishop chosen by God for the *exterior* business of the Church."[1] (*e*) When complaints against bishops were presented to Constantine, he caused the documents to be burnt, saying that it was not becoming in him to give judgment upon priests."[2]

Hefele answers:—"Hosius."—2. Dr. Rentoul leads the reader to believe that Gelasius is Hefele's only authority for the statement that Hosius "presided at the assembly as Papal legate in union with the two Roman priests, Vito and Vincentius."[3] But Hefele gives solid arguments. (1) He quotes St. Athanasius, who was present at the Council, and Theodoret, who lived in the same century, in proof that Hosius presided; (2) he quotes Socrates, who lived half a century before Gelasius, and the several lists of signatures of the Council, in proof that Hosius and the two Roman priests representing Pope Sylvester had the place of honour assigned to them; (3) from an analysis of the lists of signatures he proves conclusively that the order of provinces was strictly adhered to, so that Hosius could not claim the presidency by right of his suffragan Spanish bishopric. (4) If the bishops owed their rank to the Emperor's friendship, then Eusebius of Cæsarea would have occupied a foremost place. (5) He shows that the presidency was not given to Hosius and the Roman priests out of consideration for them as representing the Western Church. They were not the only Western representatives there. At the end of the lists of signatures are found the names of the representatives of two ecclesiastical provinces of the Latin Church, namely, Gaul and Africa. (6) Hosius, alone among the bishops, has not the name of his province attached to his

[1] Euseb. *Vita Const.*, l. iv., c. 24, quoted by Hefele, Vol. i., p. 33.

[2] *Ibid.*, iii., 11.

[3] *Early Church*, p. 166.

signature, for he represented no particular church. Only the name of his See is attached, for, as a bishop, he had the right to be present at the Council, but the two Roman priests had no right, except as representatives of the Bishop of Rome, and, therefore, they subscribed themselves as "priests of Rome." (7) Hosius gets exactly the same place of rank and authority as the Papal legates at other Œcumenical Councils of whose proceedings we have complete records. (8) When (449), one hundred and twenty-four years later than the Nicæan Council, the Emperor Theodosius II. ordered that Dioscuros of Alexandria should preside at the Robber Synod of Ephesus, to the exclusion of the Papal legates, the Synod was declared invalid. And it was one of the charges preferred against Dioscuros that he "had dared to hold—which had never been done before—a Synod *without leave from the Apostolic throne.*"[1] If the Emperor had appointed Hosius, bishop of a lesser Western See, to preside at Nicæa, Dioscuros, Patriarch of Alexandria, second only to the Bishop of Rome, would have quoted such precedent. But he was degraded from his patriarchate, and we search in vain for a single reference by him or his supporters to Hosius presiding at Nice *as the friend of the Emperor.*

These are the arguments which Hefele advances in support of his statement that Hosius "presided at the Assembly [of Nice] *as Papal legate* in union with the two Roman priests, Vito and Vincentius." It is easier to misrepresent these arguments than to answer them.

It is worth noticing that the chief authorities quoted against Gelasius of Cyzicus by the writer in the Dictionary of Christian Biography, to whom Dr. Rentoul refers, are Photius, Natalis, Alexander, and Hefele, who yet accept his statement as to the presidency of the Nicæan Council. If a writer is deemed untrustworthy when he gives his own unsupported statement, it does not follow

[1] Hefele, Vol. iii., p. 299.

that his statement is to be rejected when it is supported by other authorities. Photius, above all men, would not have accepted the statement if it had not been the constant tradition of the East.

3. Dr. Rentoul says that, at the time of the Council of Nicæa, "there was no such thing in existence" as the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Then why did he not offer some explanation of the first canon of the Council of Arles, which requested Pope Sylvester to send letters, *according to custom*, throughout the world, to secure uniformity as to the observance of Easter? And why did he not "stay" to discuss the Synodal Letter of the Fathers at Arles who had transmitted the decrees to the same Pope, "that they may be made known and promulgated to all the faithful?" Instead of meeting this difficulty, he misrepresented the action of the Council.

Dr. Rentoul argues thus:—

"It is not probable, is it, that a council meeting in the East, composed of Greek bishops and presbyters, with only eight Westerns, would be presided over by *Westerns* alone?"

This is the merest begging of the question. The strength of the Catholic position lies in the fact that a council meeting in the East, composed almost exclusively of Eastern dignitaries, *was* presided over by a Western bishop, who was the representative of the Bishop of Rome. If Dr. Rentoul had studied the question with greater care, and with less prejudice, he would have found that the Eastern tradition, regarding the presidency of Rome at the Council of Nicæa, was so strong that it has been adopted into the Græco-Russian Liturgy. In the office of Pope St. Sylvester, whom Hosius represented, we read:—

"Thou hast shown thyself the supreme one of the Sacred Council, O initiator into the sacred mysteries and hast illustrated the throne of the supreme one of the Disciples."

This is a clear reference to St. Sylvester's presiding, by deputy, at the Council of Nicæa, as the successor of Peter, "the supreme one of the Disciples."[1]

[1] See Rivington, *Primitive Church*, p. 164.

Rome, Alexandria and Antioch.—Dr. Rentoul entirely misrepresents the sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa, and then founds an argument on the misrepresentation. Here is his paraphrase of this celebrated canon, for though he uses the word "they," he cannot possibly be referring to any other canon, as this is the only one which touches on the jurisdiction of the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch.

"They *assign to the Bishop of Rome*," he writes, "*as was natural, on account of Rome's political position in the West, spiritual jurisdiction*[1]—*i.e.*, the right to ordain bishops—over Middle and Lower Italy, with the Islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica—*on an equality with* the Bishop of Alexandria, who had spiritual jurisdiction—*i.e.*, the right to ordain all the bishops—over Egypt, Libya, and the wide Pentapolis."

This is Dr. Rentoul's way of putting it, and, unquestionably, the canon thus presented seems unfavourable to the Roman claims. Here, however, is what the Council actually decreed: —

"Let the ancient customs be maintained which are in Egypt, in Libya, and Pentapolis, according to which the Bishop of Alexandria has jurisdiction over all these (provinces); since [or because] this is also customary with [or to] the Bishop in Rome. (*ἐπειδὴ καὶ τῷ ἐν τῇ Ῥώμῃ ἐπισκόπῳ τοῦτο σύνηθές ἐστιν*). In like manner in Antioch and in the other provinces the old rights are to be preserved for the Churches."[2]

Now, as you will observe, the Council does not say a word, in its sixth canon, about *assigning spiritual* or any other kind of jurisdiction to the Bishop of Rome. It recognises the established order of affairs. The Church has emerged from her long night of persecution, and the three Sees with which St. Peter was specially identified—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch—are, confessedly, the three chief Sees in Christendom. As the Council did not originate their jurisdiction, so it does not interfere with their ancient jurisdictional boundaries. But you will notice the very marked distinction the Council draws between Rome on the one hand, and Alexandria and Antioch on the other What is its reason for not interfering with the jurisdiction of Alexandria? It is "since [or because] this is customary

[1] The italics are mine. [2] Vid. *Hefele*, Vol. i., p. 388.

with [or to] the Bishop in Rome." If we translate "this is customary *with* the Bishop in Rome," then Rome's patriarchate is not only an established fact, but it is "the norm and the justification of a similar authority on the part of the Bishop of Alexandria."[1] The Council here confesses that the action of the Bishop of Rome in exercising patriarchal jurisdiction may be regarded as the rule of ecclesiastical government.

And this is precisely what Hefele says in the passage which Dr. Rentoul quotes, and which, he tells us, contains an "absolute disproof of the Roman claim." I give the passage:—

"The Council of Nicæa points out that the Bishop of Rome has also rights analogous to those which it acknowledges for the Bishop of Alexandria, and for the Bishop of Ephesus."[2]

Dr. Rentoul forgets to specify the "Roman claim," of which Hefele's explanation of a Nicæan canon is an "absolute disproof."

Now, if we follow the alternative translation "since [or because] this is customary *to* the Bishop in Rome," then that bishop's pre-eminence in the ecclesiastical hierarchy is still more manifest. Since, in that case, the reason why the jurisdiction of Alexandria over the Egyptian bishops was recognised by the Council was because Rome had recognised it. Customs, in fact, were to remain unchanged, because the Fathers of Nicæa would not think of interfering with what was recognised by Rome.

Dr. Rentoul tells us that the "spiritual jurisdiction" "assigned" to the Bishop of Rome at the Council of Nicæa only extended "over Middle and Lower Italy, with the Islands of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica."[3] The writer on the subject, in the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, does not agree with him. Speaking of the very same period, he

[1] Vid. Rivington, *Primitive Church*, p. 167.

[2] *Early Church*, p. 167. *Ephesus* is clearly a clerical error for *Antioch*. Hefele, of course, has *Antioch*.

[3] P. 167.

says—"In the West the See of Rome stood alone in its supremacy."[1]

The Greek commentators of the twelfth century, Zonoras and Balsamon, schismatics though they were, admit explicitly that the sixth canon of Nicæa *confirms* the rights of the Bishop of Rome as Patriarch over the whole West.[2] St. Jerome, who belongs to the century in which the Council of Nicæa was held, being accused of heresy, says, "This charge has been carried to *the West*, and into Egypt; that is to say, to *Damasus, Bishop of Rome*, and to Peter (Bishop of Alexandria)."[3] He here makes "the West" synonymous with "the Bishop of Rome." St. Augustine calls the Bishop of Rome "President of the Church of the West."[4]

The evidence of the Council of Arles is very distinct. In 314, eleven years before the Council of Nicæa was held, the bishops at Arles address Pope Sylvester as "thou who rulest over or possessest *the greater dioceses*"[5]—that is, it confesses the Bishop of Rome had under his jurisdiction several (civil) dioceses, whilst, as is admitted, each of the other patriarchs had only one.

Chalcedon (451)—'Through Leo Peter has spoken.'—Coming to the Council of Chalcedon, let me present to you just one passage from Dr. Rentoul's pamphlet.

"When Leo read the decision of the Council," he writes, "and heard the incidents of it, and of its cries, placing—'Thus Cyril did teach' on an equality with his own formula, 'Through Leo Peter has spoken'—he was enraged well-nigh as by the previous decision of 'The Robber Synod' of Ephesus. He found that he had been given only a Primacy of honour, and that the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Emperor's new and non-Apostolic city, had equal powers with the Bishop of Rome, having jurisdiction over Asia, Pontus, and Thrace. In all these arrangements it is clear that

[1] Art. *Patriarch.*

[2] Vid. *Hefele*, Vol. i., p. 399.

[3] Ep. 15 (al. 77), ad Marc. Presb.

[4] *Contra Julian*, li., c. 6.

[5] The ecclesiastical term *diocese*, was then unknown. The Roman Patriarchate consisted of eight dioceses, each of which comprised several provinces. (*Hefele*, i., 400.)

precedence went just by the importance of the provinces and cities of the Empire."[1]

Dr. Rentoul is the only Protestant authority, so far as I know, who attempts to give a non-Roman meaning to the words, "Thus did Cyril teach." But he tries to prove too much, for if these words place Cyril on an equality with Leo, they also place him on an equality with Peter, because the Council has just declared that "Peter has spoken through Leo." Dr. Rentoul, to be consistent, must maintain the absurd proposition that the Council placed Cyril on an equality with Peter.

He terms the expression—"Through Leo Peter has spoken"—Leo's *own formula*. I do not know exactly what he means; but I am sure the majority of his hearers would infer from his words that it was Pope Leo, and *not* the Fathers of the Council of Chalcedon, who had just used this memorable expression. Dr. Rentoul refers us for the formula to a sermon of St. Leo's. But we are now concerned with the doctrine of the Fathers at Chalcedon, and with what they said.

The ambition of Constantinople.—Dr. Rentoul tells us that, by the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, "the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Emperor's new and non-apostolic city, had equal powers with the Bishop of Rome, having jurisdiction over Asia, Pontus, and Thrace." He refers us to Schaff, but what Schaff says is that the twenty-eighth canon of the Council of Chalcedon "assigns to the Bishop of Constantinople the *second rank among the patriarchs,*" and that the intention was to advance the Bishop of Constantinople "over the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch, and to make him *as nearly as possible equal to the Bishop of Rome,*" and that the Council "gave him a

[1] Pp. 177-178. There is a foot-note to this passage referring to the words, "Thus did Cyril teach," and stating, "Archbishop Carr drops this out." P. 214.

larger district than any other patriarch of the East,"[1] "a supremacy" over *Asia Minor*, Pontus, and Thrace. Dr. Rentoul must have read Schaff very hurriedly. He evidently confounds two distinct offices—the primacy and the patriarchate. He does not seem to know that the Pope has several relations to different parts of the Church. He is bishop, metropolitan, patriarch, and primate.

This twenty-eighth canon of Chalcedon, therefore, recognises the Pope as *the first patriarch* and as *the patriarch of the West*. "The primacy of Rome," says Mason, "in the days when men began to regulate such matters, was unchallenged. Alexandria, Antioch, might be called upon to make way for Constantinople, which had suddenly risen into greatness; *but Rome was always recognised as first.*"[2]

Let us test the value of the assertion that the Council only gave Leo "a primacy of honour." Though the one hundred and fifty bishops who tried to have the canon accepted by the Papal legates and the other Fathers, erred as to the source of the primacy, they were most pronounced as to the extent of it. Assuredly, it was not a mere "primacy of honour" they meant by calling Pope Leo *"the head"* and themselves *"the members"*—by declaring the Pope to be the one whom *"the Saviour* appointed keeper of the divine vineyard." He was "the interpreter of the voice of the blessed Peter," and "brought to them all the blessings of [Peter's] faith." He was "the Father of Constantinople," and was asked "to extend his wonted care over that part of the vineyard." They asked him to accept and *confirm* their decision, and they admit that "the force of all" rests with his confirming and ordering.

Anatolius, Bishop of Constantinople, writes to Leo urging his acceptance of the canon, and admitting to the full that it was necessary to agree in faith with Rome; that it was necessary to report the proceedings of the Council to

[1] *Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity*, Vol. i., pp. 279-280.

[2] *Principle of Eccl. Unity*, p. 108. The italics are mine.

the Pope; that it was necessary for the validity of the proceedings that they should be ratified by the Pope. I have only touched upon the fringe of the question here. Still, I have given abundant proof that it was a primacy of jurisdiction which the Fathers at Chalcedon recognised. It is noteworthy what a long distance Dr. Rentoul keeps from the weighty facts which I gave regarding the Council of Chalcedon. As he has made no attempt to meet them, we must conclude that he found the task too difficult.

Speaking of the reign of Pope Leo, he says—"We reach the hour when the Papacy was born." Renan says that it was born in the second century. "The Papacy was already born, and well born,"[1] he declares, writing of the reign of Pope Victor. Dr. Rentoul treats us to a lot of fine writing about St. Leo. He tells us, too, that "Leo was the first to formulate the Romish notion of a priestly and ecclesiastic monarchy under the headship of Peter, as Prince of the Apostles." But he forgets to tell us how, if this be true, *there was not anywhere to be found a single bishop to protest against the usurpation.* Was there not, in the whole extent of Christendom, one bishop manly enough to raise his voice against the intolerable burden that was being imposed, for the first time, upon the universal episcopate? Dr. Rentoul, surely, does not expect us to put aside our common sense altogether.

The Fathers 'a tragic study' for Presbyterians.—In a former lecture I dwelt very briefly on the testimony of the early Councils to the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. But, few and brief as my references were, Dr. Rentoul deemed it safer to keep far away from them, just as he has kept far away from the cumulative arguments, Scriptural and patristic, which I had advanced in support of the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy. He has, evidently, very good reason for feeling uneasy in the company of the early

[1] *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 180.

Fathers. Their faith is not his, and their writings are to him "a tragic study and story."

But, whilst repudiating these early witnesses to the faith, he is quite at home with modern writers, and every modern writer who has a word to say against Rome is, with him, "a scholar." The poor, benighted "Romanists" are, in fact, so far outside the domain of scholarship that he takes the venerable Father of Christendom under his wing, and manages to have "Professor Ramsay's book received with special favour at the Vatican."[1] He does not tell us when or how. The few Catholic writers to whom he refers are, with a single exception, mentioned slightingly. Let me give you an instance, by way of illustration. The Anglican translator of Hefele's "History of the Christian Councils" says that *"Dr. Hefele is so fair in the statement of facts, that every reader may easily draw his conclusions for himself;"*[2] but our learned Professor points to Hefele as a good "example of Romanist advocacy" who "assumes and asserts."

I pass by Dr. Rentoul's references to "that Anglo-Catholic convert to Romanism," Father Rivington.

Anglicanism, quite unconsciously, pays its highest tribute to the ability and learning of that distinguished priest. As soon as he publishes a work on the See of Rome, forthwith we have the recognised Anglican champions told off, as it were, to answer him. Anglicanism of to-day can boast no greater names in controversy than Bright and Gore, and these are the names we find associated in the attack on the books which Fr. Rivington has written since he became a Catholic. I desire, here, to thank him most gratefully for the help I have received from his books—*Authority, Dependence*, and *The Primitive Church*—as well from his several articles in the *Month* and *Dublin Review*. Anyone who wishes to study the question of the

[1] P. 82. [2] Vol. i., p. vi.

Primacy fully should have Fr. Rivington's books, particularly his work on *The Primitive Church and the See of Peter*, on his table. Dr. Rentoul, it is evident, knows these works only through the pages of Bright. Had he put aside his prejudices and then followed both sides of the controversy, I venture to say he would have written of Fr. Rivington in a very different strain.

I now bring these lectures to a conclusion. Dr. Rentoul professed to be replying to my lectures on the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff, and I have answered him so far as he has dealt with this subject. But I decline to follow him through the almost endless variety of extraneous matter which he has contrived to introduce into his pamphlet. Controversy would be interminable if those engaging in it were not to confine themselves to specific subjects and keep within their legitimate limits. I do not think that I have deviated at all from the course I had proposed to myself, which was simply to defend the truth of the doctrine I had taught, and the accuracy of the statements I had made, in my former lectures. If there has been any deviation, you must remember that most dishonouring charges were made against the Catholic Church. It was my duty to repel those charges.

I have not originated this or any former controversy. It gives me no pleasure, but, in truth, it gives me pain, to have to reply to the attacks that Dr. Rentoul has allowed himself to make regarding Catholic doctrine, worship, and discipline.

On the other hand, I have not, I hope, said a word personally disrespectful to him or to the religion he professes. I have simply replied to the charges he has brought against me, and against the faith of Catholics.

In these lectures I have not, therefore, re-stated at any length the cumulative and unshaken proofs already advanced by me in favour of the Primacy of the Roman

Pontiff. For Catholics such a statement, or re-statement, is quite unnecessary. And for non-Catholics who may have heard or read my former lectures, I have done what I deem most useful, namely, to correct the misstatements and to answer the objections which Dr. Rentoul has allowed to usurp the place of argument.

The Real Issue is the Roman Primacy.—This is the issue to be decided. We are in continuous possession of the inheritance of our Catholic faith, which, from the very beginning of Christian history, is bound up in the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff as the source and centre of its unity. The Primacy was promised and conferred by Christ, and exercised by Peter, as the Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles testify. The fact is so manifest that Meyer, who has no leanings whatever towards the Catholic Church, is constrained to write as follows of the New Testament narrative:—

"Besides, there can be no doubt whatever that the *primacy* among the Apostles is here assigned to Peter, inasmuch as Christ singles *him* out as that one in particular whose Apostolic labours will, in virtue of the steadfast faith for which he is peculiarly distinguished, be the means of securing, so far as human effort can do so (comp. Rev. xxi., 14; Gall. ii., 9), the permanence and stability of the Church which Jesus is about to found, and to extend more and more in the world. As in accordance with this, we may also mention the precedence given to this disciple in the catalogues of the Apostles, and likewise the fact that the New Testament uniformly represents him as being, in point of fact, superior to all the others. (Acts xv., 7; ii., 14; Gall. i., 18; ii., 7-8).

In the first uninspired ecclesiastical document we possess we find the Primacy in active operation. The glimpses we obtain of the government of the Church till we reach the end of the second century are not numerous, but in every one of them we have clear and distinct traces of the hierarchy, the sacerdotal system, and the ecclesiastical discipline as they exist in the Catholic Church of to-day. From the close of the second century the testimony is overwhelming that the supreme ruler of the Catholic Church was the Roman Pontiff. Pope Victor (200) is said

by our adversaries to have been the first of the "proud" and "autocratic" rulers of the Church. But, as Harnack well observes, if the right of the Roman Pontiffs was not even then firmly established, these claims would not have been put forward, or if advanced, would never have been allowed.[1] Even if the line of Pontiffs went back no further, Macaulay's picturesque description of its antiquity would have been fully realised. Schwegler sees "all the agencies of the Papacy combined in Victor." But, before the time of Victor, I have traced the succession and the authority of the Roman Pontiffs up to Peter, to whom were addressed the words of promise—"Thou art Rock (Peter), and on this Rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it."

The Catholic position, continuous and consistent as it is, receives immense support by contrast with the ever-varying and contradictory positions of our adversaries; for they are forced into one of two untenable positions. They must hold the total defection of the Church, at a very early date, which is directly contrary to the promises of Christ, or the theory of an invisible church, which contradicts itself; or the equally absurd theory that the Apostolic succession was mainly carried on by the heretical bodies that were cast out of the Catholic Church. One thing they must admit, that if there was a true, visible, continuous Church at all in those early centuries, the Catholic Church of to-day is heir to its promises and possessions.

But beyond these theories regarding the defection or invisibility of the Church, how are the Catholic claims met? By misrepresentation of her teaching, and vilification of her worship. Dr. Rentoul has made, I sincerely regret to

1 As Pierre Batifoll sums up (*Ir. Theol. Quart., July, 1907*):—"The line Ignatius—Polycarp—Melito—Irenæus 'has vigorous roots in the Apostolic Age.'" What Harnack says of dogma may be said of the organisation of the hierarchy, and M. Sohm has said it substantially. Between the form of Church government in the time of St. Irenæus and that of the Apostolic age there is organic continuity.

say, plentiful use of both of these methods of reply. Indeed, he has gone so far in both directions as to deprive his lectures of all effect, except amongst men of narrow and prejudiced minds. If we are so seriously misunderstood by enlightened and—religion apart—friendly opponents, what may we not expect from the unenlightened, whose views of the Catholic Church have been moulded by three centuries of prejudice! We must find our consolation in the Redeemer's warning:—"Remember My word that I said to you: The Servant is not greater than his Master. If they have persecuted me, they will also persecute you."—John xv., 20.

THE ORIGIN

OF THE

CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

THREE LECTURES

BY

THE ARCHBISHOP OF MELBOURNE.

PREFACE.

If the subjects discussed in these Lectures were of only passing interest, I should not think of publishing them in any permanent form. But as long as an intelligent interest is taken in early ecclesiastical history, so long will men turn with pleasure and profit to the records of that ancient Church of Britain in which, during the five centuries of its existence, were reflected the life and the action of the universal Church.

I have not entered into the controversy without sufficient reason. The repeated assertion made by distinguished speakers at representative gatherings, as to the identity of the Anglican with the ancient British Church, left no choice between silent acquiescence or public protest.

The limited time at my disposal in the delivery of these Lectures compelled me to exclude much interesting matter which I had prepared. I avail myself of this opportunity to insert a portion of the omitted matter, partly by way of addition to the text, and partly by way of notes.

Though the controversy was made to cover a good deal of ground, and has lasted for a considerable time, it is highly creditable to private and to public taste, that it has been conducted, on the whole, in a manner worthy of a grave question, and of a courteous community.

The title of these Lectures, "The Origin of the Church of England," is not mine. Before the delivery of the first Lecture the title had become so stereotyped in the public press, that any change would lead to confusion.

✠ THOMAS J. CARR,
Archbishop of Melbourne.

St. Patrick's Cathedral, Melbourne,
November 14th, 1893.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

CHAPTER XXVII.

NEITHER THE EASTERN ORIGIN OF BRITISH CHRISTIANITY NOR THE CONTINUITY OF THE PRESENT ANGLICAN WITH THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH CAN BE HISTORICALLY MAINTAINED.

(Lecture I.)

I wish to say at the outset, that I have no desire for controversy. I have never encouraged it; I have never willingly engaged in it. Unless conducted with studied moderation of tone, and a delicate regard for the feelings of others, it seldom succeeds in changing the opinion of either of the disputants, and it often leaves behind unpleasant and embittered feelings.

But there are times when Catholics must raise their voices against error and misrepresentation; as otherwise by their silence they may seem to acquiesce in statements contrary to the witness of history, to the voice of tradition, and to the principles of their faith. Cardinal Manning, of revered memory, in one of his later writings, quotes with approval the statement of De Maistre that history for 300 years has been in conspiracy against the Catholic Church: "The Protestant historians of Germany, France, England,

and Scotland," he says, "have written a mass of falsified history and falsified biography, which reigned supreme and unchallenged until our day. A reaction at last set in. In Germany, Schlegel, Hurter, Ranke, Döllinger, and many more; in France—Montalembert, Ozanam, De Broglie, Rohrbacher, and others; in England—Lingard, Tytler, Hallam, and Friedmann, have broken the spell of historical falsehood. Maitland, in his book on the *Dark Ages*, was the first to expose the persistent unfaithfulness of anti-Catholic historians, who handed on with continual embellishment and exaggeration a multitude of traditional fables."

And before Cardinal Manning, Cardinal Newman had drawn out, in picturesque form, the immemorial and unauthenticated tradition which is the sustaining power, and the fable which is the basis, and the prejudice which is the life, and the ignorance which is the protection, and the assumed principles which are the ground of the Protestant view regarding the Catholic Church. *(Present Position of Catholics in England.)*

I have quoted the authority of the two Cardinals because, while their candour stands unimpeached, they themselves once shared in the prejudice of which they speak, they had an opportunity of looking at Catholic questions from without and from within; they sounded all the depths and shoals of the historical and theological controversy.

Their writings may also serve as models of controversial literature, so clear are they, so temperate, so earnest, so considerate, and so broadminded. I shall try to imitate these estimable qualities, and to avoid uttering a word which could give reasonable offence to anyone differing from me.

Origin and Nature of the Controversy.—It may be useful to recall to your notice the origin, meaning, and object of the present controversy. At the meeting of the

Diocesan Festival of the Anglican Church, recently held in the Town Hall, the Bishop of Melbourne was reported to have said: "They belonged to the ancient Church of Christ which, as long ago as A.D. 314, sent three Bishops from England to France to represent them at the Council to be held there."

I felt it to be a duty to protest against the assumption contained in that statement. As I did not wish to impugn either the intelligence or the sincerity of the distinguished speaker, I facetiously characterized it as an historical joke. Three courses were open to those to whom that protest was addressed. They might undertake to meet it by historical argument, or they might substitute ancient abuse for argument, or they might allow judgment to go by default. Some entered on the first course, some sought refuge in the second, and those most concerned seem content to abide by the third. Such is the origin of the controversy. Now as to its nature and object.

My protest was directed against the assumption that the present Anglican Church belonged to, or could trace continuity from or connection with, the ancient British Church[1] which sent three Bishops to the Council of Arles in A.D. 314. This question has a political as well as a historical and a theological aspect. But with the political aspect of the question I am not now

[1] By the British Church is understood the Church planted in Britain during the time of the Roman occupation of the island. It may not be amiss to recall a few elementary facts of British history which will serve to explain references often occurring in the course of this lecture.

When Cæsar landed in Britain he found the whole island occupied by an ancient Celtic people, of the Aryan stock, called Britons. The Roman armies were withdrawn from Britain about the beginning of the fifth century. Then the native princes and tribes waged war, one against the other, till Vortigern, a native prince, invited the aid of the Saxons to repel the attacks of the Picts and Scots who inhabited the northern part of the island. This was about the middle of the fifth century. The conquest of Britain by the Jutes, Angles, and Saxons was practically completed, after a stubborn and long continued resistance on the part of the native tribes, after the victory of Aethelfrith under the walls of Deva, in the beginning of the seventh century. St. Augustine and his companions came to England from Rome in A.D. 597, and henceforth, instead of speaking of the people or church of Britain, we speak of the Anglo-Saxon church and people, or the English church and people.

concerned. It concerns those who are interested in the threatened Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church in England and Wales. To meet that threat an effort has been made to show that the present Anglican Church is the moral and legal representative of the ancient British Church, and therefore entitled to enjoy the patrimony which has come down from the piety of British, Saxon, Norman and Plantagenet Catholic donors.

The feeling amongst English Catholics is, I believe, not one of hostility to the Establishment. They take no part in the cry for its destruction. Its revenues are not likely, if taken away, to be applied to their original purposes; and meantime, as Cardinal Newman says, the Establishment may act as "a serviceable breakwater against more fundamental error."

Anglicans and Apostolic Succession.—But we have to deal only with the theological and historical aspects of the question. And even with the theological aspect we are not just now so much concerned. Of late years Anglican writers have set up a new claim to Apostolical Succession. By Apostolical Succession is meant the legitimate and unbroken succession of the Church from its Apostolic founders. Apostolicity is one of the marks or notes of the true Church. In the Nicene Creed which is sung or said in the Mass each day, we profess our faith in the one holy, Catholic, and *Apostolical* Church.

As I wish to quote non-Catholic sources, I may mention that the Apostolical Succession claimed by Anglicans is thus referred to in *The Tracts for the Times* (No. I., p. 2): "The Lord Jesus Christ gave His Spirit to His Apostles; they in their turn laid hands upon those who should succeed them; and these again on others; and so the sacred gift has been handed down to our present Bishops, who have appointed us their assistants, and in some respects their representatives."

This, in truth, is but an echo of what Tertullian said in the second century: "Let them (the heretics) exhibit the succession of their Bishops, so that the first of them may appear to have been ordained by an Apostle, or by an apostolic man who was in communion with the Apostles."[1]

St. Augustine, in the fifth century, says: "I am kept in the Church by the succession of prelates from St. Peter, to whom the Lord committed the care of His sheep, down to the present Bishop. And, addressing the Donatists of his day, he entreats them thus: "Come to us, brethren, if you wish to be grafted in the vine. We are afflicted in beholding you lying cut off from it. Count over the Bishops from the very See of Peter, and mark in the list of Fathers how one succeeded the other. This is the rock against which the proud gates of hell do not prevail."[2]

It is well known that it was the consideration of the contest between St. Augustine, representing the Catholic Church, and the Donatists, representing heresy, that first shook the faith of Dr. Newman in the Anglican Church.

This claim to Antiquity is intended to render the Anglican Church independent of its alleged descent from the Church of Rome. It is intended to get rid of the dreary difficulties connected with the consecration of Parker, and the ecclesiastical events which accompanied and followed the so-called Reformation. It is intended, in a word, to be a short cut to Apostolical Succession, and a legitimate ministry, in the Church of England.

To establish this claim two things are required; one, to show a direct and an unbroken connection with the ancient British Church; the other, to find an Eastern instead of a Western, or Roman origin for British Christianity.

To prove that Christianity came to Britain from the East has been the ambition of Anglican controversialists,

[1] *Lib. de Præscrip.*, c. 32. [2] *Psal. Contra part. Donati.*

little skilled in ecclesiastical history. In support of this contention, the favourite theory has been that St. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain, and therefore British Christianity can fairly claim an Eastern origin. But even admitting this Eastern origin of the ancient Church of Britain, and consequent independence of the Roman connection, it is still necessary, in order to support the new claim to Apostolical Succession, to prove a direct and an unbroken descent from the ancient British Church. These are questions obviously more of a historical than of a theological character. Hence, Anglicans appeal to history on both points, and to history, therefore, we shall go.

Anglicans Appeal to History.—A clergyman, who has taken part in the discussion, writes: "We are sorry the facts annoy the Archbishop, but we have noticed the same antipathy to the appeal to history in other dignitaries of the Holy Roman Church."

These words were not wisely chosen. The facts were not in question. It was the assumption or inference from the facts that provoked amusement, and not annoyance.

The *fact* was: Three Bishops were sent from Britain to the Council of Arles in 314; the *assumption*—therefore the present Anglican Church belongs to, or is in historic connection with, the ancient British Church. I shall show presently that such assumption is historically as well as logically unsound.

But before doing so I may assure the writer that dignitaries of the Holy Roman Church—as he is pleased to call it—have no antipathy to an appeal to history. It is true that the claims of the Catholic Church have something more than history to support them, but in vindicating these claims history is a powerful auxiliary. It is for this reason that the present wise and far-seeing Ruler of the Catholic Church, Pope Leo XIII., in throwing open the priceless treasures of the Vatican library more fully

and unreservedly, to men of every nation and creed, issued a splendid encyclical letter earnestly advocating the deep study of history, and pointing out how much the Catholic Church has to gain by an impartial investigation of the records of the past.

Chillingworth, also, in his day, spoke sneeringly of the appeal to history as being against the Catholic Church, and this is Cardinal Newman's reply: "Let them consider that if they can criticise history, the facts of history can certainly retort upon them . . . And this one thing at least is certain: whatever history teaches, whatever it omits, whatever it exaggerates or extenuates, whatever it says and unsays, at least the Christianity of history is not Protestantism. If ever there were a safe truth it is this. And Protestantism has ever felt it so. I do not mean that every writer on the Protestant side has felt it; for it was the fashion at first, at least as a rhetorical argument against Rome, to appeal to past ages, or to some of them; but Protestantism, as a whole, feels it, and has felt it. This is shewn in the determination already referred to of dispensing with historical Christianity altogether, and of forming a Christianity from the Bible alone. Men would never put it aside, unless they despaired of it. To be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant."

"I have elsewhere observed," he continues, "on this circumstance: So much must the Protestant grant, that if such a system of doctrine as he would now introduce ever existed in early times, it has been clean swept away as if by a deluge, suddenly, silently, and without memorial; by a deluge coming in a night, and utterly soaking, rotting, heaving up, and hurrying off every vestige of what it found in the Church, before cock-crowing: so that 'when they rose in the morning,' her true seed 'were all dead corpses'—nay, dead and buried—and without grave-stone. 'The waters went over them; there was not one of them left; they sunk like lead in the mighty waters.'

"Strange antitype, indeed, to the early fortunes of Israel!—then the enemy was drowned, and 'Israel saw them dead upon the seashore.' But now, it would seem, water proceeded as a flood 'out of the serpent's mouth,' and covered all the witnesses, so that not even their dead bodies 'lay in the streets of the great city.' Let him take which of his doctrines he will, his peculiar view of self-righteousness, of formality, of superstition; his notion of faith, or of spirituality in religious worship; his denial of the virtue of the sacraments, or of the ministerial commission, or of the visible Church; or his doctrine of the divine efficacy of the Scriptures as the one appointed instrument of religious teaching; and let him consider how far Antiquity, as it has come down to us, will countenance him in it. No; he must allow that the alleged deluge has done its work; yes, and has in turn disappeared itself; it has been swallowed up by the earth, mercilessly, as itself was merciless."[1]

The same writer who refers to the dislike of the dignitaries of the Holy Roman Church to the appeal to history, also refers, not very becomingly, as I think, to "the romances issued as history by the controversialists of the Italian mission in England."

Dr. Lingard's *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* is a standard Catholic authority on the questions in dispute in this controversy, and very few, I think, will approve of the taste of the writer referred to, in designating Dr. Lingard's classic work as "a romance issued by one of the controversialists of the Italian mission in England."

If another writer who has taken a leading part in the discussion had read Dr. Lingard's work, he would not have exposed himself to the merited literary castigation which he has received, for his unhistorical contention that

[1] *Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 6-9.

St. Paul preached the Gospel in Britain. And this brings us to the first main point of our enquiry.

The Origin of the Christianity of Britain.—If we can show that St. Paul did not preach the Gospel in Britain, and that the claims put forward on behalf of St. Peter, St. James, St. John, Joseph of Arimathea, and other representatives of the Eastern Church, are simply supported by no sufficient historical authority, the Western, or Roman, origin of the ancient Church of Britain will be readily conceded.

Dr. Lingard, in his *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church*, replying to Dr. Burgess, Bishop of St. David's *(Independence of the Ancient British Church)*, sets forth all the arguments of any weight which have been advanced in support of the Pauline or Apostolic origin of the British Church.

It is unnecessary to repeat the arguments adduced by Dr. Burgess and the advocates of this theory. They have been recently put before the public in letters to the daily papers. After setting aside those which urge the conversion of Britain by any of the Apostles, Dr. Lingard thus concludes his refutation of the Pauline theory: "The reader is now in possession of the 'indisputable proofs' on which Dr. Burgess built his Pauline Church in Britain. I shall only remark, that not one of them all, has in reality any connection with the question. Those which mention St. Paul take no notice of Britain; that which mentions Britain takes no notice of St. Paul. But,

> Velut ægri somnia, vanæ
> Finguntur species.

"I shall not," he adds, "trespass on the patience of the reader by directing his attention to two other imaginary facts—the missionary labours of Aristobulus in Britain, and the foundation of the church of Glastonbury by Joseph of Arimathea. No one can examine the authorities on

which these statements are founded without pronouncing them at once collections of fables."

Although Dr. Lingard may have been but one of the "controversialists of the Italian mission in England," still it should not be forgotten that his History is widely read, and his impartiality recognised by Protestant and Catholic alike.

Milman[1] asserts that "the Apostolic establishment by St. Paul has not the slightest historical ground; and considering the state of the island,—a state of fierce and perpetual war between the advancing Roman Conquerors and the savage natives, may be dismissed as nearly impossible." And the same author in his *History of Christianity*,[2] writes: "The visit of St. Paul to Britain, in my opinion, is a fiction of religious national vanity."

Anglican pious Legends.—Canon Bright[3] terms the conversion of Britain by St. Paul "a pious fancy." "In short," he adds, "we may pass by all attempts at discovery of Apostolic foundation for the British Church. The theories which modern enthusiasm has created are as shadowy as the Greek fiction about Aristobulus ordained by St. Paul as a bishop of Britain" (p. 3).

Haddan and Stubbs[4] say, that "there is no authority whatever for his (St. Paul's) personal preaching in this island." It is "a gratuitous assumption."[5] Haddan[6] avers he will not delay to argue the question of St. Paul's preaching in Britain, because "the story must first have feet to stand on, before it can be needful to waste time in knocking it down." He refers to the alleged preaching of Joseph of Arimathea in Britain as "a pleasant dream," which Canon Bright improves on by describing it is "a beautiful mediæval romance."

1 *Latin Christianity*, Vol. ii., p. 54. 2 Vol. i., p. 458.
3 *Chapters on Early English Church History*, p. i. 4 *Councils*, &c., p. 23.
5 Preface, p. xix. 6 *The Churches of the British Confession*.

Herzog[1] declares "that the founding of the Christian Church among the Britons by Joseph of Arimathea, St. Paul, or other of the Apostles, must be given up as untrustworthy."

Warren[2] says, " It is hardly possible to pass over in silence the theory of the Eastern origin of the Celtic Church, which was once much in vogue, but which is now generally abandoned as untenable. This theory has, for obvious and polemical reasons, been maintained by all Protestant, and by some Anglican writers, while it has been as uniformly repudiated by writers of the Church of Rome."

Haddan and Stubbs[3] refer to the "groundlessness of the so often alleged 'Orientalism' of the early British Church": and in the *Remains*[4] Mr. Haddan mentions "the common but utterly groundless idea of a specially Greek origin of the British Church."

"The traditions of St. Joseph," writes Pearson, of "St. Paul, and of Aristobulus whom St. Paul is said to have sent, are mutually contradictory, while no one of them is supported by historical evidence. Jerome's language, if it is to be taken at all, shows that in the beginning of the fifth century, the British Church was Roman in its ritual and not oriental." In a note he adds, "This is positively asserted by Eusebius[5] *Vita Constant.* lib. iii., c. 19."[6]

1 *Encyclop. Theol.*, Vol. i., p. 725.

2 *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, p. 46.

3 *Councils*, &c., Preface, p. xix. 4 p. 210.

5 Eusebius has been quoted for the statement that the British Isles were visited by some of the first disciples, but it is surprising how anyone acquainted with the *Evangelical Demonstration* of Eusebius would found an historical argument on a statement so transparently rhetorical. "Eusebius, it is true, speaks as if some of the twelve, or of the seventy, had crossed the ocean to the isles called the British (Euseb., *Dem Evang.*, iii. 5, p. 112); but he is here rhetorically mixing up the work of all ancient missionaries with that of the original disciples of Christ; and when in his History (Euseb., *H. E.*, iii., 1), he speaks distinctly in reliance on Origen of the mission fields of the Apostles, he omits Britain altogether." Canon Bright (*Early English Church History*, pp. 1, 2).

6 *Early and Middle Ages*, Vol. i., p. 70.

Mr. Pearson gives the arguments of the opponents of the theory of an apostolical conversion, rather than his own.

Thackeray, in his *Researches into the Ecclesiastical and Political State of Britain*, quoting Theodoret's statement that "St. Paul, after his release at Rome, went to Spain, and thence carried the light of the Gospel to other nations," declares "this is the most decided opinion of any expressed by ancient ecclesiastical writers; but even this does not enable us with the least degree of certainty to claim St. Paul as the Apostle who preached the Gospel in Britain."

The statement of St. Clement of Rome, that St. Paul "taught righteousness to the whole world, having come to the terma or boundary of the West," has been often quoted in favour of the Pauline Conversion of Britain. Giles, in referring to it, says, "By the West some understand the British Isles. Such an interpretation does not merit a serious answer."[1] There is no record, he says, of Christianity in Britain down to A.D. 120. "Roman soldiers who served in Britain, or merchants who came for traffic may have converted individuals."[2]

"The tradition that St. Paul and St. Peter preached the Gospel in the island found, at one period, general credence. It must be looked upon with extreme suspicion, there not being the slightest historical evidence to support it, and the probabilities highly against it."[3]

We have seen enough, and more than enough, to satisfy any impartial enquirer that the Apostolic or Eastern origin of the British Church must be given up as "groundless" and "untenable;" or, as Mr. Haddan[4] puts it that, "the ingenuity of most writers on the subject has been wasted accordingly upon laboured arguments, directed to that most impossible of historical tasks, the creation of evidence that does not exist."

[1] *History of the Ancient Britons*, Vol. i., p. 187. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 198.
[3] Cassell's *History of England*, Vol. i., p. 17. [4] *Remains*, p. 215.

It must be borne in mind that all the authorities we have quoted, with the single exception of Dr. Lingard, are non-Catholic, and some of them emphatically so, and, as such, they would if possible, "for obvious and polemical reasons," hold the theory of the Eastern origin of the British Church if it were not so "untrustworthy."

With such a mass of non-Catholic testimony on one side, and nothing better than unsupported conjecture on the other, it would be a sheer waste of time to undertake to refute in detail the reasons advanced in support of the Pauline or Apostolic, and therefore Eastern, origin of the British Church.

Breach of Continuity.—Having shown that Christianity came to Britain not from the East through St. Paul or any of the Apostles, or any other named in this connection, it now remains to deal with the second head of our inquiry, namely—Was there an unbroken connection continued between the ancient British and the present Anglican Church?

If not, it is needless to say that even though Anglicans could prove the Eastern origin of British Christianity, the proof would avail nothing towards establishing the direct Apostolical succession to which they lay claim. Here again I shall cite non-Catholic authorities only. And the first of these is one whose words should be taken to heart by all Anglican controversialists. Canon Bright, the Oxford Regius Professor, warns them not to commit themselves to the rash assertion or assumption that the Anglican Church has its descent from the ancient British Church.

Writing to the *Church Times*,[1] he says: "Clergymen who are interested in the literary aspects of Church Defence will do well to discourage imaginative reconstructions of our old Church History, and especially those notions about our relation to British Christianity, which may seem

[1] February 17th, 1888.

to support the anti-papal contention, but really give advantage to a fairly informed Roman arguer. The English Church did not grow out of the British, but was founded apart from it, and without it, and afterwards gradually assimilated and incorporated what was left of it."

Before quoting the next testimony which I wish to adduce—the testimony of a great master of English history, as Canon Bright styles him—E. A. Freeman, Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford, I wish to say that I am not now undertaking to prove that the present Anglican Church is wrong, or that the ancient British Church was right. As far as my present contention goes the Anglican Church may be right, and the ancient British Church may have been in error. All I am undertaking to prove at present is that there is no identity, no continuity betweeen the two.

Here then is the testimony of Professor Freeman: "One point which cannot be too strongly insisted on at this stage is that the Church of England which was founded by Augustine has nothing whatever to do with the early British Church. In after times certain British dioceses submitted to English ecclesiastical rule, and that is all. The Christianity of England did not come wholly from any single source; and one of the sources from which it came was found within the British islands. But that source was not a British source. The Roman planted; the Scot watered; but the Briton did nothing; he refused to do anything; he would have nothing to say to Augustine's invitation to join in preaching the Gospel to the heathen English. Theologians may dispute over the inferences which may be drawn from the fact; but the historical fact cannot be altered to please any man. *The Church of England is the daughter of the Church of Rome.* She is so perhaps more directly than any other Church in Europe. England was the special conquest of the Roman Church, the first land which looked up with reverence to the Roman Pontiff,

while it owed not even a nominal allegiance to the Roman Cæsar . . . The English folk were first called to cast aside the faith of Woden, and to embrace the faith of Christ by men who came on that errand from Rome herself, at the bidding of the acknowledged father of Western Christendom."[1]

The Rev. F. C. Warren, a recognised Anglican authority on the Liturgy of the Ancient British Church, thus emphatically testifies: "Roman in origin, owing her existence to the foresight of one of the greatest of Popes, and fostered at first by Roman missionaries and bishops, the Church of England had been constantly and loyally Roman in doctrine and practice. Her first Liturgical Books, as well as her vestments and Church ornaments, came direct from Rome, being sent from Gregory to Augustine. Her archbishops from the very first applied for and wore the pall."[2]

The Church IN England became the Church OF England.—And a writer who has devoted himself to the study of church history during the Tudor period, and whom no one will accuse of any sympathy with Rome is equally pronounced.

"Thus when Henry[3] died a complete revolution had been effected in the history of the Church. Instead of the

1 *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. England, pp. 277-8.

2 Introduction, *Leofric's Missal*, p. xxiv.

3 In the estimate of the character of Henry VIII., unequivocally given in the course of this controversy, we have a significant proof of the rapid rate at which High and Low Churchmen alike are travelling. But, like those who journey by a quick train, they seem to think that contiguous stationary objects and not they themselves have been moving. Henry is now a tryant and a reprobate—a wicked instrument used by God to reform the Church, if not to found a new religion. Passing by the utterly untenable theory that God ever employs such an instrument for such a purpose, we may contrast this repudiation with the official language of the pillars of the English Reformation, who exhausted the vocabulary of praise to find meet eulogy of a monarch so virtuous. Here is the glowing picture of that saintly sovereign, exhibited for the people's edification on the Sundays. In the third of the Homilies appointed by law to be read in the Churches we find:—"Honour be to God who did put light in the heart *of His true and*

Church *in* England, it had become, in good truth, the Church *of* England; instead, that is, of an integral part of that great Western province of Christendom to which it owed its first conversion, and with which it had been one ever since—for nearly a thousand years—it had become for the first time in its history a separate Christian community, of which little could be affirmed but that, for the time being at any rate, it agreed with no other, that it retained an anomalous and decapitated form of Catholicism, and that, in practice, if not in theory too, it owed its doctrine, as well as whatever of discipline it retained, to its lay supreme head."[1]

"The Englishmen," writes Dr. Short, Bishop of St. Asaph, "who derives his blood from Saxon veins will be ungrateful if he be not ready to confess the debt which Christian Europe owes to Rome; and to confess that whenever she shall cast off these innovations of men which now cause a separation between us, we shall gladly pay her such honours as are due to the country which was instrumental in bringing us within the pale of the Universal Church of Jesus Christ."[2] And, further on, Dr. Short admits that "the existence of the Church of England, as a distinct body, and her final separation from Rome, may be dated from the period of the (Henry's) divorce."

To the foregoing I may add the testimony of another historian who, like Professor Freeman, is looked on in England as a standard authority. In his *History of the English People,* J. R. Green says: "The Church of England as we know it to-day is the work, so far as its outward form is concerned, of a Greek Monk, Theodore of Tarsus, whom

faithful Minister of most famous memory, King Henry the Eighth, and give him the knowledge of His Word, and an earnest affection to seek His glory, and to put away all such superstitions and Pharisaical sects by Antichrist invented and set up, against the true Word of God and glory of His most blessed name, as He gave the like spirit to the most noble and famous princes, Josaphat, Josias and Ezechias."

[1] Child, *Church and State under the Tudors*, pp., 264-5.

[2] *History of the Church of England to the Revolution*, 1688, p. 8.

Rome in 668 despatched after her victory at Whitby to secure England to her sway, as Archbishop of Canterbury . . . When Theodore came to organise the Church of England the very memory of the older Christian Church which existed in Roman Britain had passed away." [1]

And Wilkins in the Preface of his great work, *Concilia Magnæ Britanniæ et Hiberniæ*, passes a glowing eulogy on St. Augustine for his labours in re-Christianising Britain.

Referring to the same period, Gardiner, whose *Student's History of England* is read most extensively, and whose works, like those of Freeman and Green, are amongst those prescribed or recommended by the Melbourne University, as well as by the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, says: "Wilfrid triumphed and the English Church was in all outward matters regulated in conformity with that of Rome."[2]

In Herzog's *Encyclopædia of Theology* (Article, Church of England) the writer, though he impartially states that many Anglicans advance a claim to antiquity for their church, thus expresses his own opinion: "Its history begins with the reign of Henry VIII., when breaking with the Pope, he was declared head of the Church in his dominions."

The last authority I shall adduce to show that there could be absolutely no connection between the present Anglican and the ancient British Church, is Ranke, whose history I find is recommended by the University of Cambridge, and whose Protestantism is undoubted.

"On the other hand," he writes, "British Christian kings made common cause with the heathen Angles, and wasted with fire and sword the provinces that had been converted by Rome. Had not, in the vicissitudes of internal war, the native church organisation of the North won influence over

[1] Vol. i., pp. 57-8. [2] P. 50.

the Anglo-Saxons, heathenism would never have been conquered; it would have always found support among the Britons. When this, however, had once taken place, the whole Anglo-Saxon name attached itself to the Roman Ritual. Amongst the motives for this change those which corresponded to the materialistic superstition of the time may have been most influential. Yet there were other motives, also, which touched the very essence of the matter. Men wished to belong to the great church communion which then, in still unbroken freedom, comprehended the most distant nations. 'Omnem orbem, quocunque ecclesia Christi diffusa est per diversas nationes et linguas uno temporis ordine,'[1] They preferred the bishops whom the King appointed (with the authorisation of the Roman See) to those over whom the abbot of the great monastery on the Island of Iona exercised a kind of supremacy. Here there was no question of any agreement between the German king and the bishops of the land, as under the Merovingians in Gaul; they even avoided restoring the bishops' sees which had flourished in the old Roman times in Britain."[2]

Conclusion.—In the face of such testimony founded on the plain and indisputable facts of history, it is worse than useless for Anglicans to claim direct succession from, or continuity with, the British Church. It is only the pressing exigencies of controversy, and the dislike to acknowledge that if the Anglican Church has any claim to Apostolical succession, that claim must be derived from the Roman Catholic Church, that Anglican controversialists cling to a theory demonstrated to be unsound by their own representative men. That theory forces them into two grave errors—first, that the Christianity of Britain came through St. Paul, or one of the Apostles, or Joseph of Arimathea, from the East, and next, that the present Anglican Church

[1] Beda, *Hist. Eccl.*, iii., 14.

[2] *History of England*, Vol. i., pp. 12-13.

can trace its succession back, in an unbroken line, to that ancient British Christianity.

I have, I think, satisfactorily proved (1) that British Christianity did not originally come from the East, and (2) that no matter from what source it came, it was not the parent of the present Church of England.

In other words, I have shown to-night what the ancient British Church was not. Next Sunday evening I hope to show what the British Church really was.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

THE ANCIENT BRITISH CHURCH WAS ROMAN IN ITS DOCTRINE, IN ITS PRACTICES, AND IN ITS JURISDICTION.

(Lecture II.)

In my last lecture I undertook to prove two points: 1st, That the ancient British Church had not an Eastern origin, through the preaching of St. Paul, or any of the apostles, or of St. Joseph of Arimathea; and 2nd, That no matter from what source the Church of Britain derived its Christianity, the present Church of England can claim no descent from, and no continuity with, that ancient Church.

Having shown what the ancient British Church was not, I promised in this evening's lecture to show what it really was. Whatever remained of it, when Augustine landed in Kent, was absorbed in the Anglo-Saxon Church. But I maintain that as long as it existed it was Roman in doctrine, Roman in general discipline, and Roman in the same intimate connection by which all the members of the mystical body are bound to the spiritual head.

It must not be forgotten that we are dealing with the distant past, and with a period during which contemporary records were to a great extent utterly destroyed. But enough remains to prove that the distinctive features of the Roman Church were impressed on the British, as on all the continental Churches.

Canon Bright has aptly written that the British Church, during the Roman occupation of the island, "shows like a valley wrapt in mist across which some fitful lights

irregularly gleam." What is written of the Roman occupation applies, with but little modification, to the interval which elapsed up till the advent of Augustine in 597.

Gildas the Wise.—Whenever, therefore, the mist rises we must be prepared to observe carefully what is passing in the valley beneath. In the middle of the sixth century, a gleam of sunshine, falling on a monastic house, streams through the aperture of a narrow cell, where a young monk is engaged writing the civil and ecclesiastical annals of his country.

His name is Gildas. The flush of youth is still upon him. But, young as he is, he has already won amongst his spiritual brethren a reputation for ripe scholarship and for stern sanctity. Ten years before he had been asked by his brethren not to allow the fragments of national history to perish, but then he shrank from undertaking so laborious and so melancholy a task. Now, he accepts the responsibility, not, as he says, through a spirit of pride, as if he were better than all the others, but with the feelings of one who wept over the misery of his country, and found consolation in suggesting the remedy of those evils.[1]

About one hundred years had passed since the hated Saxon set foot on British soil. The advance of the invaders had been checked for a time by a great victory gained by the native Britons in the year, and at the place, of Gildas' birth. Comparative peace had reigned through the country since that triumph of Mons Badonicus, but still the injurious effects of a long continued war of invasion were only too visible in the shattered fortunes of Church and country. While the invading Saxons harassed the Britons from the South, the rude Picts and Scots made frequent incursions from the fastnesses of the North, and destroyed when they could not plunder.

[1] *Præf.*, Gildas, p. i.

To crown the misfortunes of the Britons, instead of uniting amongst themselves to resist the foreign foe, their native princes engaged in internal dissensions, and opened a way to the subjugation of their country.

These circumstances will serve to explain the disorganised condition of the British church at this time, and also the unsparing invective with which Gildas inveighs against Saxon, and Scot, and Pict, and prince, and priest, alike.

Owing to the severity of his language in dealing with the crimes of his own countrymen, some few modern writers have ventured either to deny the existence of the historian, or at least to call in question the authenticity of his work. But these doubts are based on no historical evidence. Bede, who lived (673-735) within seventy or eighty years after the death of Gildas, quotes, almost word for word, six entire chapters of his History. When, at the end of the eighth century, the Danes began to invade the coast of Northumbria, Alcuin advised his countrymen to read the works of Gildas, and to learn from them the causes and the cure of national disasters.[1] Dr. Lingard proves by quotations from the Book of Llandaff that the crimes denounced by Gildas were not of unfrequent occurrence amongst the Welsh chieftains of that period.[2]

Mr. Green, the well-known English historian, analyses the objections to the authenticity of the work of Gildas, and expresses his entire belief in the genuineness of the story. "For directly historical purposes the most valuable portion of the work lies undoubtedly in the three sections which gave us the British tradition of the Conquest of Kent. With Dr. Guest we are not ashamed to confess that the story carries with it our 'entire belief.' It has hardly been noticed with what accuracy all technical terms are used throughout this narrative, and yet no better test

[1] *Epist. ad Aethelhard*, p. 17, and *Epist. ad gent. et pop. Cantuar*, p. 78.

[2] *Hist. of Anglo-Saxon Church*, Note B., Gildas.

of the authenticity of a work is to be found, than in its use of technical terms. It is hardly possible that the forger of a later age could have known of that peculiar stage of provincial government which finds its only analogy in Gaul, but which a single phrase of Gildas sets before us. What he does give, comes, he tells us plainly, not so much from native writings or written memorials—for if any such existed, they have been burnt or carried off by those who have fled into exile; at any rate, they are not to be found—as from accounts brought from over sea *(transmarina relatione)*, which frequent interruption of intercourse leaves obscure . . . What Gildas does for us, and it is a service which has been hardly appreciated by late writers, is to paint fully and vividly the thought and feeling of Britain in the fifty years of peace which preceded her final overthrow."[1]

Mr. Pryce[2] refers to the evidently undesigned use of Celtic words by Gildas, and characterises the attempt to impeach the authenticity of his work as "absurd."

Gildas our authority for the British Church.—Mr. Skene,[3] ably vindicates the authority of Gildas, and explains the discrepancies as to dates which are to be found in his pages.

Mr. Green, in the paper referred to, gives this vivid picture of the stern and uncompromising British monk: "Ascetic, keenly religious in the whole tone of his mind and temper, clinging with a fierce contemptuous passion to the Roman tradition of the past, but vindicating as passionately the new moral truths with which Christianity fronted the world of license, steeped to the lips in biblical lore, orthodox with the traditional orthodoxy of the Celt, patriotic with the Celtic unreasoning hatred of the stranger, the voice of Gildas rings out like the bitter cry

[1] *Saturday Review*, April 24, May 8, 1869.

[2] *Essay on the Ancient British Church*, p. 64.

[3] *IV. Ancient Books of Britain*, Vol. i., pp., 33-7.

of one of those Hebrew prophets whose words he borrows, rebuking in the same tone of merciless denunciation, the invader, the tyrant, and the priest."

Such was Gildas the Wise, as he was traditionally called. It will increase your interest in him if I tell you that his labours were not confined to Britain. He not only preached the Gospel in Ireland with great success, but he became, and continued many years, Regent or Rector of the great School of Armagh.

Some have supposed that there were two saints of the same name—Gildas the Wise, and the Albanian Gildas. There may have been, but his biographer, Caradoc of Llancarvan, expressly identifies Gildas the Regent or Rector of the School of Armagh, with Gildas the historian of the Britons. "Gildas," he says, "the historian of the Britons, who was at that time (when his brother Huel was slain by King Arthur) living in Ireland, being rector of the school, and a preacher in the city of Armagh, hearing of the death of his brother, returned to Wales, and was reconciled to Arthur."

His work, *De Excidio Britanniæ Liber Querulus*, is divided into three sections. In the first he gives the substance of whatever we know of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Britain during the period of the Roman occupation, the incursion of the Picts and Scots, and the invasion of the Saxons and Angles. The second section is, as its title, *Admonitiuncula*, implies, a short but almost fierce admonition, addressed to the five native princes or tyrants, who are upbraided with their gross crimes, and exhorted to repent while time remains. The third section is addressed to the clergy, of whom he speaks in terms of strong denunciation, "lest he should be regarded as an acceptor of persons."

Such then, is the one native contemporary authority on whom we are dependent for our knowledge of the

doctrine and discipline of the early British Church. Of course, besides this direct light there are side-lights coming from many sources, native and foreign, which serve to illustrate our subject. After dealing with the direct testimony of Gildas, we shall make a selection of as many of these as can be exhibited within the limits of a lecture. It will be well to bear in mind the cumulative force of the evidence I shall adduce. The facts taken singly may not convince, but the cumulative and converging indications of the facts, collectively, lead irresistibly to conviction. What Butler in his *Analogy* says of the evidence on which the Christian religion rests, is equally applicable to the historical facts surrounding its presence in any particular country. "Probable proofs," he says, "by being added, not only increase the evidence, but multiply it. The truth of our religion, like the truth of common matters, is to be judged by the whole evidence taken together . . . in like manner as, if in any common case numerous events acknowledged were to be alleged in proof of any event disputed, the truth of any event would be proved, not only if any one of the acknowledged ones did of itself clearly imply it, but though no one of them singly did so, if the whole of the acknowledged events taken together could not in reason be supposed to have happened, unless the disputed one were true."[1]

"Religion," says Dr. Lingard, "was not the subject which he (Gildas) undertook to discuss; yet he could not describe the manners of his countrymen, especially the clergy, without occasional allusions to their doctrine and worship . . . That information must of necessity be very imperfect, and confined to few particulars, yet, as far as it goes, it is authentic, and deserving of attention." I shall enlarge it from other sources, and then leave you to draw your own conclusions as to the main point, namely,

[1] *Analogy*, pp. 329-30.

whether the ancient British Church was Anglican or Catholic. The following, then, is the summary of doctrine and ritual compiled by Dr. Lingard, from the works of Gildas.

Doctrine and Ritual of the British Church.—1st. "That the Britons believed in the Oneness of the Godhead and the Trinity of Persons; in the Divine and human nature of Christ, in the redemption of mankind through his death, and in the endless duration of the bliss of heaven, and of the pains of hell."

2nd. "That the hierarchy consisted of bishops, priests, and other ministers; that a particular service was employed at their ordination; that the hands of the bishops and priests were anointed and blessed; that they were looked on as successors of St. Peter, the Prince of the Apostles, and bearers of the keys of the kingdom of heaven; that they sat in his seat, and inherited his power of binding and loosing; and that it was their duty to teach the people, and to offer sacrifice, to stretch out their hands at the most holy sacrifices of Christ." (Gildas lays special stress on the tepidity of many of the clergy who rarely offered the holy sacrifice, or stood with pure hearts at the altar—*raro sacrificantes et nunquam puro corde inter altaria stantes*).

3rd. "That the Britons had monasteries inhabited by monks under their abbot; that the monks made vows of obedience, poverty, and chastity, and that widows often bound themselves by vow to a state of continence."

4th. "That they built churches in honour of the martyrs; that there were several altars, the seats of the heavenly sacrifice, in the same church; that the service was chanted by the clergy in the churches; and that oaths of mutual forgiveness and peace were taken by adverse parties on the altar."

5th. "That the service of their Church was performed in the Latin tongue; that the translation of the Scriptures

was the same which is now called the *Vetus Itala;* that they sang the psalms from a version made from the *Septuagint,* the same still used in the Latin Church; and that they quoted the books of *Wisdom* and *Ecclesiasticus* as of equal authority with the other canonical books."

6th. "That, according to the complaint of Gildas, there were amongst them clergymen who, in contempt of the third canon of the great Council of Nice (this canon is not mentioned in the text, but the allusion to it is manifest), refused the domestic services of their mothers or sisters, and accepted those of other women whom they seduced; and yet while they thus lived in sin, had the presumption to aspire to the higher orders in the Church; others who, to procure ecclesiastical dignities, did not hesitate to pollute themselves with the crime of simony . . . and moreover, some who, when they were unable to subdue the opposition of their brethren, would send messengers before them, and following with costly presents, cross the sea, and traverse distant lands, till, having obtained the object of their ambition they returned to Britain, took forcible possession of the altars, and stretched their impious hands over the most holy sacrifices of Christ."[1]

Besides his History and admonitory Epistle, Gildas has also left a code of penitential canons,[2] which, with the canons of St. David, drawn up about the same time, reveal: 1, the very monastic character of the British Church; the existence of priests (called both *presbyteri* and *sacerdotes*), of deacons, sub-deacons, and lectors; the anointing of the hands of the priest with chrism at his ordination; the priestly authority and dignity exercised in the power of the keys, and in offering sacrifice to God; the consequence of public penance in case of priests and deacons as expressed in the canon: "Henceforward it is unlawful for the priest to offer sacrifice, or for the deacon to hold the chalice."[3]

1 *Hist. Anglo-Saxon Church*, Vol. i., pp. 13, 14.

2 Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, Vol. i., pp. 113, 120, Preface, p. x.

3 Haddan and Stubbs, *De Libro Dav.*, p. 119, Can. xii.

these being then, as now, the distinguishing duties of their respective offices.

The severe penances imposed for mistakes, or even slight culpable negligence, in connection with the words or the administration of the Sacraments, show both the faith and practice of the British Church. Thus a penitential canon of Gidas prescribes that, "If anyone by mistake make any change in the sacred words where danger is noted, he will observe a three days' fast." And again, "If anyone," says another canon, "by negligence let fall and lose a sacrifice," or, as we should say, a host, "he shall do no less a penance than a fast of three Quarantains or Lents."

This reverential care of the Blessed Sacrament was in conformity with the language of Origen in the third century when he said: "You who are accustomed to be present at the celebration of the divine mysteries know, when you receive the Body of the Lord, with what caution and reverence you safeguard it, lest any particle, however small, should fall to the ground. You judge yourselves, and rightly so, as guilty of a crime should this happen through your negligence."

The British Church Roman in doctrine.—I might multiply references to points of doctrine and discipline from other sources going back to an earlier date—such as the *Book of Llandaff*, the authority of which is recognised by such writers as Ussher, Spelman, Collier, Dugdale, Cressy, Goodwin, Lhuyd, Pughe, the Welsh lexicographer, Wharton, and Nicholson; and the *Lives of the Early British Saints*, as edited by a Protestant clergyman, distinguished for his antiquarian researches, the Rev. W. J. Rees, M.A., Member of the Cambrian Archæological Association. In these there is frequent mention of the Mass, confession, prayers for the dead, devotion to the relics of the saints, pilgrimages to holy places, invocation of the saints, vows, monasticism, fasting, and other doctrines, and practices peculiarly

characteristic of the Catholic Church; but the admissions of non-Catholic historians preclude the necessity of giving detailed proofs.

Indeed, so deeply saturated with "Popery" was the religion of the ancient Britons, that Mr. Woodward, the historian of Wales, exclaims, that "whatever independence of the See of Rome the British Clergy might boast, they were subject to her superstitions, the worst slavery of all. The way in which Rome was really regarded may be perhaps seen in the case of St. Ninian, the apostle of the Scots, himself a Briton, who went to Rome and there studied for some twenty years the doctrines he afterwards taught in the Caledonian wilds."[1]

In the same connection Mr. Woodward says that at the end of the fourth century "probably, monasticism was introduced into this country; pilgrimages to sacred places also became more frequent."

Speaking of the Council of Arles, Mr. Giles observes: "It may gratify the upholders of the true apostolical succession to find that the distinction between the three orders of the clergymen is prominent in this catalogue, (*i.e.*, the list of those who attended the Council of Arles), but it reflects no favourable view of the intellect of the fourth century, that the name of *exorcist*, an officer whose duties are too well expressed by his title, occurs almost as often in that document as those of bishop, priest or deacon."[2]

Dr. Short, Bishop of St. Asaph, admits that, "prayers and oblations for the dead were probably established in England from the first."[3]

Schaff, speaking of the isolation of Britain after the withdrawal of the Roman power, says, "that this long isolation accounts in part for the trifling differences, and

1 *History of Wales*, Vol. i., p. 83.

2 *Hist. Ancient Britons*, Vol. i., p. 305.

3 *History of Church of England to the Revolution*, p. 9.

the bitter antagonism between the remnant of the old British Church and the new Church imported from Rome among the hated Anglo-Saxons. *The difference was not doctrinal but ritualistic and disciplinary.*" Having enumerated these differences, such as the time for keeping Easter, the form of tonsure, and the ceremonies of baptism, he continues: From these facts some historians have inferred the Eastern or Greek origin of the British Church. But there is no evidence whatever of any such connection, unless it be perhaps through the medium of the neighbouring Church of Gaul, which was partly planted or moulded by Irenæus of Lyons, a pupil of St. Polycarp of Smyrna, and which always maintained a sort of independence of Rome . . .

"But in the points of dispute just mentioned, the Gallican Church at that time agreed with Rome. Consequently, the peculiarities of the British Christians must be traced to their insular isolation and long separation from Rome. The Western Churches on the Continent passed through some changes in the development of the authority of the Papal See, and in the mode of calculating Easter, until the computation was finally fixed through Dionysius Exiguus in 525. The British, unacquainted with these changes, adhered to the older independence and the older customs. They continued to keep Easter from the 14th of the moon to the 20th. This difference involved a difference in all the movable feasts, and created great confusion in England after the conversion of the Saxons to the Roman rite."[1]

The Gallic Church of St. Irenæus.—If Professor Schaff had gone to the source, and not trusted to positive mistranslations, such as Collier, I regret to say, amongst others, has been guilty of, he would have admitted that so far from the Gallic Church "always maintaining a sort of independence of Rome," the union of the Gallic

[1] *History of the Church*, Vol. i., pp. 26, 27.

Church with Rome was complete and unreserved. The writings of St. Irenæus have come down to us, for the most part, in a Latin translation from the original Greek. But of this version it can be affirmed with great probability, that it dates back as far almost as the lifetime of St. Irenæus himself. By comparing it with the large fragments of the Greek text which are extant, we know that it is close and literal even to barbarism; and as a further security for its fidelity, we have a Syriac version made from the Greek of St. Irenæus. But there is no need to dwell upon this point, for no one disputes that the Latin text enables us to ascertain the true sense of the venerable Father. Here, then, is what St. Irenæus wrote:

"By pointing to that tradition which the most great, the most ancient, and the universally known Church of Rome, founded and established by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul, holds from the Apostles, and to the faith which has been announced to men, and which has come down even to us through the succession of Bishops, we confound all those who, in any way, whether through self-complacency, or vain-glory, or blindness and evil passion, hold opinions other than it behoveth them. For to this Church, because of its more powerful principality, every Church must resort (or agree), that is, the faithful everywhere, in which the tradition of the Apostles has ever been preserved by those on every side."[1]

The writings of St. Irenæus, venerable for their antiquity, have a still higher claim upon us. Of the

1 "Maximæ et antiquissimæ, et omnibus cognitæ, a gloriosissimis duobus Apostolis Petro et Paulo, Romæ fundatæ, et constitutæ ecclesiæ, eam quam habet ab Apostolis traditionem, et annuntiatam hominibus fidem, per successiones episcoporum pervenientem usque ad nos indicantes, confumdimus omnes eos qui, quoquo modo, vel per sibi placentia, vel vanam gloriam, vel per cæcitatem et malam sententiam, præterquam oportet, colligunt. Ad hanc enim Ecclesiam, propter potiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper ab his, qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis Traditio." (*Adv. Her.* I., iii., c. 3, n. 2.) For renderings of this passage see *Primacy*, and *Primacy Further Considered.*

Fathers of his day, he alone is rightly included in what may be called the "Apostolic family." He was the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was in turn the disciple of St. John. With what sweet simplicity and exquisite pathos he gives us this story of his early training: "I could tell the place where the blessed Polycarp used to sit and talk, his goings out and comings in, the character of his life, the look he wore, the discourses he made to the people, how he used to relate his converse with John and with the rest who had seen the Lord, and to repeat their sayings. I remember, too, how it was his wont to repeat the things he had heard from these men about the Lord, and His works of wonder, and His teaching, for he had received those things from men who had seen with their own eyes the life of the Word, and all he told us was in harmony with the Scriptures. Then, by God's mercy, I listened to his words with all the zeal I could, noting them down, not on paper, but on my heart, and ever, by God's grace, keep them in their purity, and meditate upon them."[1]

Mr. Skene testifies to the identity of doctrine and practice in the Roman and ancient British Churches: "Suffice it to say that during the Roman occupation the Christian Church in Britain was a part of the Church of the Empire. It was more immediately connected with that of Gaul, but it acknowledged Rome as its head, from whom its mission was considered to be derived, and it presented no features of difference from the Roman Church in the other Western Provinces . . . We find it in close connection with the Gallican Church, and regarding the Patriarch of Rome as the head of the Western Church and the source of ecclesiastical authority and mission, and with the exception of the temporary prevalence of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, we can discover no trace of any divergence between them in doctrine or practice."[2]

[1] *Iren. ad Florin., apud Euseb.*, v. 20

[2] *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. ii., pp. 2, 7.

Testimony of the Early Fathers.—There has come down to us through all the ages a touching and instructive evidence of the anxious solicitude with which the early Fathers followed the fortunes of the ancient British Church.[1]

St. Athanasius found solace in his persecution in the thought that the Britons were loyal to the true faith.

St. Chrysostom testifies that, "even the British Isles have felt the power of the Word, for there too are Churches, and sacrificial altars[2] have been erected;[3] there too, as in the extreme East, or beside the Euxine, or in the South, men may be heard discussing points in Scripture, with differing voices, but not with differing belief."[4]

What St. John Chrysostom means by "sacrificial altars" the Great Saint of the golden tongue tells us in his first Homily *On the Betrayal of Judas*. "It is not man," he says, "who causes the oblations to become the Body and Blood of Christ, but it is Christ Himself who was crucified for us. The priest, representing Christ, stands and pronounces the words, but the power and grace are from God. 'This is My Body,' he says. This word transforms the oblations. And just as the words, 'Increase and multiply and fill the earth,' were once spoken, but throughout all time give to our human nature the power of generation, so also the words, 'This is My Body,' once pronounced, produce a perfect sacrifice at each table in our churches

1 Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. i., pp. 3-16.

2 The several "visitation articles" of the Elizabethan period enable us to see how wide was the chasm between the faith of St. Chrysostom and that of the Reformers. Archbishop Grindal only voiced the feelings of his episcopal brethren when he enquired, "Whether in your churches and chapels the aulters be utterly taken down and cleane removed out of the churche and other places, and are destroyed, and the places where such impietie was, so made up as if there had been no suche thing there." (*Articles to be Enquired of*, &c., by Edmond Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1571.) "The Churchwardens shall see that the altar-stones be broken, defaced, and bestowed to some common use." (Injunctions of same.)

3 "Καὶ γὰρ κἀκεῖ ἐκκλήσιαι, καὶ θυσιαστήρια πεπήγασιν."

4 *Chrys. Quod Christus sit Deus.*

from that day to this, and from now to our Lord's second advent."

St. Jerome is glad that Britain "worships the same Christ, observes the same rule of truth,"[1] and St. Augustine rejoices at Britain's triumph over Pelagianism.

Those who make a claim to Antiquity cannot repudiate the testimony of these venerable witnesses. What then, was the faith in the spread of which in Britain, these early Fathers of the Church rejoiced? Was it not the faith that radiated from Rome as the centre of its unity and the seat of its authority? Let St. Jerome and St. Augustine speak for all. "I speak with the successor of the Fisherman," says St. Jerome, "with the disciple of the Cross, I, following no leader but Christ, am united in communion with your Blessedness, that is, with the Chair of Peter. On that rock I know that the Church is built. Whoever eats the lamb out of that house is profane. Whoever may not be in the Ark of Noah will perish in the deluge."[2]

St. Augustine's words are still more familiar: "Two Councils have been sent to the Apostolic See; and thence, also, have the rescripts come. The cause is ended: would that at length the error were ended."[3]

Again, in another place, the same illustrious Father finds in the unbroken line of Roman Pontiffs, what is at once the strongest proof of the Apostolicity of Catholic belief, and the most unanswerable argument against his Donatist adversaries.

[4]"If it be a question of the succession of Bishops, the surest way is to count from Peter himself to whom, as representing the whole Church, the Lord says: 'On this rock I will build my Church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' (Matt. xvi.) To Peter[5] succeeded

[1] Jerome, *Epist.*

[2] St. Jerome, *Epist. ad Damasum Papam*, 15, *alias* 57.

[3] *Serm.* cxxxi., t. v., p. 930.

[4] *Epist.* liii., *ad Generosum.*

[5] *See Appendix*, I.

Linus, to Linus Clement, to Clement Anacletus, to Anacletus Evaristus, to Evaristus Alexander, to Alexander Sixtus, to Sixtus Telesphorus, to Telesphorus Hyginus, to Hyginus Anicetus, to Anicetus Pius, to Pius Soter, to Soter Eleutherius, to Eleutherius Victor, to Victor Zephyrinus, to Zephyrinus Calixtus, to Calixtus Urbanus, to Urbanus Pontianus, to Pontianus Antherus, to Antherus Fabianus, to Fabianus Cornelius, to Cornelius Lucius, to Lucius Stephen, to Stephen Sixtus, to Sixtus Dionisius, to Dionisius Felix, to Felix Eutichianus, to Eutichianus Caius, to Caius Marcellinus, to Marcellinus Eusebius, to Eusebius Melchiades, to Melchiades Sylvester, to Sylvester Marcus, to Marcus Julius, to Julius Liberius, to Liberius Damasus, to Damasus Siricius, to Siricius Anastasius . . . who now occupies the same See. In this order of succession no Donatist bishop is found."

"The Bishop of Carthage could afford to despise all his enemies, seeing himself in communion with the Roman Church in which the primacy *(principatus)* of the Apostolic See has always flourished."[1]

Were a British Christian to reappear.—With respect to doctrine and discipline, I have now said enough, and more than enough, to enable you to judge which church, the Catholic or the Anglican, a British bishop, or priest, or layman, would recognise as his own, if he were, after the lapse of fourteen or fifteen centuries, to reappear on earth.

This is the thought which Cardinal Newman has so beautifully developed in regard to the early Fathers of the Christian Church: "Did St. Athanasius," he says, "or St. Ambrose come suddenly to life, it cannot be doubted what communion they would mistake for their own. All surely will agree that these Fathers, with whatever differences of opinion, whatever protests, if we will, would find

[1] *Epist.*, xliii., 7.

themselves more at home with such men as St. Bernard, or St. Ignatius Loyala, or with the lonely priest in his lodgings, or the holy sisterhood of Charity, or the unlettered crowd before the altar, than with the rulers or members of any other religious community. And may we not add, that were the two Saints, who once sojourned in exile or on embassage at Treves, to come more northward still, and to travel until they reached another fair city, seated among groves, green meadows, and calm streams, the holy brothers would turn away from many a high aisle and solemn cloister which they found there, and ask the way to some small chapel, where Mass was said, in the populous alley or forlorn suburb. And, on the other hand, can anyone who has but heard his name, and cursorily read his history, doubt for one instant how the people of England, in turn, 'we, our princes, our priests, and our prophets,' . . . would deal with Athanasius[1]—Athanasius, who spent his long years fighting against Kings for a theological term?"[2]

It is not likely that these Fathers would willingly turn to the services of a Church in whose Articles and Homilies the Mass, the centre, as we have seen, of Catholic worship through all the ages down to the so-called Reformation, is designated as "a blasphemous fable and dangerous deceit," and some of the most ancient practices of Catholic devotion are stigmatised as "damnable and idolatrous." And to this day, except in the writings of the later school of High Churchmen, we search in vain for a word of reverence, or even of ordinary respect, for the most cherished characteristics of Catholic antiquity. We may try to measure, then, the amazement with which these Fathers

[1] In a church with Royal Supremacy as its cardinal tenet, Athanasius would be strangely out of place. "What has the Emperor to do with the judgments of bishops," demanded the intrepid champion of the Church's freedom. "Has it ever been heard of since the beginning of the world, that the judgments of the Church derive their force from the Emperor?" *Epist. ad Solitar.*

[2] *Essay on Development*, p. 138.

would hear of a claim to continuity with the Church of their times from a Church which repudiates in so wholesale a manner those doctrines in the enforcement of which they so freely spent themselves.

The Anglican Church the Creation of Henry VIII.—We have been reminded by more than one correspondent that we have overlooked the distinction between Protestantism and Anglicanism. But this distinction has no foundation in the history of the English Reformation. We could quote many authorities, but content ourselves with the words of one who is specially conversant with the history of the period, and whose statement covers the whole of this particular question:

"It is difficult to study the actual facts of sixteenth-century history, putting apart preconceived ecclesiastical theories, without arriving at the conclusion that the English National Church was as completely the creation of Henry VIII., Edward's Council, and Elizabeth, as Saxon Protestantism was of Luther, or Swiss of Calvin or of Zwingle. Obviously no man who sets forth a distinctive form of Christianity can proclaim himself the founder of a new religion or a new Church as such. So long as the new organisation claims to be Christian at all, it must go back for its foundation to Jesus Christ and His Apostles, and he himself can appear only as a reformer, a restorer of what professes, and must profess, to be the religion which they delivered to mankind. In this particular the claims of the English Reformers of the sixteenth century were the same as that of Luther and Calvin, or of Cartwright and Travers, and the whole question about what is to be regarded as 'primitive' or 'catholic' is one of interpretation and historical theory. The history of the Church in England was continuous from the Mission of Augustine—or, if we prefer it, from the Synod of Whitby—to the time when Henry VIII.,

upon a disagreement with the Pope about his divorce, cast off his allegiance to the Papacy. From that time to the present, with the short interval between the reconciliation under Mary, and Elizabeth's first Parliament, it has been severed from and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church; and as the latter was before precisely that which it has continued since, it is clear that the former must have been something not the same; and it is not the mere retention of a few names and titles, used in a kind of 'second intention,' and a few more or less amputated rites, which will ever make persons, intelligently instructed, believe that an establishment, which obviously is the mere creature of a single State, is the legitimate and adequate representative of that imposing and magnificent Western Church, which is older than any existing State in Europe, and grander than anything that the world has ever seen, and which has been picturesquely described by an old writer as 'the ghost of the old Roman Empire, sitting robed and crowned upon the grave thereof.'[1] A fair consideration of the actual facts of the Tudor history serves to show that a theory like that which prevails so widely at present—which represents the English Church in any other light than that of one (though it may, perhaps, be admitted, the greatest and most dignified) of the many Protestant Churches which arose in the sixteenth century—is a novelty which took its very earliest rise some half-century or more after the separation from Rome, as a direct consequence of Elizabeth's determination to give no quarter to the earlier Puritans, and which made little or no progress for another half-century still. The evidence is simply overwhelming which shows that, during the whole period from 1552 onwards, the English Church was considered by friends and foes alike to be, for all intents and purposes, one with the Swiss churches of Zurich and Geneva. The divines of the

[1] See *Froude*, Vol. vii., pp. 330-4.

Church of England during the period in question differed, no doubt, among themselves on those minor points, which, as we have seen, were so nearly carried in favour of the Puritans in the Convocation of 1562; but their great anxieties were two only, viz., to shake themselves free from 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities'—to use words which once were sounded forth in all the churches in the land as one of the petitions in the Litany — and secondly, to claim brotherhood and sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Switzerland and on the Upper Rhine." [1]

The British Church the creation of the Roman See. —We may now pass from the doctrine and discipline of the ancient British Church, which were Roman beyond cavil or question, to the consideration of the continued connection of that Church with the Roman See.

And first of all we may enquire from what source Christianity came to Britain.

I have already proved that Christianity did not come to Britain through the preaching of St. Paul, or any of the Apostles, or of Joseph of Arimathea. This in itself is sufficient to answer the question substantially. If British Christianity did not come from an *Eastern*, it must have come from a *Western* source. No Western source is mentioned except Rome or Gaul. And as the Christianity of Gaul was Roman, the Christianity of Britain must have been Roman likewise.

But the question is of sufficient importance to justify us in looking into it a little more closely. Let us bear in mind then that Britain became a Roman province within a few years after the Ascension of our Lord. The intercommunication between Rome and Britain must have been both frequent and extensive. Britain possessed, we are told, Roman towns, and villas, and roads, and forts, and

[1] Child, *Church and State under the Tudors*, pp. 272-4.

even baths. Roman civilisation was considerably extended as far as the Roman arms penetrated. On the other hand, we know from St. Paul that the Christian faith spread rapidly in Rome, and from Rome as a centre through the provinces. There were Christian soldiers in the army; there were Christian merchants and traders who visited Britain in pursuit of profit. Tertullian tells us the Christians were to be found everywhere except in the temples of the false gods.

In times of persecution Britain afforded a comparatively safe retreat. "Many of the Romans who had received the new religion and fled from the persecutions of Claudius and Nero, found refuge in Britain, where the imperial edicts were less rigorously obeyed, till the persecution of Dioclesian, when the churches throughout the empire were ordered to be closed."[1] Guizot says that "Rome brought with her arms the Christian faith to the British people. The Christians were numerous in the imperial armies, and their zeal often won to Christ the souls of the vanquished."[2]

I have already quoted Mr. Skene, but for a different purpose, as saying that the British Church "acknowledged Rome as its head, from whom its mission was considered to be derived, and it presented no features of difference from the Roman Church in the other Western provinces."[3]

For the present we shall pass over the mission of Lucius[4] to Pope Eleutherius, because we wish to deal

[1] Cassell's *Hist. of Eng.*, Vol. i., p. 17.

[2] *Hist. of Eng.*, Vol. i., p. 16. [3] *Celtic Scotland*, p. 2.

[4] These writers found their objections to the missions of Lucius: 1st, On the silence of Gildas; 2nd, on the improbability of the supposition that there could be in Britain, at that time, an independent prince; and 3rd, That no reference to that mission appears in the first *Catalogus Pontificum Rom.* But first as to Gildas, if he be read aright there is no discrepancy between his narrative and the records of other chroniclers, native and foreign. This is the reference Gildas makes to the introduction of Christianity into Britain: "Tempore *ut scimus* summo Ti Veri Cæsaris, quo absque ullo impedimento ejus propagabatur religio, comminata, *senatu nolente*, a *principe morte delatoribus*

with admitted facts, and this mission, though supported by an overwhelming weight of evidence, is denied or doubted by some historians of recognized authority.

The Council of Arles (314) thoroughly Roman.—We come, then, to the year 314, the date of the Council of Arles. The Church in Britain must have been organised, meantime, with considerable completeness, as we find it sending three Bishops, Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, probably of Lincoln, to take part in the deliberations of the Council.

Arles is a town in France, situated on the Rhone, and in the Province of Bouches du Rhone. It was the primatial See of France. According to a well-authenticated tradition, St. Trophimus, who was sent from Rome during the lifetime of St. Peter, was its first bishop.[1] The seat of ecclesiastical authority,[2] it became in time the centre of civil government, and had many privileges conferred upon it by Constantine and several of his successors. Two hundred bishops are said to have been

militum ejusdem," *i.e.*, the Gospel was preached in Britain "at the end, *as we know*, of the reign of Ti Verus Cæsar; for then His (Christ's) religion was being spread abroad without let or hindrance, since the *Emperor* had, *against the wish of the Senate*, threatened with death, informers against his soldiers." In this statement every word points to the reign of Verus Cæsar, the colleague of Marcus Aurelius, and not of Tiberius, as modern copyists of Gildas have erroneously written. As to the second objection, Mr. Green removes its whole foundation, when he tells us, in *The Making of England*, p. 5, "Wales was never really Romanised; its tribes were held in check by the legionaries at Chester and Cærleon, but as late as the beginning of the third century, they called for repression from the Emperor Severus, as much as the Picts." Regarding the third objection, it is surprising that writers of the recognised scholarship of Haddan and Stubbs should venture on the statement that the evidence in favour of the mission of Lucius rests *solely* on the authority of what they consider a later edition of the *Catalogus Pontif. Rom.* But, in truth, what they term "the next edition" of the *Catalogus* was a different compilation from the old *Catalogus*, and is a mere compendium of the first portion of the *Liber Pontificalis*. Prior to the year 235, the *Catalogus* contains merely dates and names, but is entirely silent as to the facts and incidents connected with the lives of the Popes. In the face, then, of the concurrent testimony of such a cloud of ancient and modern witnesses, we must conclude with Fuller that "however learned men differ in the date, they agree in the deed." (*Eccl. Hist. of England*, Vol. i., p. 27.)

1 Larousse, *Gr. Dict. Univ. Art. Arles.* Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules*, pp. 775-6.

2 *Mater omnium Galliarum*, as the Emperors Honorius and Valentinian styled it. *(Ibid.)*

present at this Council, though only thirty signed their names to the decree. Amongst these signatures are those of the three British Bishops. Pope Sylvester was represented by his legates, two priests and two deacons. After pronouncing on the Donatist controversy, which was the chief business of the Council, the assembled Bishops drew up twenty-two canons relating to discipline. The first canon or decree adopted the Roman time for celebrating Easter, and abolished the Alexandrian time and all others that differed from the Roman; and in this canon the authority of the Roman See is distinctly admitted, for the Fathers request that the Pope, *according to custom*, send letters to the whole Christian world, to secure unanimity in the celebration of the Paschal feast.[1] If we consider the early date of this Council and the fact that all previous Councils had been held whilst the Church was still suffering persecution, we can appreciate the full meaning of the words, *according to custom*, and the thoroughly Roman faith of the bishops assembled at Arles.

The second canon, comformably to the thirteenth and fourteenth of the apostolic canons, forbids ministers of the Church to change from the diocese of their ordination to another.

The eighth canon forbids the rebaptism of those who had been baptized by heretics in the name of the Father and Son and Holy Ghost.

The tenth canon forbids a man who has put away his adulterous wife, to marry again during her lifetime.

The thirteenth canon declares that the ordinations of *traditor* bishops are valid, *positis ponendis*.

The fifteenth canon forbids deacons to offer the holy sacrifice.

[1] "Primo loco de observatione Paschæ Domini, ut uno die et uno tempore per omnem orbem a nobis observetur, et *juxta consuetudinem* literas ad omnes tu dirigas." (Hefele, *Hist. des Conc.*, Vol. i., pp. 180-194).

The nineteenth canon directs that in a strange diocese, facilities should be given to a bishop to offer the holy sacrifice.

The twentieth canon requires the presence of three bishops at the consecration of a bishop.

The twenty-second canon deprives apostates of communion, who delay till the hour of death asking for it.

To evade the obvious Romanism of these canons, some Anglican historians have had recourse to wilful mistranslations. The heading of the nineteenth canon is "That a place *to sacrifice* be given to stranger bishops."[1] And the canon itself directs that a place be given them where *"they may offer."*[2] Collier thus translates—"That foreign bishops when they come into a city may have the liberty *of consecrating the Holy Sacrament,"* and he uses inverted commas as if these were the very words of the Arles' Fathers. The Thirty-first of the 39 Articles, which denounces "the Sacrifices of Masses" as *blasphema figmenta et perniciosæ imposturæ,* no doubt created a difficulty for the translator. Stillingfleet is still more untruthful, for this is his paraphrase, italicised words and all—*As to travelling bishops, that they should be allowed to perform divine offices in the city they come unto.* The fifteenth canon is headed "That deacons are not to offer." "Ut diacones non offerant." And the canon states that "they ought by no means to do so."[3] The Latin word *offerre* (to offer) is the same throughout, but Collier and Stillingfleet believe in a variety of rendering, for whilst clinging to their italics and inverted commas, the former gives us "That deacons who *celebrate the Lord's Supper* go beyond their commission, and therefore that practice shall not be

1 "Ut peregrinis episcopis locus sacrificandi detur." *Ibid.*

2 "De episcopis peregrinis qui in urbem solent venire, placuit iis locum dare ut offerant." *Ibid.*

3 De diaconibus quos cognovimus multis locis offerre, placuit minime fieri debere.

allowed for the future"; and the latter is a little more elaborate in his ornamentation, thus: *The deacons are forbidden to celebrate the Lord's Supper, there called offering.* It requires but the most rudimentary knowledge of ecclesiastical history to be able to appreciate the distinction between the terms, "offering sacrifice," and "consecrating the holy sacrament," or "celebrating the Lord's Supper." In the original text these canons are inaccessible to the majority of readers, and Anglicans receive them as they have been filtered through such purifying processes, that the Fathers of Arles, if they reappeared on earth, could not recognize their own legislation.

The decrees forwarded to Pope Sylvester.—When the Synod had concluded its labours it addressed the following Synodal Letter to the Pope, together with a copy of the decrees:

"To the well beloved Pope Sylvester: Marinus Agrecius, &c., eternal greetings in the Lord. United together in the bonds of charity, in the unity of our holy Mother the Catholic Church, assembled in the city of Arles, by the desire of the most pious Emperor[1] we salute you, most gracious Pope, with the veneration that is due to you. We have been called to struggle against turbulent men, who have no respect for the law, and the traditions of the Church. But by the authority of God, ever present, and by the inviolable rule of the truth, they have been confounded. There was neither agreement, nor solidity, in their discourses, their accusations, or their proofs. For this reason, in the name of God and the Church, our Mother, they have been unanimously condemned.

[1] "But all was done by the Bishops or by Presbyters, delegates of absent Bishops. The Synodical letter runs in the name of Bishops only and Presbyters who acted as legates of absent Bishops. Constantine, in his letter to the Catholic Bishops, says to them: 'I say, as the truth is, that the judgment of Bishops ought to be accounted, as if the Lord Himself sat and judged.'" (Pusey, *The Councils of the Church*, pp. 97-8.)

"And would to God, well beloved brother,[1] that you had judged it proper to assist at this grand scene: their condemnation would have been more severe, and our joy more entire. But you cannot quit those places where the Apostles constantly preside, and where their blood continually gives glory to God.

"Nevertheless we have not considered that our sole duty consisted in treating of the question for which we assembled.

"In the name of the Holy Spirit and of His angels, and following their inspiration, we have made various regulations. We have also considered it our duty to transmit them to you, who preside over the great (*majores*) dioceses, in order that they may be made known and promulgated to all the faithful."

The smallest demand the sanctity of historic truth can make, is that a writer should give a document of this kind in its integrity, or else abstain from drawing theological conclusions from a mutilated version of it. We find Stillingfleet and Collier unable to impugn the authenticity of the letter, wiping out the remarkable references to the Pope, and then proceeding to demolish arguments in favour of the Roman Primacy, which Catholics deduce from the genuine document. And this is what some people call writing history.[2]

1 "*Venerabilis Frater*" is the title by which, to this day, the Pope addresses a Bishop.

2 If the subject were not so solemnly serious, one could smile at the ingenious efforts to put aside Catholic doctrines by deliberate mistranslations of the writings of the early Fathers. The *Sacrifice of the Mass* is such rank Romanism that some euphemism must be used to give an Anglican flavour to every mention of it. This is only one out of a number of illustrations. Venerable Bede tells us that King Ethelbert gave St. Augustine the old church of St. Martin, and that "in this they began to meet, to chant psalms, to offer prayers, *to celebrate Masses (Missas facere)*, to preach, to baptize." Carte, in translating, says, they preached and performed "*other acts of devotion;*" Collier, "they preached, baptized, and performed *all the solemn offices of religion;*" Churton, "*they administered the sacraments.*"

All the circumstances connected with this synod prove to demonstration that the British Church, represented by the three Bishops who signed the decrees, and sanctioned the Synodal Letter addressed to the Pope, was thoroughly Roman in its organisation.

The Councils of Nice and Sardica and the British Church.—The next time we find mention of the British Church is in connection with the General Council of Nice, held in 325. It does not seem that any British Bishops were present, but copies of the decrees were sent by the papal legates to Britain, and assented to by the British Bishops. Amongst these, the thirteenth canon provides that the dying "should not be deprived of the last and most necessary *Viaticum*." [1] The eighteenth prohibits deacons administering the Eucharist to priests, or taking their place amongst priests.

In 347, representatives of the British Church were present at the Council of Sardica. The papal legate presided. After dealing with the Arian question, disciplinary Decrees were passed with regard (1) to the jurisdiction of the Holy See over ecclesiastical causes, (2) the right of appeal to the Pope, and (3) the submission due to his judgment, or to that of the legates commissioned by him to examine facts at the place where they occurred. These delegates have since been called "legates, *a latere*."

The members of the Council then addressed this letter to the Pope, St. Julius: "We still maintain what we have always believed. Experience proves and confirms what each one has heard, namely, the truth of the words which the Apostle St. Paul has said concerning himself: 'Do you

[1] Τοῦ τελευταίου καὶ ἀνγκαιστάτου ἐφοδίου μὴ ἀποστερεῖσθαι (Hefele, *de conc.* Vol. i., p. 407). When Catholics speak of the last "Sacraments" and "the last Rites of the Church," and give the name, *Viaticum*, to the Blessed Eucharist when administered to the dying, we see that they but use the terminology of the Fathers of Nice. The Fathers used the word Τὸ ἐφόδιον, which is the exact literal equivalent for our term, *Viaticum*.

desire a proof of Christ—of Him who speaks through me?" For as the Saviour dwelt in him, it was the Holy Ghost whose voice resounded in his soul, and re-echoed through his bodily organs. You, also, dearly beloved brother, although absent in body, are present in spirit and will. Your absence was necessary. You feared that schismatical wolves would come by stealth to devour the flock—that the heretical dogs would terrify it, by their barking—and that the serpent, the blasphemer, would infect it with poison. Therefore there is nothing better or more fitting, than that the priests of the Saviour from each province should relate everything to the chief, that is to the Chair of Peter."

In this Council Hosius, a Papal Legate, the President of the Council, said: "If a Bishop, after having been judged, is so convinced of the justice of his cause, that he desires to obtain a second judgment, let us honour . . . the memory of the Apostle St. Peter. Let those who have examined the case write to Julius, Bishop of Rome. If he considers it proper to grant a new hearing, let him appoint judges. If he does not think it necessary to revise the former judgments, those concerned must abide by his decision."

It was also decided that where an appeal to the Pope had been lodged by a Bishop driven from his See, no new appointment to that See should be made till the decision of the Pope was made known. The right of the Pope to send legates to examine facts in the places where they occurred is recognized.

We next come to the Council of Rimini, A.D. 359. Sulpicius Severus expressly mentions the presence of British Bishops at this Council, three of whom, and only three, accepted the hospitality of the Emperor, lest they should be a burthen to their brethren. Although the Council had not an orthodox issue, still, all the bishops at first signed the orthodox formula of faith, and the presence of British

bishops identifies the faith of Britain with the faith of the other orthodox bishops who were in communion with the See of Rome.

Here we must pause for the present. When we resume the story, the labours of St. Ninian and St. Germanus of Auxerre will, like a genial gleam of sunshine, dispel for a while the mists that overhang the history of Britain's ancient Church. The massive form of St. Germanus looms through all the centuries that have passed since then, and his name finds ready echo in many hearts as the tutor and life-long friend of Ireland's glorious apostle.

CHAPTER XXIX.

WHITHERNE, IONA, LINDISFARNE, AND CANTERBURY WERE LOYAL TO ROMAN SUPREMACY AND DOCTRINE.

(Lecture III.)

I fear that I may seem to be unnecessarily occupying your attention, and to some extent, the attention of the public, by prolonging a controversy which, as far as the vital point at issue is concerned, appears to be all on one side.

On the other side, doubtless, much has been written and much spoken, since the controversy began. But you cannot fail to have noticed how wide of the real issue the writers and speakers, with a solitary exception, have kept. Some have gone above it, some below it, some on the right hand, some on the left, but no one has touched it—much less has any one attempted to grapple with the stubborn facts that bear on the case.

If the question had not an antiquarian and an ecclesiastical interest, entirely independent of its controversial bearings, I should hesitate before adding to the mass of unanswered argument and testimony which I have already adduced. But as I am confining myself to the subject in dispute, and to the period of the ancient British Church; and as a genial light is shed on this period by the lives of the saintly men whom I am about to introduce to your notice, I think I shall be readily pardoned if I finish the work I have begun, and complete my task within the limits of the present lecture.

St. Ninian (360-432) and Whitherne.—As on a former occasion, when the mist rises, the light falls on a monastic house, and it now reveals to us St. Ninian, the Apostle of the Southern Picts. The history of this monastery, and the records of this saint, are most valuable in illustrating the doctrine, the discipline, and the Roman connection of the Ancient British Church.

Nor was the influence of either confined to ancient Britain. Ireland shared to a large extent in the learning of the one, and in the labours of the other.

To this fountain, fed from Rome, came Irish students and Irish saints, that they might carry thence the living waters of knowledge and piety, to fertilize the grateful soil of their native isle.

The history of the great church and monastery founded by St. Ninian at Whitherne, in Galloway, carries us back to the end of the fourth century, and carries us forward to the stormy days of so-called Reformation, when ungrateful Scotland dismantled the priory, and scattered the relics of its great founder.

What place the monastery and its founder fill in early and mediæval Scottish history may be gathered from the following passage, taken from the Introduction to the Life of St. Ninian, by Dr. Forbes, Anglican Bishop of Brechin:

"No one," he says "can stand within the precincts of the ruined priory of Whitherne, or look out to sea from the roofless chapel of the Isle, without emotions that are difficult to describe. He stands on a spot where the ancient civilisation of Rome, and the more ancient barbarism of the Meatæ, alike gave place to the higher training of the Gospel of Christ—where the domination of the earth, transferred to the true faith, but still proceeding from the Eternal City, laid hold upon the strongest of all the Celtic races which constitute the population of Scotland—where

Irish learning established the great monastery, and Irish piety received illustration in Brignet and Modwenna, Mancennus, Eugenius, Tighernach, and Endeus—where a Saxon Church, remarkable for the sanctity of its bishops, repaired the breaches caused by conquest and foreign oppression—where, amid the ravages of the Norsemen, and the feuds of the local princes, a rest was found for the ashes of St. Cuthbert—where, in the great restoration of the twelfth century, the civilising influence of the See of York, and spiritual grace of the Order of Prémontré, brought some alleviation to the barbarism of the times—where an Italian legate, mediating between the conflicting claims of Scotland and England, brought his Italian astuteness and Italian tact to bear upon the question—where Aelred acquired the knowledge which gives local colour to his narrative—where the bishop of the diocese, so poor that he needed to act as suffragan and coadjutor to the Archbishop of York, yet appeared in his true place as intercessor for the rebel Thomas to his offended King—where David, wounded in battle, found a cure for his festering sore—where year by year the concourse of devout pilgrims to St. Ninian's shrine was so great as to call for royal interference, and in the presence of his sanctity the old feuds of Scotch and English were for the time to be forgotten—where the good Queen Margaret, the wife of James III., found food for a piety which has almost entitled her to a place in the Calendar of the Saints—where the gallant and chivalrous James IV., in whom, in spite of the temptations of youth, the devotional element prevailed, drew in that spiritual life, which, expressing itself in deep penitence for his complicity in his father's death, sent him with an iron girdle of penance round his waist to the fatal field of Flodden. And all this historic interest centres round one single figure, sketched in faint outline by the venerable Bede, filled in by the graceful hand of the amiable Aelred, commemorated in the dedications of many churches through

the length and breadth of Scotland—Ninian the apostle of the Britons and of the Southern Picts:—

"In Paradiso Ecclesiæ
Virtutum ex dulcedine
Spiramen dat virtutum
Ninianus coelestium."

It is at once fortunate and significant that there is no dispute about the source from which St. Ninian derived the doctrine, which he introduced and spread in the ancient Church of North Britain.

From various records we learn that St. Ninian was the son of a Cumbrian prince, or chieftain, and was born in the South-west of Scotland about the year 360. Having arrived at the age of manhood he proceeded to Rome "to refresh his spirit," as Montalembert says, "in the fountains of orthodoxy and discipline, and after having lived, prayed, and studied there in the school of Jerome and Damasus, he received from Pope Siricius episcopal ordination."[1]

Bede says that Ninian was "a most reverend and a most holy man of the British race, who was most regularly instructed in the faith and in the mysteries of truth at Rome." (iii. 4.)

We have already quoted Mr. Woodward as admitting that "the way in which Rome was regarded may be perhaps seen in the case of St. Ninian, the apostle of the Scots, himself a Briton, who went to Rome and there studied for some twenty years the doctrines he afterwards taught in the Caledonian wilds."[2]

St. Ninian in Rome.—When St. Ninian arrived in Rome, St. Damasus was Pope. His biographer, Aelred of Rievaulx, tells us that Pope Damasus received the pilgrim student with all the affection of a father. St.

[1] *Monks of the West*, Vol. iii., p. 19.
[2] *History of Wales*, Vol. i., p. 83.

Damasus[1] died in December, 384, and was succeeded by St. Siricius.

About this time St. Ninian's thoughts must have been engaged about the sad spiritual condition of his countrymen. "He conceived," says Montalembert, "the holy thought of returning to Britain, and of meeting the waves of northern barbarians, who continued to approach ever nearer and more terrible, by the only bulwark which could subdue by transforming them. He undertook to convert them to the Christian faith."[2]

In pursuance of this purpose he received episcopal consecration from Pope Siricius, left the Eternal City after a residence of twenty years, and on his way remained for some time at the Monastery of Marmoutiers to learn lessons of wisdom and missionary experience from its great founder, St. Martin of Tours.

From that monastery, as Aelred tells us, St. Ninian brought skilled masons to erect in his native district a church on the model of those he had seen in Italy and Gaul. This church, because it was built of chiselled stone, a style of edifice, as Bede informs us, hitherto unknown in North Britain, was called *Candida Casa* in Latin, and in the native language, Whitherne (modern Whithorn) or White House.

1 The Pontificate of St. Damasus, was in many respects an eventful one in the history of the Church. To him is due the overthrow of Arianism. To him we owe St. Jerome's translation of the sacred Scriptures known as the Vulgate. It was by him the Apollinarian heresy was condemned in a Council held in Rome, A.D. 377. It is to him that all the contending factions of the East sent their deputies. To him St. Jerome writes to know whether he is to follow the communion of St. Meletius or of Paulinus of Antioch, each of whom in times of persecution had been consecrated bishop of the same diocese. It is to him that St. Basil makes the remarkable appeal to restore peace to the Churches of the East. It was during his pontificate that St. Ambrose was elected Bishop of Milan, and that the famous monastery of Marmoutiers was founded by St. Martin of Tours. It was to Pope Damasus that the Emperor Theodosius sent an embassy that he might confirm the appointment of Nectariu he See of Antioch, and thus bring peace to that troubled Church.

2 *Monks of the West*, Vol. iii., p. 19.

While engaged in the erection of his church, St. Ninian learned of the death of St. Martin of Tours. Such was his estimate of the sanctity of St. Martin, that Ninian at once chose him as the patron of his missionary labours, and dedicated the church to God, under his invocation. This fixes the date of the erection of Whithorn in the year 397, as Mr. Skene holds, or the year 402 as is very commonly held.

These circumstances, as Mr. Skene observes, show very plainly both his relation to Rome as the source of his mission, and his connection with the Church of Gaul.

The preaching of St. Ninian, Bede assures us, caused many of the Southern Picts to forsake their idolatry and to become fervent children of God.[1] Nor were his labours confined to the district of Galloway; they extended to the foot of the Grampians.

St. Ninian in Ireland.—Towards the close of his life he is said to have visited Ireland in company with St. Palladius. An old tradition preserved in the Festology of St. Aengus attributes to him the erection of a church and monastery at Cluain Conaire, now Cloncurry, in the Diocese of Kildare. Mr. Skene refers without disapproval to an old Irish life of St. Ninian, in which the erection of this monastery is mentioned. An extract from this life is given by Ussher *(Brit. Eccl. Ant.)*, and an abstract of it in the Bollandists *(Acta Sanct.)*, Sept. 16, on which day St. Ninian, under the title of Monenn, was certainly commemorated in Ireland.

When he had passed the allotted span of life, he returned to his monastery of Whithorn preparing himself, according to a writer already mentioned, "for the judgment of God, in a cave on the Galloway shore upon which beat the impetuous waves of the Irish Sea."

[1] *Bede*, iii., 4.

His death is generally believed, though without any definite historical evidence, to have taken place in 432.

The chief Irish Saints who resorted to him, or to his monastery, for instruction and spiritual guidance, were St. Finian of Moville, St. Enda of Aran, St. Tighernach of Clones, St. Eoghan or Eugene, bishop of Ardstraw and patron of Derry, St. Rioch, who is numbered by some amongst the relatives of St. Patrick, St. Talmach, St. Mugint, author of the beautiful penitential prayer preserved in the *Liber Hymnorum,* and St. Manchan, patron of Limerick.

On the other hand, we find further evidence of the intimate union that existed at this time between Ireland and Wales, in the number of churches and chapels dedicated in Wales to St. Brigid. Professor Rees enumerates eighteen, of which he states, "From the extent of the parishes attached, it may be inferred that the foundations of several of these churches are of considerable antiquity, and seem to belong to the class of those dedicated to St. Michael and St. Peter. There is a vague tradition that St. Brigid visited Wales, which may in some degree account for the homage she has received, but veneration for this holy person has, for some unknown cause of preference, been diffused so widely, that she deserves to be called pre-eminently the Saint of the British Isles; for churches have been consecrated to her memory throughout England and Scotland, in the Isle of Man, and especially in the Hebrides." [1]

Thus we have many fathers of monastic life in Ireland directly connected with St. Ninian and Candida Casa, and St. Ninian directly connected with Rome,—one of the many proofs which show that the ancient Churches of Britain and of Ireland were Roman not only in origin, but in doctrine, discipline, and communion.

[1] *Welsh Saints*, p. 190.

St. Germanus of Auxerre and Pelagius.—Following the order of time, and taking note of every manifestation of the ancient British Church which appears in ecclesiastical history, we are next led to consider the memorable mission of St. Germanus of Auxerre, and St. Lupus of Troyes, to Britain in 429. We shall find in this, as in every other important event in the history of the ancient Church of Britain, confirmation of the identity of its doctrine, general discipline, and ritual with the Roman Catholic Church, and the dependence of the one on the other. St. Germanus' life, from his consecration in 418, until his death in 448, fills a large part of the early history of the Gallic Church. The circumstances of his consecration were wonderful and unexpected even beyond those connected with the election of St. Ambrose. From being a keen lawyer, an eloquent orator, a governor of a province, and an enthusiastic sportsman, he found himself suddenly raised to the bishopric of Auxerre, and he became a strict observer of a most rigorous penitential discipline.

His early studies were made in Rome, not for the Church, but for the bar. His noble birth, his commanding abilities, his distinguished civil position, his sudden elevation to the episcopacy, his rigorous penances, his special relations with St. Patrick, his two visits to Britain, his overthrow of Pelagianism in the British Church, all go to make his episcopate one of the most remarkable of his time. His life has been written by Constantius, a priest of Lyons, who was almost a contemporary. St. Prosper, who was a contemporary, secretary of Pope St. Celestine, and whose authority is unimpeachable, also gives an account of these visits to Britain.

The Pelagian heresy would seem to have made considerable progress in Britain. The British Bishops, unable to cope with the evil, applied for help to the Church of Gaul, and, as Prosper tells us "on application of the deacon Palladius, Pope Celestine sent as his legate (*vice sua*)

Germanus, the Bishop of Auxerre, in order that he might drive out the heretics and guide the Britons to the Catholic faith."[1]

Prosper repeats this statement in his controversial work against Cassian, in which, referring to Britain and Ireland, he says that Pope Celestine "kept the Roman Island (Britain) Catholic, and made the barbarian Island (Ireland) Christian."[2]

Whether the British bishops applied in the first instance to a synod of the Bishops of Gaul, as Constantius asserts, or directly to the Pope, as Prosper implies, it is certain that it was by the Pope's action and authority that Germanus and Lupus were sent to Britain.

The Lutheran historian, Lappenberg, takes the fact for granted. "The celebrated heresy of the Briton, Morgan (also known as Pelagius), found such favour, that the orthodox, through the intervention of Palladius, who afterwards became the first Scottish bishop, prevailed on Pope Celestinus to send Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and Lupus, Bishop of Troyes, to confute their opponents in a public discussion."[3]

The papal legates were everywhere received with great joy and favour. By their preaching they completely confounded the heretics, and for a time saved the British Church from the subtle danger to which it had been exposed. At the conclusion of his notice of the Synod of Verulam, Wilkins,[4] says that St. Germanus, having succeeded in the object of his mission, returned thanks to God and to St. Alban, the proto-martyr of the British Church, to whom he ascribed his victory.

We know from Constantius, his biographer, that St. Germanus visited the martyr's tomb, opened it, deposited

[1] *Chron. anno.*, 429. [2] *Contra Cass.*, c. xli., p. 113. [3] *Hist.*, Vol. i., p. 62.

[4] "Ad propria cum gaudio remeavit, Dei et beati Anglorum proto-martyris Albani, cui victoriam ascripsit, gratus acceptor beneficii, magnalia predicando." (*Conc.*, Vol. i., p. 2.)

therein sacred relics he had brought from Gaul, and took from it some of the clay, supposed to be dyed with the martyr's blood, which he deposited in a stately church that, after his return, he built at Auxerre.

At Paris, on his way to Britain, St. Germanus received the vows of the faithful Genevieve, and admitted the virgin to the religious state. "The fact on record," says Professor Rees, "that St. Germanus, while proceeding on his mission was a party to a consecration of the nature described (*i.e.*, the profession of a nun), leaves a fair inference that he introduced the custom into Britain. On the other hand, it was by no means uncommon for men in this age to exchange the state of matrimony for that of monasticism."[1]

If we bear this last observation in mind it will serve to answer many difficulties regarding the celibacy of the clergy, and to account for what we find stated regarding the sons of priests and even of bishops. We should remember, too, that in our own day we have had several instances, especially in England, of married converts, who had families, becoming priests, some after the death of their wives, and some by mutual separation. In the latter case the wives entered the religious state, and, like their husbands, took the vow of chastity.

St. Ninian died about 432. St. Germanus' second mission to Britain came to an end in 436. Then the mist settles again over the valley. All is silence for a century, till, as Mr. Skene says, "it is broken in the succeeding century by the querulous cry of Gildas." In giving his testimony I have departed from the chronological order, both because it is direct, and because he is the only contemporary historian who wrote within the British period.

Saint Columba (†597) and Iona.—In the middle of the sixth century the fortunes of the British Church

[1] Rees, *Welsh Saints*, p. 159.

brighten again. St. Kentigern, or St. Mungo as he is more commonly called, is evangelizing the Britons in Strathclyde and South Wales, and Columba, with his twelve companions, is preparing to set sail from Derry for distant and desolate Iona.

These two saints were contemporaries. The strength and beauty of their spiritual friendship may be gathered from the mutual interchanges, so full of pathos, which the biographer of St. Kentigern records as having taken place at their meeting on the borders of Strathclyde about the year 584. They preached the same doctrine, and how peculiarly Roman that doctrine was, the reader of their lives must at once admit.

Thus in St. Kentigern's *Life*, edited by Dr. Forbes, Anglican bishop of Brechin, p. 51, we read of a dying man who was visited by the Saint, "and after making a pure confession, he was anointed with the oil of remission, and purified with the sacrament of the life-giving Body and Blood of the Lord."

Again (p. 59): "It was in celebrating the holy mysteries of the Mass that, in a manner putting off the man and withdrawing himself from earthly things, he put on something like a divine character wholly above the human. For while with his hands lifted in the form of a cross, he said *Sursum Corda*, he lifted his own unto the Lord as he exhorted others."

(p. 61): "He retired to desert places every Lent."

(p. 62): "At length, for a long time, before Maunday Thursday, and after that, on the Saturday before Palm Sunday, he returned to his people to his episcopal office, and he was received by them all as an angel of peace and light. Wherefore he was used to pass that week with his disciples, and on Maunday Thursday, after the composition of the holy chrism and oil, he washed with his own hands the feet of a multitude of poor men—and afterwards

he waited on the people diligently at table—and thereafter from that hour till the celebration of Mass on Easter Day, he always remained fasting."

Passing to the more illustrious of the two—St. Columba—I would fain linger over the glories that cluster round a name so majestic:

> "Saint of the seas—
> Whose days were passed in teacher's toil—
> Whose evening song still filled the aisle—
> Whose poet's heart fed the wild bird's brood—
> Whose fervent arm upbore the rood—
> Still from thy roofless rock so grey,
> Thou preachest to all who pass that way."
>
> (*McGee.*)

It would of course be impossible, within the limits of a lecture, to follow in detail the fortunes of St. Columba, and of the Columban monks and bishops whether at Iona or at Lindisfarne. Suffice it to say that both ancient and modern writers, from Bede down to our own time, bear testimony to the simplicity of their lives, the orthodoxy of their faith, and the zeal and success of their missionary labours.

In proving the thoroughly Roman character of the doctrine and practices of these early missionaries I will rigidly adhere to my plan of quoting only non-Catholic authorities on controverted questions.

With regard to Columba himself, we are reminded by Dr. Reeves, Protestant bishop of Down and Connor, that, in Adamnan's Life, we have the testimony of one who "was quite near enough to the fountain head both in time and place, to draw from authentic sources, for in his boyhood he had frequent opportunities of conversing with those who had seen St. Columba, and he was now writing on almost the very spot where his great predecessor had indited his last words, and surrounded by objects, every one of which was fresh with the impress of some interesting association."[1]

[1] *Adamnan*, edited by Dr. Reeves, Preface, p. vi.

It is no wonder, therefore, that Pinkerton pronounces Adamnan's work to be "the most complete piece of such biography that all Europe can boast of, not only at so early a period, but even through the middle ages."[1]

Faith of Iona and Lindisfarne.—Let anyone take up this Life and when he finds repeated references to Mass for the living, and Mass for the dead, the Blessed Eucharist, Confession, fasting, the Divine Office, vows, relics, and such admittedly "Popish" practices as blessings of salt and water, &c., how can he deny that the faith of Iona was characteristically Catholic and Roman? Indeed, so clear is the evidence of this identity, that Protestant writers of acknowledged authority, despite their prejudices and theories, have fully conceded our contention.

I have already quoted Mr. Skene, Dr. Short, and Professor Schaff. Here is the emphatic testimony of Canon Dixon: "Between Wales and Ireland, the British and the Scottish tribes, there would at all times be a direct communication. Ireland is said to have been converted by St. Patrick, who was sent from Rome. It is most probable, however, that the Christian faith had reached that country before the time of that saint, and Mabillon himself confesses that the peculiarities of the British Church, in spite of better teaching, were dominant in the early times in Ireland."

"My readers must not be led away by the ingenious and fallacious arguments of modern partisans, and imagine that these peculiarities involved any material difference in doctrine. There was nothing of the kind. In faith they were as firmly united as in the great Councils in the fourth century; the only discrepancies were in comparatively trivial points of discipline and form, and the persistence of the Britons and Scots was mainly nourished and kept up by their old feeling of national independence.[2]

[1] *Pref. Enquiry*, Vol. i., p. xlviii. [2] *Archbishops of York*, Vol. i., p. 13.

Cunningham gives almost similar testimony: "Some writers have attempted to prove that the Culdees[1] repudiated auricular confession, the worship of saints and images, the doctrines of Purgatory and the real presence in the Sacrament of the Supper; and have delighted to portray them as free from almost all the errors and superstitions of the Roman Church, the holy children in the midst of Babylon. An impartial examination of their history shows this to be a fond delusion, and it is a pity it should be longer indulged in, as neither Presbyterianism nor Protestantism can gain anything by it. It is certain that they were always behind the Roman clergy in the reception of new doctrines and modes of worship, and that the Romish ritual never attained its full splendour amongst them; but this is to be attributed solely to the remoteness of their situation, the simplicity of their manners, and the poverty of their country. But they gloried in their miracles; they paid respect to relics, they had their monasteries, their abbots, and their abbesses, and lived according to a monastic discipline; they performed penances, fasted on Wednesdays and Fridays, used a liturgy, and had something very like auricular confession, absolution, and Masses for the dead."[2]

Seventy-one years after the establishment of Columba's monastery at Iona, when the faith had almost died out in the kingdom of Northumbria, where should the Christian King, Oswald, look for fuel to kindle into living flame the dying embers, but to the furnace of Iona, at which his own faith had been lit? Thence went forth missionaries to evangelise the kingdom, and to lay the foundations of the diocese of Lindisfarne. Aidan became its first bishop.

How unmistakably Roman was the Church he founded, Canon Bright will be our witness: "The religion which he taught was essentially identical with that which prevailed at Canterbury or Dunwich, where his name was held in

[1] See *Appendix*, Note II. [2] *Church Hist. of Scotland*, Vol. i., p. 93.

honour. Mass was celebrated at Lindisfarne on Sundays and holidays, certainly with no splendour of visible surroundings, and probably with rites differing in some measure, not, of course, as to the essentials of the service, from those of the Gregorian Liturgy which Augustine had brought into Kent, and cognate to the Gallican use which Felix perhaps had introduced into East Anglia; but the usual language about the 'mysteries of the Sacred Eucharist,' was as familiar to a disciple of Hy or Lindisfarne, as to the churchmen of Gaul or Italy."[1]

St. Augustine and England.—The fateful year, 597, witnessed the death of St. Columba at Iona, and the landing of St. Augustine at Kent. Of Pope St. Gregory's part in sending St. Augustine, of St. Augustine's Roman doctrine, ritual, obedience, it would be a waste of time to give any lengthened account. Are they not all written in the head of the book of the ecclesiastical history of England? With a faithful adherence to historic facts, and an eloquence all his own, the great master of the English tongue has left us this imperishable picture:—

"It is an old story and a familiar, and I need not go through it. I need not tell you . . . how when all was tempestuous, and hopeless, and dark, Christ like a vision of glory, came walking to them on the waves of the sea. Then suddenly there was a great calm; a change came over the pagan people in that quarter of the country where the gospel was first preached to them; and from thence the blessed influence went forth, it was poured out over the whole land, till one and all, the Anglo-Saxon people were converted by it. In a hundred years the work was done; the idols, the sacrifices, the mummeries of paganism flitted away and were not, and the pure doctrine and heavenly worship of the Cross were found in their stead. The fair form of Christianity rose up and grew and expanded like a beautiful pageant from north to south; it was majestic, it was solemn, it was bright, . . . it was at once a teaching and a worship; it had a dogma, a mystery, a ritual of its own; it had an hierarchical form. A brotherhood of holy pastors, with mitre and crozier and uplifted hand, walked forth and blessed and ruled a joyful people. The crucifix headed the procession, and simple monks were there with hearts in prayer, and sweet chants resounded, and the holy Latin tongue was heard, and boys came forth in white, swinging censors, and a fragrant cloud arose, and mass was sung, and the saints were invoked; and day after day, and in the still night, and over the woody hills and in the quiet plains, as constantly as sun and moon and stars go forth

[1] *Early English Church History*, p. 145.

in heaven, so regular and solemn was the stately march of blessed services on earth, high festival, and gorgeous procession, and soothing dirge, and passing bell, and the familiar evening call to prayer. . . . Such was the change which came over our forefathers; such was the Religion bestowed upon them . . . And you know its name; there can be no mistake; you know what that Religion was called. It is called by no modern name—for modern religions then were not. You know *what* religion has priests and sacrifices, and mystical rites, and the monastic rule, and care for the souls of the dead, and the profession of an ancient faith, coming through all ages from the Apostles. There is one, and only one, religion such: it is known everywhere; every poor boy in the street knows the name of it; there never was a time, since it first was, that its name was not known, and known to the multitude. It is called *Catholicism*—a world-wide name, and incommunicable; attached to us from the first; accorded to us by our enemies; in vain attempted, never stolen from us, by our rivals."[1]

An effort has been made to discount the significance of Augustine's Roman mission, by referring to the refusal of the British bishops and monks to alter some of their peculiar ritual observances at his bidding. But in reality the meeting at *Augustine's Oak* furnishes strong corroboration of the agreement of the Roman and ancient British Churches. Three things and only three did Augustine ask the British bishops and monks to change so as to be in agreement with the Roman practices.

1st, The time for keeping Easter; 2nd, The form of tonsure; and 3rd, The *complement* of baptism. The words of Bede are, "ut ministerium baptizandi, quo Deo renascimur, juxta morem Romanæ, sanctæ, et Apostolicæ Ecclesiæ *compleatis*."

Now, we have already shown from the acknowledgments of non-Catholic writers—what is indeed a self-evident fact—that in no one of these three points was there any question of doctrine. They were one and all concerned with variable ritual.

If there was any substantial question on which the British differed from the Roman Church, surely Augustine would have put that in the first place. He asks for a change in three points of ritual observance, therefore there

[1] Cardinal Newman, *Christ Upon the Waters*, p. 127-9.

was no point of doctrine, no want of substantial union with the Holy See, no error regarding the number or efficacy of the Sacraments, or the Sacrifice of the Mass, or the Primacy of the Pope, to be changed in order to bring the ancient British into harmony with the See of Gregory and of Peter.

Again, the ground of refusal to comply with Augustine's proposals was not at all a *doctrinal* one. It seemed to hinge on a point of etiquette. Augustine did not rise to salute the representatives of the British Church, therefore they concluded he was proud, and would treat them with contempt if they yielded to his demands. But, doubtless, the real cause of their refusal was, that Augustine came to them as an Archbishop of the hated Saxons, who were even then engaged in subduing their country, and banishing their people to the fastnesses of the North.

In this context, it is satisfactory to find that, at least up to the present, Spelman's report of the forged speech of Abbot Dinooth has not been produced.

Venerable Historical Curiosities.—But there have been produced other venerable historical curiosities, and of some of these we shall take a passing notice. Let us begin with the alleged repudiation by Pope Gregory himself of all claim to the Primacy. The Pontiff censured and reprobated the title of *universal Bishop* assumed by John of Constantinople. Except on the principle that drowning men grasp at straws, it would be difficult to understand how the repudiation of a title in one sense, could be held to involve the repudiation of it in a totally different sense. A recent Catholic writer asks, with pardonable surprise, whether it is possible that anyone with a claim to scholarship still puts forward this transparent fallacy. If so, he asks such a one to explain the *conduct* of Pope Gregory[1] himself in his relations with the Saxon, the Gallic, and the universal

1 As to St. Gregory's disinclination to yield any of his rights as Sovereign Pontiff, consult amongst other Protestant writers, Canon Bright (*Early English Church History*, pp. 61-63); Neander (*General Church Hist.*, Vol. v., p. 150.)

Church; his *letters* to Augustine directing the erection of archiepiscopal and episcopal sees; his refusal to give Augustine any authority over the Gallic bishops—"Over the Gallic bishops we give you no authority;"[1] his *appointment* of Augustine over *all* the bishops of the Britons: "But we commit all the Bishops of the Britons to your fraternity, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened through persuasion, the perverse corrected by authority;" his *grant* of the pallium, the symbol of jurisdiction, to Augustine and to his successors, but above all, his *reason* for not sanctioning the title of *Universal Bishop*, namely, because, as Gregory expressly states in his letters, it seemed to suppose that there was but *one* bishop: "triste valde est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus *despectis omnibus*, prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus *solus conetur appellari* episcopus."[2] "Si unus Patriarcha *universalis* dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur." And in another Epistle,[3] "*Si unus universalis* est, restat, ut vos Episcopi non sitis."

This is the very Pontiff who says that "to Peter was committed the care of the whole church by the Lord," and that he, as Roman Pontiff, directs his care to all churches (universis Ecclesiis curam impendere), and that every bishop is subject to him," nescio quis ei episcopus subjectus non sit."[4]

It is wonderful how many venerable arguments have been rudely shattered by a ransacking of the State Paper Office. "Brave" Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1235-1253), has had his day. He complained of an appointment to a canonry in his cathedral, which he satisfied the Pope was ill-advised, and his words have been seized on as a proof of Rome's usurpation, and of England's resistence, and his name has been cherished as a very beacon

[1] *Resp.* St. Greg., n. 7; Bede i., 27; Haddan and Stubbs, viii., p. 22.
[2] *Ad Const.* iv., *Epist* xxxiv.; l. iv., *Epist.* xxxvi., *ad Eulog.*
[3] l. vii., *Epist.* 69, *ad Euseb.* [4] *Epist.* xxxii., and l. ix.

light in those dark and evil times when England was dragged at the wheels of the papal chariot. But an obscure corner in the limbo of neglected worthies will henceforth be the portion of the good prelate, for the State papers have let out the secret of his devoted loyalty to the Sovereign Pontiff, of whom he wrote: "When the sun himself appears and shows his presence upon the earth, these lesser luminaries give place to the rays of the sun, being extinguished by the solar light; so does our Lord the Pope —in comparison with whom all the other prelates are like the moon and stars, receiving from him what power they possess to illuminate and cherish the Church—manifest his presence."[1] Again, in the very letter in which he complains of the Papal nominee, he declares that "to the Holy Roman Church is due from every son of the Church the most devoted obedience, the most reverential veneration, the most fervent love, the most submissive fear."[2] The fact that the writer of these sentiments has been numbered amongst the supporters of the anti-papal contention, is evidence of the truth of De Maistre's assertion that history for the last three centuries has been in conspiracy against the Catholic Church.

Ecclesia Anglicana and the False Decretals.—It is difficult to deal seriously with the argument from terminology for the identity of the Church of England with the early British Church. We have had all the changes rung on the words *Ecclesia Anglicana*. Resort to such an argument betrays an unfamiliarity with facts that lie upon the surface of ecclesiastical history. To quote the distinguished Catholic writer I have referred to: "By the Church of Rome Protestants are in the habit of designating the entirety of the Churches which acknowledged the Headship of the Pope. We mean by the phrase the local Church of Rome as distinguished from the Churches which own its rule and which are called the Church of Westminster, of Liverpool,

[1] *Letter* 127, Rolls Series. [2] *Letter* 128. *Ibid.*

&c.; or, if we group by nations, the Church of France, of Spain, &c." As a matter of fact *Ecclesia Anglicana* is the title of the Catholic Church in England, which we find in papal documents written centuries before, as well as in those written in the centuries since the so-called Reformation, as anyone can verify by consulting such a work as *Theiner's Vetera Monumenta Hibernorum et Scotorum*, or by examining the various rescripts to the English hierarchy. For instance, in the recent decree of the Congregation of Rites declaring the beatification of the English martyrs, *Ecclesia Anglicana* is the name given the English Catholic Church.

But like the false Decretals,[1] and monasticism and the dense darkness of the Middle Ages, and papal aggression, and the English Bible, these are some of the favourite retreats of baffled controversialists.

[1] As St. Augustine landed in England in 597, and Isidore Mercator did not circulate his decretals till 845, it is difficult to see the connection between the Origin of the Church of England and the subject of these decretals. Though the matter is entirely irrelevant to the question at issue, nevertheless, as it has been introduced into this controversy, I shall quote a few standard Protestant authorities, both as to the composition of these decretals and the share the Popes had in their publication. "The idea is exploded that the false decretals were the invention of their author's brain, fabricated for purposes of papal aggrandizement. Many of the apocryphal portions (the Apostolic Canons, etc.), had been for centuries in circulation as genuine. Of the decretals a considerable number are authentic, though ante-dated and ascribed to early Popes to give them the authority of antiquity, while the others embody the traditional contents of actual but lost decretals. The sources from which the compiler principally borrowed his materials were the Bible, the Fathers, genuine canons and decretals, Roman law from the West Gothic breviary of Alaric, the works of Rufinus and Cassiodorus on ecclesiastical history, and the biographies of Popes in the Liber Pontificalis." (*Encycl. Britannica*, Article, Can. Law.)

Dean Milman (*Latin Christianity*, Vol. ii., p. 307) admits that it cannot be proved that the pseudo-decretals contain anything absolutely new, anything that had not been said before, and Mr Bowden (*Life of Gregory VII.*, p. 56) re-echoes this opinion. "The immediate effect of the forgery," he says, "was rather to sanction and consolidate relations already existing between the different orders of the Christian hierarchy than to introduce new ones." Neander (*Church History*, Vol. vi., p. 7, ed. Bohn.) declares that Isidore had no idea of introducing a new code; but only of presenting in a connected form the principles which must be recognised by everyone as correct, and on which depended the well-being of the Church. . . . In truth, even what had been said by Leo the Great (A.D. 440-461) concerning the Pope's Primacy over the whole Church, involves the principle of all that is to be found in the decretals." And Reichel (*The See of Rome in the Middle Ages*, p. 93), with all

These subjects, interesting as they may be, have no connection with our present enquiry. It is wise to close one controversy before opening another. Till something in the shape of relevant argument in support of the alleged continuity of the Anglican Church is adduced, we may adopt the words of the distinguished Protestant historian, Professor Freeman, and say: "What the mediæval Church asks from the student of mediæval history is simply justice."[1]

Blackstone has been quoted, but whether as an historian or a jurist we find a difficulty in determining, regarding the Pope's relations to the ancient British Church.

his anti-papal prejudices, is constrained to admit that "the views advocated in the decretals are of the most advanced kind, but still substantially the same as those advocated in the writings of Leo I. and Gregory I." How little Rome had to do with Isidore Mercator's publication, Archbishop Trench (*Mediæval Church History*, p. 153) bears witness. The Popes, he tells us, had no share in the forgery, and such of them as made reference to the decretals did so in good faith. "It was long a common opinion that the compiler aimed at confirming and enlarging the papal power; but this opinion is now universally abandoned," say McClintock and Strong (*Encyclopædia of Bib. Lit*,, Art. Decretals), and they add, "the most common opinion at present is, that the compiler wished to free the episcopal power from dependence on the State, and to weaken, for the same purpose, the influence of the metropolitans and provincial synods." And of exactly the same import is the opinion of Herzog (*Dictionary* by Schaff, Art. "Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals"). "Formerly it was quite generally accepted that the real purpose of the Pseudo-Isidorian fabrication was the extension of the Primacy of Rome. . . . It is true that the Primacy of the Roman See and the authority of the Papal decrees are repeatedly recognised and emphasised, but that is evidently done in the interests of the bishops rather than in that of the Popes. At present a number of scholars hold that it was the general insecurity of society, and more especially the confusion prevalent in all church matters, which induced Pseudo-Isidore to make this attempt of forming and establishing a general code of Church discipline. A more searching study, however, of the work itself, shows that its true purpose must have been to free the bishops from their dependence, not only on the State, but also, and more especially, on the metropolitans and provincial synods." The writer whom I first quoted (*Encyc. Britannica*, Art. cit.) reminds us, with considerable emphasis, that the decretals were "subjected to the fierce attacks of the Protestant Reformers who approached the subject less in a scientific spirit than with a desire to reveal the iniquities of the Church of Rome. They maintained with much acrimony that the work was a deliberate forgery, undertaken by the command, or at least with the connivance of the Pope, to exalt his temporal and spiritual power. . . . It is now admitted by Protestant writers that the compilation was produced, not in the interest of the Pope, but of the bishops, in order that, by protecting them from the oppression of temporal princes on the one hand, and ecclesiastical councils on the other, to correct some abuses prevailing among the Franks."

[1] *Contemp. Rev.*, Vol. xxxi., p. 826.

If the former, his opinion weighs little against the accumulated mass of evidence I have submitted; if the latter, then Bracton, a greater than Blackstone, "the best of judicial classics," as Sir William Jones designates him, explains the Common Law of England thus: "As the Pope has ordinary jurisdiction over all things in spiritual, so the King has in his realm ordinary authority in temporal things."[1]

How deeply embedded that law was in the hearts of the English people, consecrated as it was by the sanction of more than a thousand years, is best told, not in the partisan pages of so-called historians, but in the authentic records we now possess in the Calendars of State Papers which bring us face to face with the actors in the tragic drama which was enacted in the reign of Henry VIII.

[1] *Chron. Mem.*, Vol. vi., p. 249.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE BREACH OF CONTINUITY AT THE REFORMATION AND HOW IT WAS EFFECTED, AS RELATED BY PROTESTANT HISTORIANS.

Brewer's view.—The supremacy in spiritual things which the Pope had exercised in England since the first dawn of its Christianity was now, as far as human power could accomplish, to be violently transferred to the temporal monarch. Of a revolution so strange, so sudden, and so sweeping, Mr. Brewer might well look for an explanation. "Whose genius was it that upset the traditions of fifteen centuries, and devised an organisation without parallel in ancient or modern times? Who first conceived the bold idea—not of a parity of power between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions, not Warburton's figment of an *imperium in imperio*, not modern Anglicanism watching to steal a feather out of the tail of the imperial eagle—but a transfer of the whole authority of the Church from a spiritual to a temporal ruler? Who was it that, with one stroke of the pen, to use the phrase of Bishop Andrews, 'transubstantiated Henry VIII. into the Pope,' and converted the Church from an independent rival to a ready and submissive dependent on the State. With all the papers and documents before him needful for the satisfaction of such an enquiry, we should have been glad if Mr. Froude had availed himself of his precious opportunities; if he had told us by what steps the authors of

such a policy arrived at this result—how they emancipated themselves from the long prejudices of ages—how they ventured, not only in the teeth of Roman Catholic tradition, but of that new ecclesiastical liberty then awakening in the breasts of Continental reformers, to set up an ecclesiastical headship which was neither old nor new, foreign nor Anglican, Catholic nor Puritan. Whose ingenious brain conceived, who shaped into practical form, this alliance between Church and State, wherein both should seem to be equal, but one in reality was extinguished? Was it the natural consequence of English constitutional tendencies? Was it the inevitable result of English Protestantism? Did it find acceptance with the mass of the people from its own intrinsic excellence, or was it forced upon them as a State necessity by the subtle ingenuity of Cromwell, or the iron resolution of Henry VIII. Every man who cares to read the history of those times feels at once that this is *the* question, this is the keystone of the Reformation."[1]

"The power of the Pope was abjured solely in revenge for the papal refusal to sanction his divorce," says Foss, in his *Judges of England.*[2] And Mr. Brewer heartily endorses the statement.

"A Cambridge undergraduate is imprisoned," he tells us, "for saying what now-a-days few would deny: If the Pope would have consented that the King might have married Anne Boleyn, he would have been Pope still, and been called Holy Father."[3]

"Henry was the Head of the Church. From the primate to the meanest deacon, every minister of it derived from him his sole right to exercise spiritual powers. The voice of its preachers was the echo of his will. He alone could define orthodoxy or declare heresy. The forms of its worship and belief were changed and rechanged at the

[1] *English Studies*, pp. 301-2. [2] Vol. v., p. 29.
[3] *English Studies*, p. 325.

royal caprice.[1] Half of its wealth went to swell the royal treasury, and the other half lay at the King's mercy."[2]

"If the Pope was the Bishop of Bishops, so was he. If the Pope could of himself determine the controversies of faith, so did he. Whether the doctrine of purgatory, or the sacrament of penance, or the worship of saints were or were not to constitute part of the creed and the teachings of the Church of England, depended upon the King alone. It is true that he did not administer the sacrament and ordain priests and bishops, but if any man had questioned his power to do so, he would have incurred the penalty of high treason."[3]

Thomas Cromwell, Vicar-General. — A layman, Thomas Cromwell, was appointed Vicar-General of Henry VIII.:—

"With power to exercise and execute all and every that authority and jurisdiction appertaining to himself as Head of the Church; and to appoint others his delegates and commissaries to execute the same under him; authorising them to visit all dioceses and churches, to summon before them all ecclesiastical persons, even bishops and archbishops, to inquire into their manners and lives, to punish with spiritual censures, to issue injunctions, and to exercise all the functions of the ecclesiastical courts."[4]

The sudden elevation of a character like Cromwell[5] to the highest position in Church and State is evidence

[1] Some of the bishops of Henry VIII., and all the bishops of Edward VI. and of Elizabeth, would indignantly repudiate the assertion, now-a-days so common, that the Tudor settlement of religion effected no change in doctrine. I can quote a number of authorities, but I content myself with one who is, in many ways, remarkable. Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, writes to Peter Martyr, February, 1562: "Now that the light of the Gospel has shone forth, the very vestiges of error must, as far as possible, be removed, together with the rubbish, and, as the saying is, with the very dust, and I wish we could effect this in respect to that linen surplice; for as to *matters of doctrine we have pared everything away to the very quick and do not differ from your doctrine by a nail's breadth.*" (*Zurich Letters*, First Series, p. 100.)

[2] Green, *History of the English People*, Vol. ii., p. 197.

[3] Brewer, *English Studies*, p. 329.

[4] Wilkins' *Concilia*, Vol. iii., p. 784.

[5] It is hard to find in all history a parallel to the rapidity with which Cromwell mounted the pinnacle of fortune, and his rise is the measure of the nation's fall. "In the autumn of 1532 he attended the King to the interview with Francis at Calais; in 1533 he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, Master

of the servility of the people as well as of the immorality of the Court. His rise, as Lord Campbell observes, "more resembles that of a slave, at once constituted Grand Vizier in an Eastern Despotism, than of a Minister of State promoted in a Constitutional Government, where law, usage, and public opinion check the capricious humours of the Sovereign." [1]

Dean Maitland tells us how peculiarly fitted he was by his habits of life to discharge the duties of his exalted office, and I should hesitate to give the learned writer's words were it not for his undisputed eminence: "The Lord Cromwell was the great patron of the ribaldry, and the protector of the ribalds, of the low jester, the filthy ballad-monger, the ale-house singers, and the hypocritical religious gatherings—in short, of all the blasphemous mocking and scoffing which disgraced the Protestant party at the time of the Reformation." [2]

That Cromwell's office was a reality, and that he exercised his *spiritual* powers unsparingly, we have the statement of Mr. Brewer: "As Vicegerent in ecclesiastical matters he presided in person or by deputy over Convocation, taking precedence of the Archbishop of Canterbury; he summoned, dissolved, managed it at his sole will and fiat. To him archbishops and bishops rose up and bowed down as to the great golden image which Nebuchadnezzar the king had set up. He disposed of livings, he granted

of the Jewel-house, and Recorder of Bristol; in 1534 he was Secretary of State, and Master of the Rolls; in 1535 and the next year Visitor of all Monasteries, Vicar General, or King's Vicegerent in all ecclesiastical matters, and Lord Privy-Seal. Within these few years he had engrossed in his own hands powers such as no subject and no sovereign in this country had ever possessed before or will ever possess again. As Secretary of State he had the ear of the King exclusively; he opened the despatches of ambassadors and dictated their instructions; he issued commissions, filled up appointments; disciplined and dictated to the House of Commons. As Visitor of Monasteries he appointed abbots and priors, disposed of monastic pensions, corrodies, and leases; interfered with discipline, punished offenders." (Brewer, *English Studies*, p. 321).

[1] Lord Campbell, *English Chancellors*, Vol. i., p. 600.

[2] *The Reformation*, p. 236.

church leases, he regulated the punishments and promotions of ecclesiastics from the highest to the lowest."[1]

Such a revolutionary change severed the nation at once from the Roman obedience, and, in the event, from the faith of its ancient Church, but that such a change had the sanction of the people is a delusion that has been sedulously encouraged in a variety of ways. Mr. Brewer, who, according to Freeman, is *the* historian of that period, thus dispels that delusion:

"There is no reason to suppose that the nation as a body was discontented with the old religion. Facts point to the opposite conclusion. Had it been so, Mary, whose attachment to the faith of her mother was well known, would never have been permitted to mount the throne or have found the task comparatively easy, seeing that the Reformers under Edward VI. had been suffered to have their own way unchecked, and to displace from honour and influence all who opposed their religious principles. Long down into the reign of Elizabeth, according to the testimony of a modern historian, the old faith still numbered a majority of adherents in England. The experiment would have been hazardous at any time from Henry VIII. to the Spanish invasion, if a plebiscite could have been impartially taken of the religious sentiments of the people."[2]

Mr. Gairdner, who succeeded Mr. Brewer in editing the Calendar of State Papers relating to the reign of Henry VIII., confirms Mr. Brewer's statements:

"And the seven months of which this volume contains the record (January to July, 1535), beheld a series of appalling executions, which completely subdued in England all spirit of resistance, while abroad it filled the minds alike of Romanists and Protestants with horror and indignation. That the nation at large disliked the change, there can be very little doubt. On no other subject during the whole reign have we such overt and repeated expressions of dissatisfaction with the King and his proceedings. And what was said in secret we may judge from the evidence communicated at various times by Chapuys to the Emperor."

"At home and abroad it was clearly seen by everyone that neither holiness of life, high integrity, wit, wisdom, European fame, nor the remembrance of old familiar friendship, could shield any man from the King's resentment who would not declare his acceptance of the new doctrine of supremacy."[3]

Nor is Mr. Green's language less emphatic:

"But from the enslavement of the priesthood, from the gagging of the pulpits, from the suppression of the monasteries, the bulk

[1] *English Studies*, p. 321.

[2] *Prefaces State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. ii., p. 469.

[3] Gairdner, *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. viii., pp. i-xxxviii.

of the nation stood aloof. There were few voices, indeed, of protest. As the royal policy disclosed itself, as the monarchy trampled under foot the tradition and reverence of ages gone by, as its figure rose bare and terrible out of the wreck of old institutions, England simply held her breath. It is only through the stray depositions of royal spies that we catch a glimpse of the wrath and hate, which lay seething under this silence of the people. For the silence was a silence of terror." [1]

"But an historian (Burnet) whose bias was certainly not unfavourable to Protestantism, confesses that all endeavours were too weak to overcome the aversion of the people towards reformation, and even intimates that German troops were sent for from Calais, on account of the *bigotry* with which the bulk of the nation adhered to the old superstition. This is a somewhat humiliating admission, that the Protestant faith was imposed upon our ancestors by a foreign army." [2]

Regarding the instruments chosen by the King, and the methods adopted to bend the people into apparent submission, Mr. Green writes:

"The years of Cromwell's administration form the one period in our history which deserves the name that men have given to the rule of Robespierre. It was the English Terror.

"Even the refuge of silence was closed by a law more infamous than any that has ever blotted the statute book of England. Not only was thought made treason, but men were forced to reveal their thoughts on pain of their very silence being punished with the penalties of treason. All trust in the older bulwarks of liberty was destroyed by a policy as daring as it was unscrupulous.

"His blows were effective just because he chose his victims from among the noblest and the best. If he struck at the Church it was through the Carthusians, the holiest and most renowned of English Churchmen. If he struck at the baronage, it was through Lady Salisbury, in whose veins flowed the blood of kings. If he struck at the New Learning, it was through the murder of Sir Thomas More." [3]

When the hurricane was about to burst, the clergy, although bewildered at the strange proposals of Henry, offered some opposition to him. The tyrant, it is true, complained that he received the loyalty of only half his subjects, yet we may surely rejoice for the dignity of the

[1] *Hist. Eng. People*, Vol. ii., p. 164.

[2] Hallam, *Constit., Hist. of England*, p. 62.

[3] *History of the English People*, Vol. ii., pp. 164-67.

human conscience, that many voices were raised in indignation before the land was drenched with the people's blood. The State papers tell with what desperate fidelity the masses clung to their old religion, and how they continued to resist till the life-blood, gushing from their lips, stifled all protest.

"There was no longer any resistance to the King. Martial law had done its work in the north, and the country had been completely terrified into submission. Trees and gibbets along the highways bore pitiful burdens, suspended in ropes or chains, and however great the sympathy with the victims, it could not be so safely expressed. Women, however, had ventured to sally forth at night to cut down their husbands' bodies and bury them decently, where they could, in consecrated ground, for rectors and vicars durst not connive at such defiance of authority. All other expression seems to have been most effectively suppressed."[1]

Thomas Cranmer, Primate.—We have seen the picture, with all its revolting surroundings, that Protestant historians of the highest reputation, have given us of Cromwell, and who will deny that the Vicar-General had a fitting ecclesiastical auxiliary in the official, his inferior in rank, the Primate of Henry's new organisation? What claim he made to anything peculiarly spiritual in his office, this pliant minion of royalty himself assures us. "A bishop,"[2] he says, "may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them." "In common with other reformers, Cranmer looked to all spiritual functions as absolutely dependent on the will of the King, as temporal commissions, like those of any other magistrate; and consequently, when Edward VI. came to the Crown, he made an offer resigning his bishopric as if it had been extinguished by the death of the Sovereign."[3]

[1] Gairdner, *State Papers, Domestic and Foreign, Henry VIII.*, Vol. xii., p. 1.

[2] Brewer, *English Studies*, p. 329.

[3] That Cranmer did not stand alone in this view the following statements, selected out of a number of similar declarations, will show. Bishop Barlow says: "If the King's Grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose denominate and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop, that he so chosen (without mention being made of any orders) should be as

Of Cranmer, Dean Hook, whose name has been often mentioned in this controversy, writes:

"Men at the head of affairs, like Somerset and Cranmer, had found no definite principles of their own, and were easily moved by every wind of strange doctrine. In his worst actions Henry VIII. found an instrument in Cranmer."[1]

And Dixon deepens the colouring of the picture:

"He (Cranmer) was the slave, first of Henry and Cromwell, afterwards of Somerset, Paget, and Northumberland. In doctrine he rose from one position to another with the whole rabble of innovators at his heels. We can discern in Cranmer nothing but the official of the 'new loyalty' (what a comprehensive phrase!); in him neither is there any indication of doubt or scruple concerning the enormous measures that were littering the land with ruins and crowning it with gibbets. He was ever ready to be led; ever willing to trust himself to those who showed the power of leading."[2]

Few passages of Macaulay have been so often quoted as those in which he delineates the character of Henry's Primate, and I quote from them now, because Pocock, the great Anglican authority on this period, refers to them with unqualified approval,[3] as he does also to a remarkable article in the *Saturday Review*, July 25th, 1868, in which the relations of Cranmer to Henry are analysed with unsparing truth.[4]

"The origin of his greatness, common enough in the scandalous chronicles of courts, seems strangely out of place in a hagiology. Cranmer rose into favour by serving Henry in the disgraceful affair of his first divorce. He promoted the marriage of Anne Boleyn with the king. On

good a bishop as he is or the best in England." (Quoted in Hunt's *Religious Thought in England*, Vol. i., p. 43, *note*).

Archbishop Whitgift says plainly, in a letter to Sir Francis Knollys; "If it had pleased her Majesty, with the wisdom of the realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could not have complained justly of any defect in our Church;" and again, "If it had pleased her Majesty to have assigned the imposition of hands to the deans of every Cathedral Church, or some other number of ministers which in no sort were bishops, but as they be pastors, there had been no wrong done to their persons that I can conceive." (Child, p. 226.)

1 Hook, *Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. vii., pp. 87, 418.

2 Dixon, *History Church of England*, Vol. i., pp. 154-5; Vol. ii., p. 61.

3 *Troubles of the Book of Common Prayer*, Pref., p. v.

4 See also Articles in *Saturday Review*, July 18th, 1868, "John Poynet," and March 10th, 1866, "Mary Boleyn."

a frivolous pretence he pronounced that marriage null and void. On a pretence, if possible, still more frivolous, he dissolved the ties which bound the shameless tyrant to Anne of Cleves. He attached himself to Cromwell while the fortunes of Cromwell flourished. He voted for cutting off Cromwell's head without a trial when the tide of royal favour turned. He conformed backwards and forwards as the king changed his mind."[1]

I quote Blunt the more readily as his name has been already invoked by some correspondents, and this is his estimate of Cranmer:

"A calm review of his character as a whole, a review free from party prejudice must pronounce upon it a very unfavourable opinion. As regards his personal character he was vain, weak, heartless, and arrogant; vain of his position as the great man of Lambeth, and the friend of the Sovereign; weak in servile submission to stronger wills than his own, as well as to flattering tongues and pens; heartless in the ruthless sacrifice of every man or woman from Queen Catherine downwards, who stood in his way. . . And worse than heartless, for it is but too certain that when he sanctioned the marriage of Henry VIII. with Anne Boleyn, and performed the rite, he knew well that the King had been associated in a licentious intimacy with her sister, Mary Boleyn. . . . It is hard to look upon such a man otherwise than as one at whose door must be laid the guilt of many a slain body, and many a lost soul."[2]

In contrast to Cranmer, Bishop Fisher.—In striking contrast to Cranmer, John Fisher, the aged Bishop of Rochester, stands out pre-eminently as the champion of the papal supremacy in those fearful days, and Protestant writers, with a marvellous unanimity, have borne testimony to his exalted virtues and uncompromising spirit. The smiles and threats of royalty had been tried in turn to break the constancy of the devoted pastor, but his soul was a stranger to every dishonouring thought. The State papers give us some measure of the man in their record of the divorce proceedings when the fearless old Bishop pleaded the cause of the virtuous Queen Catherine who, now that her sun was setting, had few outspoken friends:

1 *Essay on Hallam.* 2 *The Reformation*, Vol. ii., pp. 330-1.

"On the 28th, the monotony of the sittings was diversified by a striking and unexpected incident. . . . The Bishop of Rochester made his appearance, and said in an appropriate speech . . . that, to avoid the damnation of his soul, and to show himself not unfaithful to the King, or neglectful of the duty which he owed to the truth, in a cause of such importance, he presented himself before their reverend lordships to assert and demonstrate with cogent reasons that this marriage of the King and Queen could not be dissolved by any power, divine or human. He declared that in maintenance of this opinion he was willing to lay down his life, adding that as John the Baptist, in olden times, regarded it as impossible to die more gloriously than in a cause of matrimony, and it was not so holy then as it has now become, by the shedding of Christ's blood, he could not encourage himself more ardently, more effectually, or face any extreme peril with greater confidence than by taking the Baptist for his own example." [1]

When confronted before his judges he answered with calm dignity:

"Having on his part all the Catholic bishops of the world from Christ's ascension till now, joined with the whole consent of Christ's Universal Church, I must needs (said he) account my own part far the surer."

And after his sentence, the intrepid bishop again made declaration of his faith:

"My lords, I am here condemned before you of high treason, for denial of the king's supremacy over the Church of England, but by what order of justice I leave to God, who is searcher both of the king's majesty's conscience and yours; nevertheless, being found guilty as it is termed, I am and must be contented with all that God shall send, to whose will I wholly refer and submit myself. And now to tell you more plainly my mind touching this matter of the king's supremacy: I think, indeed, and always have thought, and do now lastly affirm, that his Grace cannot justly claim any such supremacy over the Church of God as he now taketh upon him, neither hath been seen or heard of, that any temporal prince before his days hath presumed to that dignity."

We have already seen Blunt's estimate of Cranmer. This is how he writes of Fisher, and I add no comment, but leave to yourselves to judge between the merits of each cause from the character of its defenders:

"On the Tuesday following, the Bishop of Rochester ended his life on Tower Hill, a life of much holiness, much service to the Crown and country, and of which nothing is known but what is honourable. The good old man's death was worthy of him, and of the Master in whose footsteps he was humbly treading, while he felt for a light whose brightness he did not altogether see on this side of the grave. Late at night—even in the middle of the night it seems—the lieutenant of the Tower came to him with the warrant of his execution on the following day. 'At what hour?'

[1] Brewer, *State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. iv., pp. ccccLxxvi.-vii.

asked the aged bishop, and the reply was, 'At nine o'clock.' On hearing this he said he would sleep for two or three hours, and begged to be called at six in the morning, explaining that he wished to have some sleep, because, being so very old and infirm (he was seventy-six), he thought it would hardly be possible otherwise to go through his trial. At that time he was aroused, and spent most of the interval in devotion. When the time drew near . . . he put a New Testament into his pocket, made the sign of the Cross upon his forehead in remembrance of his Master's dying hour, and then tottered down stairs. But as it was impossible for him to walk as far as Tower Hill, they carried him as far as the gate of the Tower. As they waited, in taking the little New Testament out of his pocket, he lifted up his eyes to Heaven and prayed, 'O Lord, as this is the last time that ever I shall open this book, let some comfortable place now chance unto me, whereby I, Thy poor servant, may glorify Thee in my last hour.' Looking into the book, as he opened it, the first words that met his eyes were, 'This is life eternal, that they may know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent. I have glorified Thee on the earth; I have finished the work which Thou gavest me to do, and now, O Father, glorify Thou me, with Thine own self, with the glory which I had with Thee before the world was.' When he had read this far, he shut the book, saying: 'Here is even learning enough for me to my life's end.' When the procession came to the scaffold, on Tower Hill, the Bishop once more tottered up the steps that lay between him and rest, saying: 'Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, et facies vestræ non confundentur'—They had an eye unto him and were enlightened, and their faces were not ashamed. Then he said Te Deum, and the psalm: 'In Thee, O Lord, have I put my trust,' remembering that his compline hour had come, and gave himself up to be disrobed by the executioner. As soon as the head of the aged Bishop was severed from his body, it was put into a bag by the executioner for the purpose of being carried to a bridge, there to be put on a pole. But a message came to carry it to Anne Boleyn, who wished to see it before it was set up. . . . As she looked on her victim's dead face she said contemptuously: 'Is this the head that so often exclaimed against me? I trust that it shall never do any more harm.' Then to suit her action to her words she cuffed the poor speechless lips with the back of her hand. But the indignity shown to the old Bishop's head was not greater than that shown to his mutilated body. It was stripped naked and left on the scaffold, guarded by soldiers till eight o'clock in the evening . . . then it was carried away swinging across a couple of halberds,[1] to be tumbled neck foremost and naked into a grave on the north side of All Hallows churchyard, where it awaits the resurrection of the just. The day of his death was that of the martyrdom of St. Alban (then observed on the 22nd June), the year 1535; before it came round again the Queen who had insulted him when dead, had shared his fate within a few yards of the same spot, on the Tower Green, within the Tower walls."

1. Father Bridgett, in his *Life of Blessed John Fisher* (p. 499), quotes an eye-witness for the statement, that one man carried the headless body on his halberd. "He must, therefore," he adds, "have run the hooked part into the body and carried it on his back, as a butcher moves the carcase of a sheep."

Foremost in the defence of the old religion were the Carthusians, in whom even Mr. Froude can find nothing that was not praiseworthy. Of them many touching records are to be found in the State papers, edited by Brewer and Gairdner, already referred to. Take, for instance, Reynold's vindication of himself and his brethren, confronting the judges under the very shadow of the gibbet: —

"The defence made by Reynolds was singularly calm and argumentative. He said he had intended to have kept silence as Christ had done before Herod, but being interrogated why he had persisted in an opinion, against which the Lords and the whole realm had pronounced in Parliament, he replied that if opinions were to be proved by authority, his were far stronger than those of his judges, for he could appeal to all the rest of Christendom besides England, and he was certain that the majority of Englishmen agreed with him, at least, though partly from fear and partly from hope they professed the contrary. On this, Cromwell compelled him to declare, under the heaviest penalties, who were of his opinions. 'All good men of the kingdom,' he replied boldly. 'As to proofs of dead witnesses, I have in my favour all the General Councils, all the historians (*scriptori*), the holy doctors of the Church for the last fifteen hundred years, especially St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, St. Augustine, and St. Gregory; and I am sure that when the king knows the truth, he will be very ill-pleased, or rather indignant against certain bishops who have given him such counsel.'"[1]

In contrast to Cromwell, Sir T. More.—We may cite Sir Thomas More, who will tell us that the laity were in complete agreement with the clergy on the question of spiritual supremacy. But first let Dean Hooke and Mr. Brewer testify to the mould in which the mind of Sir Thomas More was cast:—

"Of Sir Thomas More it is unnecessary to speak. I write not for those who cannot admire his calm wisdom, his ever-ready wit, his almost prophetic sagacity, in union with a guileless simplicity of character, his inflexible integrity, his sense of justice, his tenacity of purpose. His royal murderer admitted him into a friendship, the hollowness of which was foreseen by More, and was evinced when More preferred the dictates of conscience to a compliance with the mandates of a capricious despot."[2]

"A few years before no one bid so fair as More to engross the favour of Henry. The smiles for which other men grovelled in the dust, and bartered their faith and their principles, fell unsolicited on More. On no man's neck did the king hang with greater familiarity; in no man's conversation and society did he

[1] Gairdner, *S.S. Papers, Henry VIII.*, p. 248.

[2] *Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. vi., p. 267.

take so much delight. But More, witty, charming, easy, and refined, would not bate an iota of his principles. His opinions on the divorce were too well known; and he hastened to get away from the uncongenial atmosphere of a palace." [1]

"The pursuits of the Court, and the individuals of which its innermost circle were composed, were scarcely such as could command his sympathy and approbation. There was hardly one of them whose character was not seriously tainted with that vice against which the unsullied purity of More's mind revolted; not one who looked upon the transgression of the marriage vow as deserving reprobation or censure, or at least as worse than a jest." [2]

At the bidding of conscience he resigned his place in the Councils of the State, and, from being Lord High Chancellor of England, was now a prisoner awaiting his death sentence. [3] And never was nobler or more dignified speech than this in which the illustrious prisoner witnessed to the antiquity of the Papal Supremacy.

"I have, by the grace of God, been always a Catholic, never out of the Communion of the Roman Pontiff, but I had heard it said at times that the authority of the Roman Pontiff was certainly lawful and to be respected, but still an authority derived from human law and not standing on a divine prescription. Then when I observed that public affairs were so ordered that the sources of the power of the Roman Pontiff would necessarily be examined, I gave myself up to a most diligent examination for the space of seven years, and found that the authority of the Roman Pontiff which you rashly—I will not use stronger language—have set aside, is not only lawful, to be respected and necessary, but also grounded on the divine law and prescription. That is my opinion, that is the belief in which, by the Grace of God, I shall die."

Spoliation and Desecration.—The radical change and widespread spoliation begotten of that change have been vividly portrayed by many Protestant historians for whom Mr. Ingram may be allowed to speak: "Everything was done to outrage the devotional sentiments of a grave and conservative nation. The whole outward aspect of religion was altered, as it were in a moment, and the ancient practices, however innocent and inoffensive, were banned as superstitious. Customs and

[1] *English Studies*, p. 320.

[2] Brewer, *Prefaces State Papers, Henry VIII.*, Vol. ii., p. 161.

[3] "We must regard Sir Thomas More's murder as the blackest crime that has ever been perpetrated in England under the form of law." (Lord Campbell, *English Lord Chancellors.*)

ceremonies, consecrated by immemorial antiquity and endeared by a thousand associations, were scornfully 'reformed'—such was the expression. Contemporaneously with the changes in discipline and doctrine, England presented a scene of havoc and desecration never before witnessed in a Christian country. Churches were demolished for their materials, their lead was stripped off for exportation, their bells were taken down and sold. The sacred utensils,[1] ornaments, and plate were purloined by private persons, encouraged by the example of the Government, or were seized by the State. Shrines,[2] altars, and images[3] were ruthlessly destroyed; monumental brasses were torn from tombs, horses were watered in stone or marble coffins from which the bodies had been ejected, altar cloths and copes were displayed in the houses of the gentry as carpets or coverings; chalices[4] were used as carousing cups, and libraries were scattered to the winds. No English Protestant can read the first chapter of our religious reformation without pain and indignation."[5]

The duty I have undertaken is now discharged. I have endeavoured to examine every scrap of evidence which has come down to us regarding the teaching of the ancient British Church. I have cited popular manuals of history, as well as recondite sources of information. I have quoted

[1] "It seems very doubtful if so many as twenty old English chalices and patens remain throughout the whole of the two provinces." (Lee, *The Church under Queen Elizabeth*, Vol. i., p. 44.)

[2] Images, pictures, and al monuments of fained miracles, as well in walles, as in glasse windowes, be defaced; and, namely, the Image of the Crucifixe, and the two Mauries in the Chauncell windowes." Bishop Middleton's *Injunctions* (printed in 1583.)

[3] "We are only constrained, to our great distress of mind, to tolerate in our churches the image of the Cross, and Him who was crucified; the Lord must be entreated that this stumbling block may at length be removed." (Bishop Cocks, *Zurich Letters*, 1st series, No. 28.)

[4] For a detailed account of the sacrilegious uses to which the sacred vessels and vestments were degraded, see Peacock's *English Church Furniture*, with its official record entitled *Inventarium Monumentorum Superstitionis*, and also Lee's *Church under Queen Elizabeth*.

[5] *England and Rome*, pp. 204-5.

the very words of the authorities I cited, and not confined myself to vague generalities or rhetorical clap-trap. I have used the indirect as well as the direct lights that illumine the history of those distant times. I have quoted, almost exclusively, non-Catholic authorities, even though I had at my command an ample supply of unimpeachable Catholic testimony. I have argued from the rule, not from the exception—from the exercise of authority, not from resistance to it, knowing that there is no authority, human or divine, that does not encounter occasional opposition. I have confined myself to a stated period and to a definite subject, feeling that if controversy is to be at all profitable, it must be kept within defined limits.

I have shown that the doctrine and ritual of the ancient British Church were identical with the doctrines and ritual of the Roman See, as they were the very antithesis, as a whole, of the one and the other as professed and used by the Church of England, whether it be called Protestant or Anglican. I have not noticed the argument that the retention of the Apostles' and Nicene creeds and of some collects taken from the ancient liturgy, proves the continuity of the Church of England. These are only a few spiritual stones from the antique but immortal pile of the Roman Church; and I thought with La Mennais, that the Arab who comes forth from the desert and steals some fragments from the base of the towering pyramid and then disappears into the wilderness from which he emerged, might, with as much reason, claim the ownership of the mighty monuments of the Pharaohs. I have abundantly proved that in the past, as in the present, the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiffs was operative, supreme and universal. Even in those distant ages the Popes were everywhere: "them first, them last, them midst, them without end."

And as there can be no continuity without previous existence, and as the assertion of the existence of the Anglican Church during the British period is precluded, by the

absence of all trace of its characteristic doctrines, and by the utter failure of every attempt to prove such continuity, it only remains for those who still cling to that idea, to fall back on the deluge coming in a night, and hurrying off every vestige of what is found in the Church, and then in turn disappearing itself, "being swallowed up by the earth, mercilessly, as itself was merciless."

I have constructed cumulative proofs, the force of which, when taken together, seems to me to be irresistible. I have, I trust, shown due courtesy to others, as I have received great consideration from them. For that consideration I am grateful, and I trust that the net result of our historical discussion will be to stimulate enquiry, without wounding charity or lessening mutual esteem.

APPENDIX.

NOTE I.

Rationalistic writers, having no pet theory to safeguard, subject Catholic traditions regarding St. Peter's connection with Rome, to the same canons of criticism as they do any fact of ordinary history, and, from an historical standpoint, Catholics have no reason, on the whole, to complain of their conclusions. But for an Anglican to admit that St. Peter was Bishop of Rome is practically to reach the parting of the ways. To appreciate, then, the force of the following admissions, we have only to remember that the doctrine of the Papal Supremacy, which is confessedly the outcome of St. Peter's Roman Primacy, is the turning point of controversy.

That St. Peter resided in Rome and died there, and that he was Bishop of Rome, are historic facts which were never disputed before Calvin's time, and to which a crowd of learned Anglicans freely testify. On the text—"The Church that is in Babylon, elected together with you, saluteth you, and so doth my son, Mark" (1 Peter v. 13), Grotius writes: "Ancient and modern interpreters differ about this 'Babylon.' The ancients understood it of Rome, where that Peter was, no true Christian will doubt." The *Speakers' Commentary* says: "We find an absolute consensus of ancient interpreters that here Babylon must be understood as equivalent to Rome. . . . We adopt, without the least misgiving, this explanation of the word as alone according with the mind of the Apostle, and the testimony of the early Church. So also Thiersch, Ewald, and Hilgenfeld very positively." Again, in the Introduction to St. Peter's Epistle: "We have to encounter the *uniform, unvarying* testimony of early Christian writers. From whatever quarter their voices reach us, they affirm that Babylon is here a recognized appellation of Rome. In fact, no other view of the passage was *entertained or suggested before Calvin*, who argued that the old tradition was connected with false notions as to the position of the Roman Church." In a note the writer adds that the presence and martyrdom of St. Peter in Rome "are maintained by (the non-Catholic writers) Credner, Bleek, Wieseler, Meyer, Hilgenfeld, Renan, Mangold, and nearly all unbiassed critics." Bishop Ellicott admits: "It may be called the *established interpretation* that the place here meant is Rome. . . . *Nothing but Protestant prejudice can stand against the historical evidence that St. Peter sojourned and died in Rome.* Whatever theological consequences may follow from it, it is as certain that St. Peter was at Rome as that St. John was at Ephesus." And in the Introduction to the Epistle: "The whole subject has, of late years, been sifted to the bottom by various German and other writers. . . Though

every conceivable difference may be found between these authors respecting the dates and duration of St. Peter's sojourn at Rome, very few are so hardly sceptical as to reject altogether *evidence as strong, early, and wide*, as that on which we believe that Hannibal invaded Italy." Bishop Lightfoot asks, "Can we doubt that it is the Church in Rome? It cannot be the Egyptian Babylon, which was a mere fortress (*Strabo*, xvii., p. 807). If therefore it was not the great Babylon it must have been Rome. To this latter more especially the mention of Mark points; for Mark is designated by a very early tradition, as St. Peter's companion and interpreter in Rome. This tradition is in full accordance with the latest notices in the New Testament (Col. iv. 10; Philem. 24: 2 Tim. iv. 11), which represent him either as staying in Rome, or journeying towards Rome." Nor was Babylon a new name for Rome, dating from the Neronian persecution. It had been a mystical name for this world-wide power with the Jews before it was inherited by the Christians. As such it appears even in the Sibylline Oracles (v. 158). . . . The Church of the Romans reports that Clement was ordained by Peter (Tertullian—*De Præscrip.*, p. 36). . . . St. Paul was martyred in Rome, as is allowed on all hands. Is not the overwhelming inference that St. Peter suffered in the same city also? This inference is all the more certain when we find that, outside the testimony of Clement, tradition is constant in placing his death at Rome. (*St. Clement of Rome*, part 1, pp. 492, 493.) Dr. Farrar witnesses: "I strongly incline to the belief that by Babylon the Apostle intended to indicate Rome. *So the Fathers unanimously.*" (*Early Days*, ii., p. 516.) Smith and Cheetham remark: "As no tradition ever assigned any other place than Rome as the scene of St. Peter's martyrdom, every allusion to that event is also an indirect confirmation of his visit to the capital." (*Dict. of Christian Antiquities*, Vol. ii., p. 1653.) Dr. Cave writes: "That St. Peter was at Rome, and for some time resided there, *we intrepidly affirm with the whole multitude of the ancients.* We produce witnesses altogether unexceptionable, and of the very highest antiquity—Ignatius, Bishop of Antioch, a disciple of St. Peter, or at least, his successor in the See of Antioch (*Epist. ad Rom.*); Papias, of Hierapolis, a hearer of John the Evangelist, or of the (contemporary) Presbyter John (*Ap. Euseb. Hist. Ecc.* l., ii., c. 15); Irenæus, of Lyons, a man of the Apostolic age, and disciple of St. Polycarp (*Adv. Hær*, l., iii., c. 1; c. 3); Dionysius, of Corinth (*Ap. Euseb.* l., ii., c. 15); Tertullian (*De Præscr. Hær.*, c. 36; *De Bapt.*, c. 4; *Scorpiace*, c. 15; *Adv. Marc.* l., iv., c. 5); Caius, the Roman presbyter, an ecclesiastic of great renown (*Apud Euseb.* l., ii., c. 25); Origen (tom. iii., *in Gen. Ap. Euseb.* l., iii., c. 1; *Conf.* l., vi., c. 14). After names so venerable, therefore; after monuments of antiquity so many and so illustrious, who will call in doubt a matter so clearly and constantly attested?" (*Script. Eccles. Hist. Liter.*, p. 5.)

It has been rightly said that the patristic evidence adduced by Bishop Pearson is one of the best apologies that can anywhere be found for the fact of St. Peter's connection with Rome. He writes, "For although in this age a dissertation treating of this Apostolic succession (whether, namely, the first Bishop of Rome had some one of the Apostles as author and predecessor) may be called a question, yet in the primitive Church it was never looked upon as a question, but as a real and indubitable truth."

A further proof in favour of St. Peter's residence at Rome is deduced from his connection with the Evangelist, St. Mark, whose

gospel according to Canon Westcott, *"was by the universal voice of antiquity* referred to the authority of St. Peter" (Canon, N. Test., 3rd Ed., p. 103), and Dean Alford writes, "It was universally believed in the Ancient Church, that Mark's Gospel was written under the influence and almost under the dictation of Peter" (Greek Test., Vol. 1, proleg. c. iii.). The eminent Nonconformist divine, Dr. Lardner, quotes Papias, Irenæus, Clement of Alexandria, Tertullian, Origen, Eusebius, Athanasius, Epiphanius, Gregory Nazianzen, Ebedjesu, Jerome, Chrysostom, Augustine, Victor, &c., &c., and says: "The general account of the above-named writers is, that Mark wrote his gospel at Rome. In this there is a remarkable agreement with very few exceptions. . . . that it was writ at Rome, or in Italy, is said not only by Epiphanius, Jerome, Gregory Nazianzen, Victor, and divers others, but the Egyptian writers all along say the same thing, that it was writ by Mark at Rome in the company of the Apostle Peter."

"Mr. Baratier proves in his first chapter most thoroughly, as Bishop Pearson had done before him, that St. Peter was at Rome," says Whiston, the translator of Josephus. Little wonder that he emphatically adds: "This is so clear in Christian antiquity, *that it is a shame for any Protestant to confess that any Protestant ever denied it.*" (*Memoirs*, London, 1750.)

Quite a host of other Protestant authorities might be quoted in support of St. Peter's residence in Rome; and that he was Bishop of Rome, we have the most outspoken declarations from learned Protestant writers. Archbishop Bramhall testifies: "That St. Peter had a fixed chair at Antioch, and after that at Rome, is what no man, who giveth any credit to the ancient Fathers and Councils and historiographers of the Church, can either deny or will doubt." (*Works, ed. Oxon.*, p. 628). Dr. Lardner asserts that "it is the *general, uncontradicted, disinterested* testimony of ancient writers in the several parts of the world—Greeks, Latins, Syrians. . . . There were in the second and third centuries disputes between the Bishops of Rome and other Bishops and Churches about the time of keeping Easter and about the baptism of heretics. Yet none denied the Bishop of Rome to have what they called the Chair of Peter. It is not to our honour nor our interest, either as Christians or Protestants, to deny the truth of events ascertained by early and well attested tradition." (*Hist. of the Apost. and Evang.*, ch. xviii.) Palmer writes: "Hence we may see the reason for which the Bishops of Rome were styled successors of St. Peter by some of the Fathers. They were bishops of the particular church which St. Peter had assisted in founding, and over which he had presided; and they were also, as bishops of the principal church, the most eminent among the successors of the Apostles; even as St. Peter had possessed the pre-eminence of the Apostles themselves." (Palmer, *A Treatise on the Church*, Vol. ii., part vii., c. iii.) Again, "the Roman Church was particularly honoured as having been presided over by St. Peter, and was therefore, by many of the Fathers called the See of St. Peter." (*Ibid.*) Chamier, approvingly quoted by Cave, says: "All the Fathers, with great unanimity, have asserted that Peter did go to Rome, and that he did govern that Church." (*Panstrat. Cath. de Rom. Pont.* l., xiii., c. 4.) Neale says, "There were many Christians, both at Antioch and at Rome, before St. Peter set foot in either place, yet antiquity always considered him as the founder of the Church in each place." (*Eastern Church*, p. 5.)

Pearson, proving (1) that Saints Peter and Paul founded the Church of Rome, cites Irenæus, Epiphanius, Eusebius. To prove (2) that they were not merely founders, but Bishops of Rome, he quotes the words of Epiphanius. And (3) to prove that the Bishops of Rome derived their succession from St. Peter alone, he appeals to Caius as being a Greek, and to the Latin Fathers generally, *v.g.*, Tertullian, Cyprian, Pope Stephen, the author of the most ancient Catalogue, *in præmio*, who says: "After the Ascension of Christ, the most blessed Peter undertook the Episcopate"; "Optatus, S. Jerome, in his Catalogue and elsewhere; Sulpitius; *Auctor Quaestionum utriusque Testamenti;* S. Augustine.

NOTE II.

The term Culdee, or more correctly Ceile De, means *a friend of God, a servant of God,* or, as we now-a-days express it, *a man of God.* Originally it was a conventional equivalent for the Latin phrase *servus Dei,* which signified the same as the English word *monk,* just as *servire Deo* meant *to live in the monastic state.* We find no mention of the word Culdee till the eighth century, when the term *servus Dei* had become familiarised in the language of the Church, especially in Ireland, where the writings of St. Gregory the Great must have been widely spread, as we find in the Irish records tender, reverential references to the illustrious Pontiff whom they call the Bel-oir, or Golden-mouthed. One of the earliest examples on record of the use of the expression occurs in the life of St. Findan, who died about the end of the eighth century, and whose life was compiled not long after. "In the lapse of ages the term underwent all the modifications or limitations of meaning which the changes of time and circumstances or local usage produced in the class to whom the epithet was applied." (Reeves, p. 120.) The Four Masters, for instance, apply the epithet to the Dominican Friars of Sligo so late as the sixteenth century.

But the fanciful theories that so many writers have built upon the term Culdee in the effort to give a non-Roman faith to the early Scottish Church have no foundation in history. The late lamented Protestant Bishop of Down and Connor, Dr. Reeves,[1] the great Scottish historian, Skene,[2] and the distinguished antiquarian, Pinkerton,[3] have exploded them.

"In one point, however, even the ablest of modern writers on the Culdees has fallen into the national error of supposing them to have been a peculiar order who derived their origin from St. Columba; in other words, that they were Columbites, in the same sense that we speak of Benedictines. It is true that after the lapse of centuries, Culdees were found in churches which he or his disciples founded, but their name was in no way distinctive." (Reeves).

"In the whole range of ecclesiastical history there is nothing more entirely destitute of authority than the application of this

1 *Transactions, R.I.A.*, Vol. xxiv. 2 *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. ii., p 226.

3 *Inquiry into the History of Scotland.*

name to the Columban monks of the sixth and seventh centuries, or more utterly baseless than the fabric which has been raised upon that assumption." (Skene).

"Some, who would contend for the uniformity of an order bearing the name of Ceile De, endeavour to reconcile these incompatibilities by supposing the existence of two classes in the order, the one of stricter, the other of laxer discipline; but this expedient is unsupported by record authority."

Pinkerton was one of the first to throw light upon this subject. More than a century ago he wrote: "The Culdees united in themselves the distinctions of monks and of secular clergy, being apparently from Columba's time to the eleventh century, the only monks and clergy in Scotland, and all Irish, as formerly shown." Dr. Reeves declares that some of the Culdee saints enumerated by Boece are distinctly Irish. "Modocus," he says, "is our Modoc of Ferns, who died in 624. Calanus, Ferranus, and Ambianus were no men if they were not Caelan, Forrannan, and Abban, Irish saints of the sixth century; while Carnoc, the South Briton, adopted Ireland as his home."

Mr. Skene thus sums up his researches: "The result, then, that we have arrived at is that the Culdees originally sprang from that ascetic order who adopted a solitary service of God in an isolated cell as the highest form of religious life, and who were termed *Deicolae*; that they then became associated in communities of anchorites or hermits, that they were clerics and might be called monks, but only in the sense in which anchorites were monks; that they made their appearance in the eastern district of Scotland, at the same time as the secular clergy were introduced and succeeded the Columban monks who had been driven across the great mountain range of Drumalban, the western frontier of the Pictish Kingdom, and that they were finally brought under the canonical rule along with the secular clergy, retaining, however, to some extent, the nomenclature of the monastery, until at length the name of Keledeus, or Culdee, became almost synonymous with that of secular canon," (Vol. ii., p. 277).

Dr. Reeves says that the Culdees in North Britain followed the rules drawn up by Saint Carthage and Saint Maelruan for the parent monasteries in Ireland (pp. 82-84), and as these rules are extant there can be no question of the orthodoxy of those early anchorites. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* (Art. The Culdees) following Reeves, says: "It was long fondly imagined by Protestant writers that the religious belief and worship of the Culdees supplied complete evidence of primitive truth having been preserved free from Roman corruptions in one remote corner of Western Europe. It is now certain that this opinion is entirely opposed to historical evidence. In doctrine, ritual and government, there was no difference between the Culdees and the monastic communities in the Latin Church."

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

AND

THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

REPLIES.

"*Our starting-point is not the fact of the faithful transmission of Orders, but the standing fact of the Church, the visible and one Church, the reproduction and succession of herself age after age. It is the Church that vouches for our Orders, while she authenticates herself to be the Church, not by her Orders, but by her notes.*"—NEWMAN, ESSAYS, II., P. 76.

PREFACE.

In publishing these Lectures in pamphlet form, I desire to call attention to the fact that they are mainly defensive, and are aggressive only so far as is necessary to confute claims opposed to historical as well as to Catholic truth.

They were called forth by an unseemly and unprovoked attack on the Catholic Church by the Anglican Bishop of Ballarat, at the opening of his Diocesan Synod.

They will be found, I trust, to deal satisfactorily with the various questions that arose during the controversy.

The Lectures as now published are considerably amplified by the addition of matter, most of which I had collected in their preparation, but which the necessarily limited time for their delivery precluded me from using. In a Postscript I have answered difficulties that were proposed after I had given my third lecture.

✠THOMAS J. CARR,
Archbishop of Melbourne.

St. Patrick's Cathedral,
June 19th, 1895.

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND AND THE CHURCH CATHOLIC.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE ANGLICAN CLAIM TO BE CALLED CATHOLIC IS REPUDIATED BY EAST AND WEST.

The Reunion of Christendom.—A remarkable address was delivered at the opening of an Anglican Synod in Ballarat during the course of last week. It was remarkable chiefly as proving the deep and widespread interest felt just now in the burning question of the union of the Churches. Men do not get angry if they are not in earnest, and they do not forget what is due to their own position and to the claims of Christian courtesy unless they feel that the controversy is serious and is going against them. It is a controversy to the issue of which Catholics indeed look hopefully, but in which they themselves are not active disputants. It might well, therefore, have been carried on without unprovoked insult to their faith.

This controversy, though dating from a distant time, has received new life and vigour from an address on "The Reunion of Christendom," delivered last February, at Bristol, by an English nobleman, Lord Halifax, President of the English Church Union. In this important address Lord Halifax speaks plainly and unreservedly of the desire of many Anglicans to be united with Rome—to put off the sense of isolation which they feel in their present position,

and to make their confession to, and receive Holy Communion from the hands of Catholic priests. Moreover, they feel that a religious crisis is at hand. The authority of the Bible by itself, without an accredited interpreter, is insufficient to preserve the fundamental tenets of faith. Lord Halifax quotes with approval words uttered fifteen years ago, and more true now than then—"The Reformers, speaking generally, . . . questioned the authority of the Church, and substituted for it the authority of a book; but they forgot that the book wants an interpreter, and, in the absence of an interpreter who can speak with authority, Scripture truth is reduced to what every man troweth. We see the result to-day. Men are willing, if they were allowed, to drop out of the Bible such doctrines as they dislike—the fact of the Incarnation, that God was really born in a manger and died on a cross, the doctrine of the Sacraments, the eternity of punishment, the inspiration of Holy Scriptures—to do justice to the literary merits of the Bible, and the utility of its moral instruction; but if its authority is invoked for anything their own verifying faculty rejects, we are told at once that no such authority can be allowed to a book any more than to a Church or a priesthood."

The Bible, as Cardinal Newman expresses it, is the *depository*, not the *organ*, of truth. The living voice, then, of the Church of Christ is required to preserve the deposit of faith, and to enforce the obligations of morality. For what but the voice of authority can save the Church of England from the confusion of doctrines that makes her the sport of the infidel and the scoffer, or what else can rescue her from the utter chaos into which she is rapidly drifting? This is practically admitted by the most distinguished English Churchmen:—"We of the English Church," says Dr. Liddon, "are already unable to assert before Christendom that we practically held even serious doctrinal differences to be a bar to religious communion. We co-operate with those who deny that which we hold

true, or assert that which we deem false."—*Report of Bonn Conference*, 1874 (*Preface.*) A little before his death Dr. Pusey said:—"It is a strange conflict. Every matter of faith is openly denied. The being of Almighty God is denied by His creatures, and doctrines which are the centre of Christian faith, such as the Incarnation of Our Blessed Lord, are claimed to be open questions. It is said to be an anachronism that clergymen should think themselves bound to cease to minister in the Church of England because they no longer hold these blessed truths. A clergyman may preach to his people that there is no hell, and so encourage them in the vices which God condemns."—(Letter to the *Church Times*, 10th December, 1880.)

Mr. Mallock, then, states nothing but the barest truth when he writes that Protestant Christianity "is at last beginning to exhibit to us *the true result of the denial of Infallibility to a religion that professes to be supernatural.* We are at last beginning to see in it neither the purifier of a corrupted revelation, nor the corrupter of a pure revelation, but the practical denier of all revelation whatsoever. It is fast evaporating into a mere natural theism, and is thus showing us what, as a governing power, natural theism is. Let us look at England, Europe, and America, and consider the condition of the entire Protestant world. Religion, it is true, we shall still find in it; *but it is a religion from which not only the supernatural element is disappearing but in which the natural element is fast becoming nebulous.* It is indeed growing, as Mr. Leslie Stephen says it is, *into a religion of dreams. All its doctrines are growing vague as dreams, and like dreams their outlines are forever changing.*"[1]

[1] *Is Life Worth Living?* chap. xi., p. 275. The position of Protestantism, thus described by Lord Halifax and Mr. Mallock a generation ago, has not improved nor are the prospects of reunion much brighter. The Church of Christ never did compromise or coalesce or unite in the course of her long and varied career. She cannot compromise Divine truth. "Go make disciples of all men" is her mission. This she carries out, not by coalescing or uniting with other religions, but by assimilating, absorbing, imparting her own Divine life and Sacraments to men of good will who "desire to be engrafted on the vine."

Reaction towards Catholicism.—Hence Lord Halifax is so urgent with his co-religionists. "Do not," he says, "let us be afraid to speak plainly of the possibility, of the desirability, of a union with Rome. Let us say boldly we desire peace with Rome with all our hearts." In pursuance of this desire he has visited Rome. He has had, no doubt, an interview with the Holy Father, but with what result we have not yet ascertained. Whatever the result may be, it is certain that many Anglicans are yearning for union with the Roman See. They have been taking back, one by one, the visible symbols of religion which they discarded with outrage at the Reformation. The cross again surmounts their temples; the crucifix is in its place of honour above the reredos—aye, the Mother and Child once more guard the entrance to England's noblest fane, Westminster Abbey. They have been adopting Catholic practices and devotions to such an extent that a stranger entering one of their churches finds it difficult to distinguish the counterfeit from the real. They have introduced auricular confession; they believe in the Real Presence; they recite the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin; they pray for the dead. They feel the inconsistency of being at once so near and yet so far from us. They bewail their want of unity, and, as a consequence, their lack of Catholicity. And now, after 300 years of separation and disintegration, they are turning again to their rightful mother. The words of the Good Shepherd are ringing in their ears—'And other sheep I have that are not of this fold; them also I must bring, and they shall hear my voice, and there shall be one fold and one shepherd.'"

Truly a marvellous change has come over the tone and temper of Protestantism within the last 50 years. When Cardinal Wiseman returned to England after his elevation to the purple, the bigotry of the nation was intense and violent. When Cardinal Newman died a few years ago, England shed abundant tears over his grave.

The duty of Catholics with regard to the present movement is one of tender sympathy and of earnest prayer. Catholics and Anglicans alike must therefore feel pained at the extravagant declamation used in the synodal address to which I have referred. Caricaturists, to gratify anti-national prejudice, have painted the Donnybrook Irishman as complaining that he was bluemoulded for want of a beating. He is represented in fiction as trailing his coat on the ground, daring anyone to tread on it. The repeated and utterly unjustifiable attacks made on the Catholic Church within the last few weeks go to prove that love of a fight is not a peculiarly Irish failing. The line which separates such attacks from "the cheap, coarse, ignorant, and calumnious abuse of the Papal Church" is not easily discerned. The address in question is of so varied and inconsequential a character that it precludes analysis or methodical reply. It embraces subjects so widely different as the Unity and Catholicity of the Church, the abominations of the ballet, and the iniquity of bazaars.

In this wide range of subjects there are but few tints to relieve the dark colours in which the Catholic Church is painted. There is certainly a cheap compliment regarding the sacrifices made by the Catholic Church to maintain the Christian School. But the compliment would be more effective if the speaker could tell that, as professing a higher form of Christianity, he was not only imitating, but surpassing, the good example set him. Reference to the Directory shows that in the Catholic diocese of Ballarat there are 52 primary schools, besides four superior day schools, five boarding schools, and a flourishing college, all maintained by the people to enable their children to receive a religious as well as a sound secular education. The Catholics of Ballarat freely yield the palm of wealth, of worldly comfort, and of numbers to their Anglican friends. When, therefore, the Bishop of a diocese is so deeply impressed with the value of a religious education for the little

ones of his flock, and when the circumstances are so favourable for providing religious day schools, it would not be too much to expect that the Catholic schools would be greatly out-numbered by the schools of at least one other denomination. If such be not the case, how are we to reconcile the fine theory with the empty practice?

The "Churgress" and "The Prig."—But passing from this barren compliment, when we come to consider the main questions treated in the address, such as the Unity and Catholicity of the Church, the intolerant claims of Rome, etc., and when we examine the gratuitous assertions made regarding them, we find it difficult to deal seriously with them, and the mind goes back instinctively to another synod, real or imaginary, in which some of the addresses on the same subjects have a family likeness. In that synod or churgress, the Bishop of Northumberland discoursed forcibly and feelingly on the Catholicity of the English Church, with all the responsibilities it involves—the world-wide opportunities—and the unique destiny which, in God's providence, seem to be reserved for the Anglican community in shaping the future of Christendom.

"Believe me, my dear friends," he said, "it will soon be all left to us. We are going to 'shape' everything and everybody. The feebler churches in Syria, in Armenia, in Egypt are looking to us for instruction and help. Very shortly, too, the Czar will come to Canterbury and humbly beg our Archbishop to appoint a committee to revise the ritual and constitutions of his Church; and the Pope will write to Lambeth, beseeching that English missionaries may be sent to convert him, with an assurance that the next time the Anglican Bishop of Gibraltar wishes to hold a Confirmation in Rome St. Peter's will be placed entirely at his disposal."

But the good Bishop proceeded from prophecy to proof. "And why are we Catholics?" he asks. "In what

lies the Catholicity of the English Church? Every continent," he replied—"almost every sea and island—swarms with English and American tourists! Now, it is a remarkable fact that in travelling about one meets very few inhabitants of the city of Rome, while it is difficult to find the place where one does not meet Englishmen; therefore, the English Church is Catholic, and the Roman Church is not, for Catholic means universal, and inhabitants of the city of Rome are not found in all parts of the universe, whereas Englishmen are."

"The Catholicity has been restored to the English Church in a surprising way. Catholic, indeed, she was potentially before in her doctrine and polity; but now she is Catholic in fact, owing, in a great measure, to the untiring efforts of Messrs. Cook and Son."

"And now," he added, by way of confirmation, "I wish to call your attention to one other proof of the Catholicity of the English Church, which is the enormous number of converts which it makes wherever it goes. You are, of course, aware that the Church of Rome rarely makes a proselyte; that in England scarcely a member of our Church has ever seceded to Rome within living memory."

The learned Bishop discoursed with equal force and fluency on the unity of the Church. "If," he said—"If all the Dissenters, all the hundred and eighty Protestant sects in England and Wales, all the Protestant sects in other parts of the world, and all the Oriental churches should join the Church of England, and if we should be able to keep them there"—an important proviso, by the way—"we should then about equal in number the believers in Papal Infallibility. When we have done all this, if we succeed in keeping our somewhat promiscuous flock together in a compact body—our Moravians, our Mormons, our Greek Christians, our Swedenborgians, our Plymouth Brethren, our Lutherans, our Copts, our Unitarians, and our six Principal Baptists—if, I say, we

are able to ensure complete unity of doctrine among all these (and, ourselves), then, I think you will agree with me, our prospects of coping with the Church of Rome, on at least equal terms, will be as brilliant as those of our rival."

The Bishop of St. Cuthbert's had but little hope, owing to the Pope's despotic claims, of including Romanists within the unity of the Church. "There is, indeed," he said, "one body of Nonconformists with whom reunion may seem far more hopeless, although it is not less earnestly desired—those who owe their allegiance to the Bishop of Rome. Fortunately, it is but a small sect of Dissenters—in short, barely half of those professing the name of Christian on this terrestrial globe. A supreme and infallible Pope is a barrier which seems to shut out all hope of our ever extending to Rome the right hand of fellowship."

I may remark, parenthetically, that the Romanists are not the only denomination likely to interfere with the good Bishop's hopes of union. Judging from the incidents recorded by the accredited representatives of the Anglican Church who interviewed some of the Eastern Patriarchs for the express purpose of effecting such a union, the Greek Christians are not likely to be won over by any specious Branch theory. The incidents may appear ludicrous, but we have them on high Anglican authority. Mr. Curzon tells us how it fared with him when he presented a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Patriarch of Constantinople. "And who," quoth the Patriarch, the Supreme Head and Primate of the Greek Church in Asia—"who is 'the Archbishop of Canterbury?'"

"What!" said I, a little astonished at the question.

"Who," said he, "is the Archbishop?"

"Why, the Archbishop of Canterbury."

"Archbishop of *what?*" said the Patriarch.

"*Canterbury*," said I.

"Oh!" said the Patriarch. "Ah! yes; and who is he?"

Again, when Mr. Palmer went to Russia to effect some kind of intercommunication between the Russian and Anglican Establishments, he was very plainly asked by the Deputy Procurator of the Holy Synod, M. Mouravieff, "Did not he (the Pope) send Augustine to convert you? . . . . There are the Eastern Patriarchs who know you only through the Latin—through the Pope. If we had any communication with your Church it must be through the Pope and the Church of Rome. Reconcile yourself to your own Patriarch first, and then come and talk to us if you think you have anything to say to us."[1] The High Church theory could not have been put more clearly than it was by Mr. Palmer, yet this is the result—"You admit, then," said the Metropolitan of Moscow, "the Oriental, the Latin Catholic, and the British Churches all at once?" "Yes," I replied; "each in its original diocese or region, not otherwise." The Metropolitan said—"I cannot understand this. Do many of you hold this theory? I think it can be anything but general!" "Our Church," said Mr. Palmer, "has never excommunicated the Greek Churches nor the Latin Churches of the Continent; only we excommunicated the Romanists who are in England, and in Ireland, and in Greece, and in Russia as *schismatics*." "This is what I cannot in the least understand," said the Metropolitan; "they are all the same with the Latins of the Continent; communion depends on unity of belief. If they are to be communicated with abroad, they ought to be one with you at home, if they are to be excommunicated at home, they are to be excommunicated everywhere." And a much greater dignitary than the Archbishop of Moscow, Count Pratasoff, the Ober Prokuror

[1] *Diary*, pp, 229-230.

of the Holy Synod, said—"On that principle you would be a Universalist, changing your religion with your dwelling-place as often as you crossed the frontier from country to country."[1]

Dr. Littledale discredited.—But to return to the serious, from which we have for a little gone aside, simply because under the guise of pleasantry solid truths may, as the classic poet tells us, be agreeably communicated, we have to express our unfeigned regret that Dr. Thornton should pin his faith to such an unreliable authority as Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons*. Dr. Littledale is probably the most discredited controversialist in England. His *Plain Reasons* has been literally torn into shreds by Anglican as well as by Catholic writers. Fr. Ryder's answer to it is most complete, though we have been told it is "unanswered, because it is unanswerable." Can a person who speaks thus have really read the controversy at all?

An Anglican clergyman, Dr. Lee, tabulated the mistakes he detected in this book, after it had been frequently corrected and revised, and this is his answer to the "unanswerable" work:—

Errors—Regarding historical facts	51
Errors—Dogmatic facts	43
Inaccurate quotations from writers on history and canon law	29
Historical and theological quotations half made, often with remarkable omissions or qualifications	30
Quotations from Fathers bearing an entirely different meaning from that Dr. Littledale put on them	24
Confusing the opinion of some Catholics with the defined doctrine of the Church	17
Assuming that current opinions of theologians are, without doubt, defined dogma	7
Total under all heads	201

Dr. Lee might well say: "Had we a body of clergy with a sound theological education, such a publication

[1] *Visit to the Russian Church*, chap. lxxiv.

must have been met first with only a chilling welcome from those being duped, and then with a howl of execration. I will not directly say more than that having carefully examined it in conjunction with others—the first edition with the last—we have found it to be manifestly unfair and altogether untrustworthy. I would that we could regard its compiler as unintentionally misled and mistaken." And though I can quote a long list of Anglicans who agree with Dr. Lee, I shall content myself with three or four testimonies.

Mr. Shirley Brabazon (14th October, 1881) gave public expression to his opinion of the "unanswered because unanswerable" *Plain Reasons*. "A book," he says, "which has been corrected in nearly a hundred cases of misstatement should have been first submitted to some competent author before being put into print. It shakes our confidence in the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and it is not creditable that no expression of regret was made by its committee for the circulation of errors and fictions. Dishonesty in controversy, particularly in religious controversy, even when resulting from want of necessary inquiry beforehand, is much to be deprecated."

Dr. Mossman wrote thus:—"The book appears to me to be written in a most reprehensible spirit. Unless exposed and refuted, it is calculated to do grievous harm to the blessed and holy cause of corporate reunion. The book cannot, of course, mislead anyone who is really acquainted with ecclesiastical history and dogmatic theology; but how very few of its readers will know that it is little more than a rude congeries of fallacies and erroneous statements, taken at second-hand, which have been exposed and refuted again and again."

The Rev. Wentworth Hankey observed thus:—"I should be much obliged if you will allow me, as an

Anglican clergyman who prefers Dr. Littledale's past to his present views, to express the shame and indignation with which I have from the first regarded the publication of *Plain Reasons*. Since the issue of translations into French and Italian, the claim of the work to be 'defensive and not aggressive' can no longer be sustained; and, considering what manner of men are the vast majority of the Church's enemies in France and Italy, I protest in the name of our common Christianity against any such attempt to weaken the hands of the Church."

The Rev. E. W. Gilliam expressed his opinion of Dr. Littledale's controversial works that they "are so evidently dictated by ill-feeling and prejudice, and the rules of good breeding are so seriously ignored by him, that a reader of any refinement of mind instinctively draws back from one who seems thus regardless of the first principles of Christian moderation and ordinary charity"; and of the precious "unanswered because unanswerable" *Plain Reasons* he spoke thus plainly—"Entirely negative in character, it is, moreover, a coarse, vituperative, brutal book, without piety and without justice — a book whose spirit has nothing in unison with a holy and upright mind."

But the strongest witness against Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons* is Dr. Littledale himself. From 1880 to 1885 he sent no fewer than eighteen apologetic letters to the *Guardian* and *Church Times*, each letter correcting and retracting mistakes that had been pointed out. In a new edition of his book, published in 1881, there were prefixed twenty-nine pages of closely printed "additions and corrections," mainly the latter, each page containing forty-six lines, and each line about ten words. Thus we have in all thirteen thousand three hundred and forty words of *errata*—surely a remarkable literary performance considering that the book does not consist of quite two hundred pages. Every new edition contained corrections, though it is to be regretted that the corrections were often

as inaccurate as the original statements. *Such is the "unanswered because unanswerable" Dr. Littledale!*

Montalembert on Anglo-Catholics.—Another noticeable eccentricity in the Synodal address is the puerile attempt to claim the title "Catholic" on behalf of the Anglican Church. In 1842 the Puseyite Camden Society were guilty of the bad taste of electing Count de Montalembert an honorary member. He sent them the following letter of acknowledgment, which I commend to the attention of the Right Reverend President of the Ballarat Synod: "I protest against the most unwarrantable and most unjustifiable assumption of the name Catholic by people and things belonging to the actual Church of England. It is easy to take up a name, but it is not so easy to get it acknowledged by the world and by competent authority. The attempt to steal away from us and appropriate to the use of a fraction of the Church of England the glorious title of Catholic is proved to be an usurpation by every monument of the past and present; by the *Coronation oath* of your Sovereign; by all the laws that have *established* your Church; even by the answer of your own University of Oxford to the lay address against Dr. Pusey, where the Church of England is justly called the Protestant Reformed Church. The name itself is spurned with indignation by the greater half at least of those who belong to the Church of England, just as the Church of England itself is rejected with scorn and detestation by the greater half of the inhabitants of the United Kingdom. Even the debased Russian Church—that Church where lay despotism has closed the Church's mouth and turned her into a slave—disdains to recognise the Anglicans as Catholics. Consistent Protestants and Rationalists are more Catholic in the etymological sense of the word than Anglicans. But that so-called Anglo-Catholics, whose very name betrays their usurpation and contradiction, whose doctrinal articles, whose liturgy,

whose whole history are such as to disconnect them from all mankind except those who are born English and speak English, that they should pretend, on the strength of their private judgment alone, to be what the rest of mankind deny them to be, will assuredly be ranked among the first follies of the nineteenth century. I protest, therefore, against the usurpation of the sacred name as iniquitous, and I next protest against the object of this society and all such efforts in the Anglican Church as absurd."

"Catholic" implies doctrinal Unity.—The first use of the word "Catholic" as applied to Christ's Church we find in the writings of St. Ignatius, whom, as St. Chrysostom tells us, St. Peter appointed Bishop of Antioch, and who may be classed amongst the earliest of the School known as the Apostolic Fathers. From the Apostles, themselves, these Fathers received the faith and its traditions. And this is what St. Ignatius (107?) writes: "Where the Bishop is, there let the multitude of the faithful be; even as where Jesus Christ is, there is the Catholic Church."[1]

The venerable Father has left us sufficient clue to the meaning of his words. He repeatedly asserts that authoritative teaching and the unity begotten of it, are absolutely necessary conditions of Catholicity.

"Let us take heed, therefore," he says, *"that we do not set ourselves against the Bishop, that we may be subject to God. For whomsoever the Master of the house sendeth to his own household, we ought so to receive as we would Him that sent him. It is plain, then, that we ought to look to the Bishop as to the Lord Himself."*[2] And again, *"Apart from these (the Bishop, presbyters, and deacons) a church does not exist. . . I exhort you, therefore, to use only the Christian nourishment, to abstain from the strange herb which is heresy.*

[1] Epist. ad Smyrm. [2] Epist. ad Ephes.

"Guard against such men; and guarded you will be if you are not puffed up nor separated from Jesus Christ our God, and from the Bishop, and from the regulations of the Apostles. . . *He that doth aught apart from the Bishop and presbyters and deacons—that man is not pure in conscience.*"[1] And still more explicitly does he teach the necessity of unity as the outcome of authority. "For as many as are of God, and of Jesus Christ, these are with the Bishop; and as many as shall repent and *return to the unity of the Church,* these also shall be of God. . . Be not deceived, my brethren; *whosoever followeth one that createth schism, he inheriteth not the Kingdom of God.* Whosoever walketh after any other man's opinion, he assenteth not to the Passion. . . Wherefore I did my part as a man fitted for the preserving of unity. *For where is division and wrath, God dwelleth not.* But the Lord forgiveth all who repent, *if their minds be turned unto God's unity, and the council of the Bishop.*"[2] I exhort that ye study to do all things in the Unity of God; the Bishop presiding in the place of God. . . Be ye made one with the Bishop, and with those who preside, for an example and lesson of incorruption. As therefore our Lord, being united with the Father, did nothing without Him, so neither do ye anything apart from the Bishop and the presbyters. Neither attempt ye to do anything that seems good to your own private judgment, but let there be in the same place *one prayer, one mind, one hope.*"[3] Authority and unity are the keynotes of the saint's teaching. "It is good to regard God and the Bishop. Whoso honoureth the Bishop, he is honoured of God; but he that doeth a thing and hideth it from the Bishop, worshippeth the devil."[4]

Can any person doubt, for a moment, the judgment St. Ignatius would pronounce on the Anglican claims to

[1] Epist. ad Trall.
[2] Epist. ad Philad.
[3] Epist. ad Magnes.
[4] Epist. ad Smyr.

Catholicity? And all the early Fathers are in agreement with the venerable Bishop of Antioch. Their judgment is on record. Unity of doctrine was, with them, an indispensable condition to the very idea of a Church, as well as to the notion of Catholicity. St. Irenæus writes: "The Church, though dispersed throughout the whole world, yet, as if it were contained in the same house, carefully preserves the rule of faith, *and holds it as if she had one soul and one heart, and teaches it with one consent as if she spoke with one voice.* For although different tongues occupy the world, yet, the force of tradition is one and the same, nor do the churches of Germany, Spain, Gaul, the East, Egypt, Lybia, and the middle of the world embrace any other faith. But as there is one and the same sun shining over the whole world, so the preaching of the truth shines everywhere, and enlightens all men who desire its knowledge."[1]

St. Chrysostom says: "If it is the Church of God, it is *united* and *one*, not at Corinth only, but in the whole world, for *the Church is a name not of division but of union and harmony.*"[2] St. Gregory calls the Church: "The tunic without seam, woven from the top throughout."[3] And St. Hilary of Poictiers would seem to have spoken in prophecy of Anglicanism with its endless varieties of belief. "The Church," he writes, "is one body, not mixed up by a confusion of bodies, nor by each of these being united *in an indiscriminate heap and shapeless bundle*; but we are all one by the unity of faith, by the society of charity, by concord of works and will, by the one gift of the sacrament in all."[4] Can the boldest champion of Anglican claims contend that his Church's notion of unity gets beyond St. Hilary's description of "the indiscriminate heap and shapeless bundle?" Indeed, her warmest defenders not only admit, but glory in her discord.

[1] *Adv. Hæreses*, lib. 1, c. 3.
[2] In Cor. Hom. 1, n. 1.
[3] Orat. 12.
[4] Ps. 121, n. 5.

"Extreme divergencies of doctrine."—The evidence of Anglican bishops, as to their Church's comprehensiveness and elasticity of doctrine, would fill a large volume. At the Anglican Convocation in 1867 the Bishop of Ely thus testified: "In all times since the Reformation, the people had been allowed to hold *extreme doctrines* on one side and on the other." Dr. Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester, boasted: "The Church of England had always within herself persons of *extreme divergencies of doctrine*," which he considered "a thing as inevitable as having different countenances on different men." The Bishop of Salisbury bluntly observed: "If legislation were to take place on many of these points"—that is, if there was any attempt to enforce unity of doctrine—"*it would break up the Church.*" And the Archbishop of Canterbury claimed that the clergy should have as full liberty to differ on doctrinal matters as the laity had asserted and exercised for themselves. "As to divergencies of opinion among the clergy," said his Grace, "I do not wish to restrain or curb the liberty of the clergy;" and four years later the same most tolerant of prelates wrote that if the clergy only "labour heartily, I believe that laymen will not be very captious in watching *as to the peculiar opinions* or modes of worship which they choose to adopt." One of its stoutest defenders in the House of Commons, Mr. Thomas Hughes,[1] saw no absurdity in his plea for the multiform heresy of Anglicanism. "That the Church of England contains everything from a Romanist to a Rationalist is," he proudly said, "precisely the great argument for a National Church." And a week after, the Bishop of Ely echoed back this sentiment. His lordship, speaking on the highest mysteries of revelation, wrote: "We cannot hope to make all thinkers think alike, but *the more comprehensive we are in doctrine*, the more we need regularity and sobriety in ceremonial."

[1] *Standard*, 3rd July, 1872.

St. Paul, it is needless to observe, was not in agreement with the opinions I have just quoted. He expressly taught that if any man introduce the slightest variation of doctrine, "*let him be anathema.*" As an influential Protestant journal in England[1] asks, "What *is* the religion of the Church of England? . . . At present the Church of England is an embodiment of three religions. It teaches one religion which can hardly be distinguished from Deism; another which is almost identical with Romanism; and another which may be defined as a sort of Calvinistic Methodism. All these three cannot be true, for any two of them are mutually contradictory; yet all of them are being taught at the same time as equally authoritative, equally binding upon the consciences of laymen."

The kaleidoscopic doctrines of the Anglican Church preclude all notion of unity amongst her members. Since the days of the sixth Edward no one has ever yet been able to predict what truths would be accepted or rejected by her within any given decade of years. Lord Macaulay,[2] as is notorious, had no leanings towards Catholicism, but the inconsistencies of Anglicanism forced from him this testimony: "It is a matter of perfect notoriety that her formularies are framed in such a manner as to admit to her highest offices men who differ from each other more widely than a very High Churchman differs from a Catholic, or a very Low Churchman from a Presbyterian; and that the general leaning of the Church, with respect to some important questions, has been sometimes one way and sometimes another. Take, for example, the questions agitated between the Calvinists and the Armenians. Do we find in the Church of England, with respect to those questions, that unity which is essential to truth? Was it ever found in the Church? Is it not certain that, at the end of the sixteenth century, the rulers of the Church held doctrines

[1] *Manchester Guardian*, quoted in the *Tablet*, June 15th, 1872.

[2] *Essay on Ranke.*

as Calvinistic as ever were held by any Cameronian, and not only held them, but persecuted everybody who did not hold them? And is it not equally certain that the rulers of the Church have, in very recent times, considered Calvinism as a disqualification for high preferment, if not for holy orders? Look at the questions which Archbishop Whitgift propounded to Barrett,—questions framed in the very spirit of William Huntington, S.S. And then look at the eighty-seven questions which Bishop March, within our own memory, propounded to candidates for ordination. We should be loath to say that either of these celebrated prelates had intruded himself into a Church whose doctrines he abhorred."

This absence of unity, of which Macaulay gives us the above illustrations, is traced to its source by an Agnostic writer in the *Westminster Review*.[1] He is speaking of private judgment as the outcome of the Reformation —and he says that Protestantism "finds itself unable to build in any direction but one, without the risk of seeing the structure crumble into pieces on the heads of the builders. The corner stone is an admirable one for a Temple of Free Thought, and for nothing else." After "noting the superior antiquity, *unity*, and matchless organization" of the Catholic Church, he feels compelled to make this admission: "Granting that God Almighty came upon earth to found a religious system, we are at a loss to make out where such a system is to be found if not in the Church of Rome. Granting the right of free judgment as applied to the Bible, we are equally at a loss to understand how anyone can be called upon to believe in the inspiration of the Bible; or, in the event of his doing so, to what part of it he is to be referred for the distinctive tenets of Protestantism."

Church of England isolated.—The Anglican claim to Catholicity is as strongly repudiated by the Eastern

[1] July, 1872.

Churches as by the Western Church. The historian of the orthodox Church, Dr. Overbeck, writes: "The English Church stands insulated, without any recognized Catholic sister-church, disowned by the whole Catholic Church, unable to be controlled on the Catholic deposit of faith."[1]

The distinction which Dr. Thornton makes between the terms "Catholic" and "Papal" is assuredly a distinction without a difference. The terms have been synonymous from the first. "Roman" or "Papal" signifies the centre of a circle, and "Catholic" embraces the whole circumference of the same circle.

On the other hand even those Anglicans who, in theory, make the loudest claims to Catholicity for their Church must admit that the term "Catholic" is so limited as to be practically nullified by the prefix "Anglo." This was evidently the thought in Lord Macaulay's mind when he wrote,[2] "The Church of England existed for England alone. It was an institution as purely local as the Court of Common Pleas, and was utterly without any machinery for foreign operations. Nobody at Lambeth troubled himself about what was doing in Poland or Bavaria. But Cracow and Munich were, at Rome, objects of as much interest as the purlieus of St. John Lateran."

The following beautiful passage of Saint Augustine (A.D. 354-430), though familiar to many Catholics, is so appropriate that I make no apology for giving it at length. The authority enforced by the Fathers already quoted, and the unity which is the outcome of that authority, are the qualities St. Augustine emphasizes as essential to a Church that claims to be Catholic. He says: "The agreement of peoples and nations keeps me there. Authority—begun in miracle, nurtured in hope, increased by charity and confirmed by antiquity—keeps me there. The succession of priests from the See itself of Peter (to whom the Lord com-

[1] *Catholic Orthodoxy*, p. 28. [2] *Essay on Ranké.*

mitted the feeding of His sheep) down to the present episcopate, keeps me there. Lastly, I am kept there by the very name of *Catholic*: which among so many heresies, that Church has, not without reason, alone held possession of. So much so, that though all heretics wish themselves to be called *Catholic*, yet when any stranger asks where the *Catholic* service is held, no one of them dares point to his own church or dwelling.

"Rightly, then, do all these bonds of the Christian name —many and great and most cherished as they are—rightly do they keep believers in the *Catholic* Church. Albeit the dullness of our understanding or the character of our lives may be such as to prevent the truth manifesting itself at once in all its fullness. But with you, who have none of these tokens to invite or to retain me, all that there is, is but a sound of promised truth. And, if you could really demonstrate the truth so as to preclude all doubt, I should prefer it before all the reasons which keep me in the *Catholic* Church. But, if truth be only promised and not proved, then no one shall move me from that faith which attaches my mind with so many and strong bands to the Christian religion."[1]

And the illustrious Doctor of the Church leaves no doubt about his meaning as to the complete agreement between the terms "Catholic" and "Roman." There is no ambiguity in his words regarding "Peter's See." *It is "the Chair of the Roman Church, in which Peter sat, and in which Anastasius sits at present."*[2] And again he writes: *"The Roman Church, in which the Primacy of the Apostolic See has always been in force."*[3]

Protestant and rationalist writers are constrained to admit that the words "Roman" and "Papal" and "Catholic" are inseparable. Thus Dean Milman[4] says, "Reverence

1 Vol. viii., 110, *D.E., Ed. Ben.* 2 *Cont. Lit. Petit. Lib.* ii., c. 15.
3 Epist. xliii., Glor. *et cet.* 4 *Hist. Lat. Christ.*, b. iv., c. vi.

for Rome penetrated with the Gospel to the remotest parts." Guizot[1] writes: "After the fifth century, the Papacy took the lead in the conversion of Pagans," and the French sceptic, Renan,[2] testifies that "While the Pope of Jerusalem would have smothered Christianity at the end of a century or two, *the Pope of Rome has made it the religion of the world.*"

Another still more preposterous claim is put forward in the following sentence of the Ballarat address:—"The Church of our forefathers God for a thousand years was pleased to use as the sole channel of Christian life and light for the great English people." Verily, this is a novel theory! Some start from the Reformation, some go back to St. Paul, but this theory supposes that St. Augustine was commissioned by Pope Gregory to establish the Anglican Church in England. But, after all, it is not quite original, it has been frequently put forward. It was once advanced by Archdeacon Denison, and received the following reply from a writer in the *Somerset County Gazette.* The reply is headed—"Dilemma for Archdeacon Denison"—"The Homilies were written to aid illiterate clergymen who could not preach, and they were commanded to be read in all the Protestant Churches. In the second book of Homilies these words occur—'Laity and clergy; learned and unlearned; all ages, sects, and degrees of men, women, and children of whole Christendom (an horrible and most dreadful thing to think) have been at once drowned in abominable idolatry, of all other vices most detested of God, and most damnable to man, and that by the space of eight hundred years and more.' The thirty-fifth of the thirty-nine Articles declares that these Homilies contain a Godly and wholesome doctrine. Archdeacon Denison has subscribed to these Articles, and through them he declares that this doctrine of the Homilies is 'Godly and whole-

[1] *Hist. Civil.*, Bohn's Ed., Vol. ii., p. 173.

[2] *Hibbert Lect.*, Eng. trans., p. 122.

some.' I now ask him where his Church was during those eight hundred years. If it existed it was drowned in damnable idolatry; if it did not exist it cannot be a thousand years old. Which horn of this dilemma will the Archdeacon prefer?"

Persecution the original sin of Protestants.—The Synodal address would not be symmetrical or complete without the introduction of "the most truculent and awful system of persecution," of which "for centuries Rome was the parent and fountain head." The Reformed Churches, including the Church of England, of course knew better. They did not persecute at all. They, like some of their representatives, indulged in "no narrow dislike of opinions variant from their own, and still less any cheap, coarse, ignorant, and calumnious abuse of the Papal Church." Mr. Lecky will be admitted to be, if not a perfectly impartial historian, at least one whose partiality does not lean to the side of the Catholic Church. This is Mr. Lecky's testimony:—

"Persecution among the early Protestants was a distinct and definite doctrine, digested into elaborate treatises, indissolubly connected with a large portion of the received theology, developed by the most enlightened and far-seeing theologians, and enforced against the most inoffensive as against the most formidable sects. It was the doctrine of the palmiest days of Protestantism; it was taught by those who are justly esteemed the greatest of its leaders; it was manifested most clearly in those classes which were most deeply imbued with its dogmatic teachings."[1] Mr. Lecky will tell us in how sanguinary a manner these principles were applied. I pity the man who can read without a shudder his description of the persecution of the Irish Catholics, which, strange to say, followed the accession of William III., whose love of freedom we lately heard so

[1] *History of Rationalism*, Vol. ii., pp. 55-6.

much extolled. Mr. Lecky quotes with approval Burke's description of those persecutions as a system that was "well digested and well disposed in all its parts; a machine of wise and elaborate contrivance, and as well fitted for the oppression, impoverishment, and degradation of a people, and the debasement in them of human nature itself, as ever proceeded from the perverted ingenuity of man." "The annals of persecution," Mr. Lecky himself observes, "contain no instance of a series of laws more deliberately and ingeniously framed to debase their victims, to bribe them in every stage of their life to abandon their convictions, and to sow dissension and distrust within the family circle."[1]

Lecky also quotes Dr. Johnson for the statement that: "There is no instance, even in the Ten Persecutions, of such severity as that which the Protestants of Ireland have exercised against the Catholics." The eminent Protestant historian Hallam pronounces the same judgment as Lecky: "Persecution is the deadly original sin of the Reformed Churches, which cools every honest man's zeal for their cause in proportion as his reading becomes more extensive."[2]

Like the parrot cry of persecution, is the alleged preponderance of crime amongst Catholics. "It is an indisputable fact," says the President of the Ballarat Synod, "which our Roman fellow-citizens must deplore even more than ourselves, that their Communion (nominally at any rate), furnishes the largest proportionate contingent of any to our gaols." This is a charge which, if the controversy had continued, I was anxious to have an opportunity of meeting in a separate lecture. It opens up a wide field for inquiry. I have gathered together the criminal statistics of many countries. I have collected non-Catholic testimony of the weightiest and most unimpeachable character,

[1] *Leaders of Public Opinion in Ireland*, pp. 123-4.
[2] *Constitutional History*, Vol. i., chap. 2.

and I am prepared, as soon as a suitable opportunity occurs, to submit to the public a solid refutation of an odious charge, which has been repeated *ad nauseam*.

Such is the fine feeling of those who boast of their tender regard for their Catholic fellow-citizens, and recklessly impugn the veracity of the most eminent dignitaries of the Catholic Church. Such is the consistency of those who charge the Catholic Church with a persecuting spirit. Such is the courtesy we receive from those who make such a loud profession of tolerance. Such is the modesty of men who believe in the rights of private judgment, but set up themselves and some discredited polemical writers as the infallible judges of all religious controversy. I have entered on this discussion with deep regret. I feel that every Christian denomination has enough, and more than enough, to do in extending the Kingdom of Christ and bringing men back to their allegiance to Him. But He who scourged and cast out the profaners of the material temple will not blame those who turn aside for a little from their ordinary work to defend the interests of His spiritual temple, the One Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ENGLISH NATIONAL CHURCH, ACCORDING TO HISTORY, WAS THE CREATION OF HENRY VIII., EDWARD VI.'s COUNCIL, AND ELIZABETH.

(Lecture II.)

When I finished my address on last Sunday week, I did not think that I should be called on so soon to deliver another lecture. If the daily papers had published my address in full, or even with substantial completeness, I should probably not have undertaken to reprint it. But it so happened that what very many regarded as by far the most important and telling parts of it were omitted by each of the daily papers. Canon Potter undertook, as he had a perfect right to do, to reply to my address on this night week. On Monday I mentioned to a reporter that I purposed to get my lecture reprinted in pamphlet form, and that in the preface I would notice Canon Potter's statements.

In his zeal—some may think it impatient zeal—Canon Potter, instead of waiting a few days to see what I had to say in the Preface of my reprinted address, published in Thursday's *Argus* a letter directing my attention to some parts of his sermon, which, I suppose, he feared might have escaped my notice, and also modifying if not withdrawing some uncomplimentary things he had said in the same sermon.

In these circumstances I have thought it well to utilise materials which I had collected, but which I could not compress into one lecture.

The Ballarat "Churgress."—Canon Potter is a clergyman of such broadminded and kindly tolerance that any controversy with him must be specially disagreeable. He is a scholar and a gentleman. He is also an Irishman. It is seldom that an Irishman fails in a keen sense of humour. But Canon Potter is, on this occasion, an egregious failure. He set me down, in fact, as "attempting to pass off an offensive libel on the English Church for the actual deliverance of an English bishop."

Since the good old days of the Vicar of Wakefield no such amiable simplicity as this has graced the life of a parson. Canon Potter had never read, nay, he had never heard of the *Churgress* or its sprightly author. The lambent wit of "The Prig" was to him a sealed fountain. Even now he does not know who "The Prig" is, or the character of his works. Perhaps when he learns that "The Prig" *was* an Anglican parson like himself, he may refer to him more respectfully, and even enjoy the good-humoured though pungent satire of the *Churgress*. The author has deftly woven the real with the imaginary. He has availed himself, as he tells us, of some fragments of newspaper reports of actual Church congresses, which he gives in italics, while his own work is in ordinary type. The extensive circulation of "The Prig's" books, the price they maintain, and the unstinted eulogy of leading literary journals in England, are a solid guarantee of their merit. The learned Canon is astonished that "when treating so serious a topic" I should "use such weapons as these." He makes no allowance for the different classes of adversaries with whom one may have to deal, or for the different manner of reply that may be perfectly suitable for one, though quite unsuitable for another. But the Canon must remember that I gave formal notice that I was not then treating my subject in a serious way. I specially warned my hearers that they might regard the *Churgress* as an

imaginary one. I could scarcely indicate more clearly without appearing to offer insult to the capacity of my audience that I was in that part of my address referring to an authority who, in his various books, undertakes to convey solid truths in a humorous manner.

The Bishops of Northumberland and of St. Cuthbert's—imaginary sees it is needless to say—are introduced as speakers, and the character of their speeches is such that the transparent satire would seem, except for Canon Potter's testimony, to be absolutely incapable of misleading the most artless and unsuspecting. Surely the Canon cannot seriously imagine that I meant to represent Northumberland and St. Cuthbert's as existing Anglican sees, when a whole army of Anglican clergymen could, and would, without any reference to Whitaker or Crockford, expose the attempted deception? To make assurance doubly sure, when parting from "The Prig," I again gave notice that I was no longer indulging in a humorous vein. These were my words: "But to return to the serious, from which we have for a little time gone aside, simply because under the guise of pleasantry solid truths may, as the classic poet tells us, be agreeably communicated." The quotation from the Bishop of Northumberland's address, instead of occupying a fourth part of my reply, as Canon Potter very incautiously states, did not in reality occupy a twelfth part of it.

Having re-read, in the light of Canon Potter's remarks, the address of the Right Revd. President of the Ballarat Synod, I feel more strongly than I felt before, that it bears a striking family likeness to, and, therefore, justifies the introduction of, the speech of the Bishop of Northumberland.

quanquam ridentem dicere verum
Quid vetat?

Dr. Littledale revived in Australia.—If Canon Potter, before preparing his rejoinder, had taken the trouble to

read the additional report of my address which was published on Monday in the *Herald*, or the full report which appeared on Thursday last, and again on Saturday, in the *Advocate*, he would have saved himself from serious mistakes, and have saved me the trouble of correcting them. Without due enquiry he had charged me with stigmatizing, without proof, Dr. Littledale as a discredited controversialist. These are his words: "I cannot but think it a pity that Archbishop Carr should call Dr. Littledale 'a discredited controversialist,' and yet not say when, or how, or by whom his credit has been overthrown." A full report of my lecture convinced Canon Potter of the mistake, but what is his acknowledgment of that mistake? Here it is. He says, if the first report of my lecture was imperfect, there was sufficient time to supply the defect between Monday and Saturday. This implies that I had not done so. But I had supplied it on Monday in the *Herald*, and on Thursday and Saturday in the *Advocate*. As I had already given my MS. to each of the morning papers, there was no hope that any additional report would appear in these. So much for the Canon's first evasion.

Secondly, he says instead of giving the testimony of others regarding the inaccuracy and general worthlessness of Dr. Littledale it would be better had I myself pointed out one error. I took pains to collect the testimony, not of Catholic authors, no matter how eminent, but of Anglicans of the highest standing, on the value of Dr Littledale's book, and I believe it would be difficult, if not impossible, to produce such a consensus of condemnation regarding any other controversial work. Well, if the Canon will not accept this consensus of condemnation by his own clerical brethren, and the admission wrung from Dr. Littledale himself, what hope could there be that any words of mine would influence his judgment? "If they hear not Moses and the prophets, neither will they

believe if one rise again from the dead." Even if, at the Canon's suggestion, I undertook to refute not one but twenty of Dr. Littledale's arguments, and succeeded to the most perfect satisfaction of every honest mind, the outcome of my labour probably would be, to be told that "enough remains verified to make an overwhelming case against the Vaticanists." In any case I think I may be allowed to conduct the controversy in my own way, and as I deem most effective, if not as regards the Canon, at least as regards the general public. If there be any point in my lecture more than another in which, as far as I understand, public opinion is agreed, it is the point regarding the worthlessness of such an authority as Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons*.

But a more glaring instance of Canon Potter's dexterity is seen in his reference to Fr. Ryder's treatise. Either Canon Potter has read Dr. Thornton's Synodal address or he has not. If not, he has no right, I submit, to interfere in the controversy. If he has read it, does he not know that the words "unanswered because unanswerable" are the words applied by the Anglican Bishop of Ballarat to Dr. Littledale's work? The Canon's reading of the full report of my lecture in the *Advocate* must have been very cursory, indeed, when he quotes me without a shadow of foundation, as applying to Fr. Ryder's book, words which, taken from the Synodal address, I, with repeated emphasis, applied only to Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons*.

Seldom was controversialist more unfair than Dr. Littledale, or more successful in exciting feelings of disgust amongst prominent Anglicans, and of indignation amongst Catholics. To the offensive bitterness of his works we owe, perhaps, the complete refutation of the author. There is an unmistakable significance in the very titles of the Catholic replies to this writer, as, for instance, "*Dishonest Criticism*, by Father Jones, S.J.; *The Character of*

Dr. Littledale as a Controversialist, by Mr. King; *Truthfulness and Ritualism*, by Mr. Orby Shipley. It is difficult to reconcile all the complimentary things we have heard about Dr. Littledale with the fact that the English Church Union, under whose auspices his *Why Ritualists Do Not Become Roman Catholics* was published, was compelled to withdraw the pamphlet from circulation after Mr. Orby Shipley had exposed its untruthfulness and unfairness.

There is a strange inconsistency in the conduct of those who, on the one hand, profess an ardent desire to promote the Reunion of the Churches, and on the other, defend or help to circulate such transparent errors and gross libels as are contained in Dr. Littledale's works.

It is still more surprising that men of sensitive honour and refined minds should have sympathy with one who was a stranger to the nobler qualities of head and heart. This is a strong assertion and ought not to be made lightly. But anyone who reads Dr. Littledale's cowardly libels on English clerical converts will feel that it is fully justified.

Enumerating the "practical reasons" which influenced Anglican convert clergymen generally, he allows himself to write thus of married clergymen:—"I have much reason to believe that, in not a few instances, the motive which has prompted the secession of such men has been the wish to be permanently free from the *moral* and religious checks of the clerical profession, and to be at liberty to adopt uncensured the habits of a *fast* layman."

He was repeatedly challenged to give some proof of this atrocious charge, but he never attempted to substantiate it. Considering that the lives of these men had been as an open book, that they themselves were the worthy sons of England's universities, that before and after conversion they had worn the white flower of a blameless life, and that they had sacrificed all that man holds dear on earth, home, high

position, and life-long friendships; the calumny was as cruel to them as it was dishonouring to its author.

The Church of England the creation of Henry VIII.—Canon Potter asks when did the Church of England lose her Catholicity? If he will read this reply from a high Anglican authority, Dr. Child, he will learn that the Church of England never lost her Catholicity, simply because she never had it. He will also learn that something more than the nominal retention and repetition of the ancient creeds, and the observance of a few amputated rites, is required to link the Anglican Church of to-day with the Church of St. Augustine.

Dr. Child, one of the latest writers on the subject of the Tudor Settlement of Religion, thus states the plain, though, to some, unpalatable truth, that Anglicanism is a complete severance from Catholicism. "It is difficult to study the actual facts of sixteenth-century history, putting apart preconceived ecclesiastical theories, without arriving at the conclusion that the English National Church was as completely the creation of Henry VIII., Edward's Council, and Elizabeth, as Saxon Protestantism was of Luther, or Swiss of Calvin or of Zwingle. Obviously no man who sets forth a distinctive form of Christianity can proclaim himself the founder of a new religion or a new Church as such. So long as the new organisation claims to be Christian at all, it must go back for its foundation to Jesus Christ and His Apostles, and he himself can appear only as a reformer, a restorer of what professes, and must profess, to be the religion which they delivered to mankind. In this particular the claims of the English Reformers of the sixteenth century were the same as that of Luther and Calvin, or of Cartwright and Travers, and the whole question about what is to be regarded as 'primitive' or 'Catholic' is one of interpretation and historical theory.

"The history of the Church in England was continuous from the Mission of Augustine—or, if we prefer it, from the Synod of Whitby—to the time when Henry VIII., upon a disagreement with the Pope about his divorce, cast off his allegiance to the Papacy. From that time to the present, with the short interval between the reconciliation under Mary and Elizabeth's first Parliament, it has been severed from and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church; and as the latter was before precisely that which it has continued since, it is clear that the former must have been something not the same; and it is not the mere retention of a few names and titles, used in a kind of 'second intention,' and a few more or less amputated rites, which will ever make persons, intelligently instructed, believe that an establishment, which obviously is the mere creature of a single State, is the legitimate and adequate representative of that imposing and magnificent Western Church, which is older than any existing State in Europe, and grander than anything that the world has ever seen, and which has been picturesquely described by an old writer as 'the ghost of the old Roman Empire, sitting robed and crowned upon the grave thereof.'[1] A fair consideration of the actual facts of the Tudor history serves to show that a theory like that which prevails so widely at present—which represents the English Church in any other light than that of one (though it may, perhaps, be admitted, the greatest and most dignified) of the many Protestant Churches which arose in the sixteenth century—is a novelty which took its very earliest rise some half-century or more after the separation from Rome, as a direct consequence of Elizabeth's determination to give no quarter to the earlier Puritans, and which made little or no progress for another half-century still. The

1 See *Froude*, Vol. vii., pp. 330-4. The Commission given to the Apostles (Matt. xxviii., 19, 20.) implies, that they were to have lawful Apostolic successors: (1) to their doctrine, (2) to their mission, (3) to their orders, (4) to their jurisdiction. Can Anglicans claim, before the bar of history, to trace their succession back to the Apostles in these four points?

evidence is simply overwhelming which shows that, during the whole period from 1552 onwards, the English Church was considered by friends and foes, alike, to be, for all intents and purposes, one with the Swiss churches of Zurich and Geneva. The divines of the Church of England during the period in question differed, no doubt, among themselves on those minor points, which, as we have seen, were so nearly carried in favour of the Puritans in the Convocation of 1562; but their great anxieties were two only, viz., to shake themselves free from 'the tyranny of the Bishop of Rome and all his detestable enormities'—to use words which once were sounded forth in all the churches in the land, as one of the petitions in the Litany—and secondly, to claim brotherhood and sympathy with the Protestant leaders in Switzerland and on the Upper Rhine."

Canon Potter may say that Dr. Child speaks not for the whole Anglican body. If Dr. Child represents the Low Church school, as I believe he does, the Rev. Mr. Pocock is certainly a representative of the High Church party, and he is, beyond question, a very great authority on the Reformation period. We find it difficult to reconcile his statements with Canon Potter's claim on behalf of the Anglican Church, which claim he rests on the possession and defence not only of the "Catholic creeds," but also of the "Catholic order of bishops, priests, and deacons," and the reception of valid, unmutilated Sacraments.

The beliefs of Elizabeth's bishops.—Assuredly the men who broke off from obedience to Rome, and on whom depended the continuity of the Anglican with the Catholic Church, troubled themselves very little about Catholic Creeds, Apostolical Succession, or unmutilated Sacraments, or any other truths. "I suppose," says Mr. Pocock, "I should not be far from the truth if I were to describe the episcopate of Elizabeth's reign as having scarcely any other history than that of entering upon their bishoprics under

simoniacal contracts made with the Queen or her favourites, of spoiling their dioceses to the prejudice of their successors during the occupancy of the sees, of engaging in suits for dilapidations upon a death or translation between the newly appointed Bishop and the outgoing prelate or his heirs."[1] And again, "As to the belief in an Apostolical Succession in the Episcopate, it is not to be found in any of the writings of the Elizabethan Bishops." And of those same Anglican prelates he writes that "probably not a single Bishop was to be found who believed in his own Divine commission or in the efficacy of the Sacraments."

But a higher dignitary than Mr. Pocock, to wit, the Bishop of Worcester, Dr. Perowne, speaking at the Birmingham Church Congress, less than two years ago, boldly stated "the Church of England has nowhere said that Episcopacy is necessary to the existence of a Church. I challenge any man to bring forward a passage from any author of the Church of England in which he has said so much as that. . . . . I am very willing and ready to stand upon the same platform with Bishop Hall, one of the best bishops that adorned the Bench of the English Church and a man who suffered from Puritan persecution. I do feel that we are making a great mistake about this matter. It seems to me (and I think that I have read all the great divines of the Church of England with an especial view to this question) that we have taken up in these later days a very much narrower position than the Church of England herself occupies. The Church of England, as I said just now, has *nowhere said that the three orders are necessary to the existence of a Church. There is not such a passage in the Prayer-book.*"

Bishop Perowne speaks with authority on the order of Bishops, Priests and Deacons. If his testimony is ac-

[1] *Guardian*, Nov. 23rd, 1893. The Anglican Ordinal did what it was intended to do. It was drawn up for the express purpose of *not* making sacrificing priests in the Catholic sense, but Gospel ministers in the Protestant sense.

cepted Canon Potter must seek elsewhere for a valid proof of the Catholicity of the Anglican Church.

Anglicans lost Communion like Donatists.—Neither will he find such a proof in the retention of the Catholic creeds, for many of the early heretics held these, and though the validity of their orders was unquestioned, they were still separated from the Unity, and consequently, from the Catholicity of the Church. Take the Donatists. In an article in the *Dublin Review*, which, under Divine Providence, led to Cardinal Newman's conversion, Cardinal Wiseman traces the striking similarity between the pleas urged by the Donatists in the fifth century, and by Anglicans in the nineteenth century to be recognised as members of the Catholic Church. It is the boast of Anglicans that as many as 150 of their Bishops attended the Pan-Anglican Council of Lambeth, but in 411 St. Augustine met 279 Donatist Bishops in Conference at Carthage. Singularly enough, amongst the Donatists there was a High as well as a Low Church party, though both agreed in jealously protecting the validity of their orders. But notwithstanding their pleas, their numbers, and their unquestionable Sacraments, St. Augustine thus addresses them, as cut off from the Unity of the Church: "Come, brethren, if you wish to be engrafted in the vine, it grieves us to see you thus cut off."

There is no difficulty as to the vine of which St. Augustine spoke. "The Bishop of Carthage," he says, "could afford to despise all his enemies, seeing himself in communion with *the Roman Church in which the primacy of the Apostolic See has always flourished.*" [1] And the illustrious Doctor of the Church, in thus speaking, did but re-echo the words which St. Cyprian had spoken in the third century, when he called the Roman See "the root and womb of the Catholic Church, the fountain and source of Catholic unity."[2]

[1] Epist. xliii., 7. [2] St. Cyprian, Epist., 45-50.

And St. Irenæus,[1] who, through his master, St. Polycarp, the pupil of St. John, inherited the traditions of the Beloved Disciple, speaks in unhesitating tone of the Roman Church. The whole passage is so pertinent that I quote it in full: "For since it would be very long in the compass of our present work to enumerate the successions of all the Churches, taking that Church which is the greatest, the most ancient, and well-known to all, founded and established at Rome by the two most glorious Apostles Peter and Paul, by indicating that tradition which it has from the Apostles, and the faith it announces to men, which has reached even to us by the succession of Bishops, we confound all those, who, in whatever manner, either through self-pleasing or vain glory, or blindness and evil intention, gather otherwise than they ought.[2] *For* to this Church on account of its superior principate, it is necessary that every Church should come together, that is, the faithful, who are everywhere; for in this Church the tradition, which is from the Apostles, has been preserved by those who are everywhere . . . By this ordination and succession the tradition and preaching of the truth, which is from the Apostles in the Church, has reached down to us. And this proof is most complete, that it is one and the same vivifying faith, which has been preserved and handed down in truth, in the Church from the Apostles to the present day."

Protestant Coronation Oath.—The novelty and the hollowness of Anglican claims to Catholicity are transparent when subjected to historic tests. In the Coronation Oath the Sovereign of England swears "to maintain the *Protestant* reformed religion, as it is established by law." In the Oath of Homage which every Anglican bishop in England is bound to take on his knees before the Sovereign, when

[1] *Adv. Her.* i, iii., c. 3, h. 2.

[2] The same idea is expressed by St. Jerome in his Epistle (15) to Pope Damasus:—Whoso gathereth not with thee, scattereth; whoso is not of Christ is of anti-Christ.

obtaining the grant of the temporalities of his see, we have this declaration:—"The Sovereign is the only supreme governor of the realm of England, *in spiritual and ecclesiastical things as well as in temporal; and the said bishopric, as well the spiritualities as the temporalities thereof, is held only of the Sovereign.* Is there in all this the slightest recognition of the term *Catholic*, or of the idea the term conveys? When did a post-Reformation Sovereign of England ever swear that he would maintain the *Catholic religion?* So far back as 1793, when the penal laws were still largely in force, *Catholic*, as Mr. Lecky notes, was the term employed from the Throne to designate the persecuted and enslaved people of Ireland, whose religion, as the world knows, was not Anglican. The new fashioned claim to the title *Catholic* was not then dreamt of.

At the time of the Disestablishment of the Anglican Church in Ireland, the Coronation Oath was frequently brought into requisition. The literature of that period from press, platform, pulpit, or legislature, tells of the *Protestantism*, and of nothing but the *Protestantism* of the then established Church in Ireland, which was the recognised sister of the Anglican Church in England.

Do Canon Potter and men like him not see the utter inconsistency of the claim to Catholicity that they make for their Church? Can they point to a single history of England, written by a lay Anglican, who had no "Branch Church" or other such theory to maintain in which the term "Catholic" is ever applied to the Anglican Church? Does Freeman, or Green, or Gardiner, or Froude, or Saunderson, or any one of the lay historians of England make such an application of the term as would be favourable to Anglican claims to Catholicity? And what other reason can be assigned for their not doing so, except their inability to find a particle of evidence in support of these claims? Is not "Protestantism" and "Protestantism" alone the term by

which they designate the Tudor Settlement of religion? And in dealing with the Tudor period of English history do they not in express terms speak of an *old religion* that had been supplanted by *new doctrines*, and of a *Papal supremacy* that had been rejected for a *Royal supremacy?*

The "Branch Theory" Repudiated.—Nor will the "Branch theory" supply the Canon with a proof of Anglican Catholicity. For, first of all, what do upholders of this "Branch theory" mean when they speak of "the Eastern Church?" Is it of "the Eastern Church" that is in communion with Rome, or of "the Eastern Church" that is separated from it? It clearly cannot be the former, because we have been told that the Papal claims to supremacy can never be recognised, and this "Eastern Church" submits to them with the most filial reverence. And as to the other "Eastern Church," it does not exist outside the "Branch" theorists' own minds. These good people speak of the non-Roman Eastern Church as being one of the three branches of the Church Catholic. But there are many Eastern Churches, separated from each other in matters of faith, and regarding each other as heretical. The Greek Church, properly so-called, is, itself, split into fragments. It, indeed, boasts of possessing four of the five ancient Patriarchates, but the emptiness of the boast is apparent, when one remembers that the Patriarch of Jerusalem can only claim 25,000 subjects, and the Patriarch of Alexandria not more than 5,000, while all four reside in or near Constantinople.

We have already seen that the Anglican advances to the Easterns have, so far, been grotesquely unsuccessful. Nor does it appear that future efforts towards union will be of much avail. Dr. Overbeck, the Orthodox historian previously quoted, distinctly states that "the Orthodox Church does not recognise the English Church to be a Church at all."[1] He says, that the question of the validity

[1] *Intercommunion, the English and Orthodox.*

of Anglican Orders is not exclusively an historical one, but is essentially dogmatic.[1] He maintains that the Orientals cannot do otherwise than imitate the "rigorous orthodoxy" of the Latins in reordaining convert Anglican clergymen.

Guettée, an Orthodox writer, who tried to harmonise Anglican with Orthodox doctrine, gave up the task in despair. "If the Thirty-nine[2] Articles," he writes, "are a commentary on the Prayer-book, one cannot believe that there is a true Liturgy in the Anglican Church."

This opinion of Guettée had most practical application when the Anglican bishop of Gibraltar, whose jurisdiction is said to be almost Papal in its extent, was told by the Patriarch of Constantinople that he would have to be baptized should he join their Church. The Oriental tried to keep off the unpleasant declaration as long as he could. He at first evaded a direct reply to the Anglican bishop's question, but, on his lordship pressing, the uncompromising judgment was given. Perhaps the Bishop of Gibraltar might fare better with the Russians, but it is clear what the Greeks thought of him. Beyond all question they did not look upon him as a bishop when they did not consider him so much as validly baptized. Nor is this mere theory. The *London Times* in a leading article recently referred to the case of a "Mr. Heatherly who joined that Church (the Eastern) in which he now figures as an Archimandrite, and who was reordained and rebaptized on admission, as if he had been a mere Pagan." The "Branch theory," then, I am afraid, is too broken a reed for Canon Potter to depend upon for a proof of Anglican Catholicity.

History Fatal to Protestantism.—Does not Canon Potter, therefore, see that it is only a play upon words to say that "ever since the days of Augustine the first Bishop

[1] *The Bonn Conferences* (Trubner, 1875), p. 31.

[2] *Exposition de la Doctrine Orthodoxe*, p. 458.

of Canterbury, the Church of England has held and maintained the Catholic Creeds, and the Catholic order of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons." For while the phraseology may be unchanged before and after the Reformation, no change could be greater than that indicated by the terms as applied to the Catholic and Anglican Churches.

Cardinal Newman's historic epigram—"to be deep in history is to cease to be a Protestant"—is most clearly illustrated in such questions as Anglican claims to Catholicity on the one side, and the claims of the Roman See to Primacy on the other. Canon Potter will find very few students of ecclesiastical history to endorse his statement that the Papal claim to a Primacy of jurisdiction as well as of order "is opposed to the primitive constitution of the Holy Catholic Church. It was denounced by Irenany (Irenæus) of Gaul, in the second century, and by the first Gregory, Bishop of Rome, in the sixth. It was never admitted by the Eastern Churches, and it is now repudiated by the English Church." The reference to Pope Gregory I pass over, with the remark that, in a published lecture, I have already dealt fully with this question, and I am astonished that anyone like Canon Potter, with a reputation for scholarship, should commit himself to such a threadbare misrepresentation of a great historic personage.

History the handmaid of the Papacy.—It is true that the claims of the Papacy do not rest merely on history, but, examining the records of the early Church, there is no fact that stands out more luminously than the acknowledgment, in the East and West, of the Primacy, both of honour and jurisdiction, of the Roman Pontiff. With that acknowledgment the name of St. Irenæus is inseparably associated. I shall anticipate Canon Potter's objection to Catholic authorities, whose name is legion, and whose testimony is unimpeachable, and will confine myself

to Protestant historians. In measuring the value of their testimony it must be borne in mind that the question of the Roman Primacy of jurisdiction is the pivot, as Canon Potter himself asserts, on which the whole controversy of the Reunion of the Churches turns.

"If anything," says Dr. Nevin, a former President of Marshall College, Pa., "if anything in the world can be said to be *historically* clear it is the fact that with the close of the fourth century and the coming in of the fifth the Primacy of the Roman See was admitted in all parts of the Christian world." That this primacy of the Roman See was not only a primacy of honour but also of jurisdiction is acknowledged by the same writer, who goes on to say: "Examples of the actual exercise of supreme power on the part of the Popes in the fourth and fifth centuries, are so frequent and numerous that nothing short of the most wilful obstinacy can pretend to treat them as of no account. In every great question of the time, whether rising in the East or in the West, all eyes *show themselves ever ready to turn towards the Cathedra Petri as a last resort for* counsel and adjudication; all controversies, either in the way of appeal, or complaint, or for the ratification of decisions given in other quarters, are made to come directly, or indirectly, in the end, before this tribunal, and reach their final and conclusive settlement, only through its intervention. The Popes, in these cases, take it for granted themselves that the power which they exercise belongs to them of right, *in virtue of the prerogative of their See:* there is no appearance whatever of *effort* or of *usurpation* in the part they allow themselves to act; it seems to fall to them as naturally as the functions of a magistrate or judge in any case are felt to go along with the offices to which they belong. *And the whole world apparently regards the Primacy in the same way, as a thing of course, a matter fully settled and established* in the constitution of the Christian Church. *We hear of no*

objection to it, no protest against it, as a new and daring presumption, or as a departure from the earlier order of Christianity. The whole nature of the case implies, as strongly as any historical conditions and relations well could, that this precisely, and no other order, had been handed down from a time *beyond which no memory of man to the contrary then reached.*"[1]

"The opinion of the Roman See's *Supremacy*," says Hallam, "seems to have prevailed very much in the fourth century. Fleury brings *remarkable* proofs of this from the writings of Socrates, Sozomen, Ammianus, Marcellinus, and Optatus."[2]

And again he says,[3] "Irenæus rather vaguely, and Cyprian more positively, admit, or rather *assert*, the Primacy of the Church of Rome."

"At the commencement of the fifth century," writes Dean Milman, "*the lineal descent of the Pope from St. Peter was an accredited tenet of Christianity.*" (*History of Latin Christianity*, b. 2, c. i, v. 1.) The same author goes on to say: "Before the end of the third century, the lineal descent of her (Rome's) Bishops from St. Peter was *unhesitatingly claimed, and obsequiously admitted by the Christian world.*" (*History of Early Christianity*, Vol. iii., p. 370.) This writer also admits that "Cyprian (Bishop of Carthage, from A.D. 248-257) *acknowledged the hereditary descent of the Roman Bishop from the Great Apostle.*" (*History of Latin Christianity*, b. 2, c. 4, p. 248, v. i.) And again that "the succession of the Bishop of Rome from St. Peter, was now, near 200 years after his death, *an accredited tradition.*" (*Ibid.* b. 1, c. 1, p. 66.)

Neander and Renan on Roman Supremacy. — Neander, the well known Church historian, says, "Optatus

[1] "Early Christianity," *Mercersberg Review*, September, 1851, in Kenrick's *The Primacy of the Apostolic See*, pp. 148-155.

[2] *Middle Ages*, chap. vii., p. 270. [3] *Ibid.*, n.

of Melevis, who wrote in the last half of the fourth century, represents the Apostle Peter as head of the Apostles—as representative of the unity of the Church and of the Apostolic power, who had received the Keys of the kingdom *for the purpose of giving them to others.* . . . In the Roman Church he perceives *the indestructible Cathedra Petri. This stood in the same relation to the other episcopal Churches as the Apostle Peter stood to the rest of the Apostles.* The Roman Church represents the one visible Church, the one Episcopate." (Vol. iii., pp. 236-237). The same author continues *"It is impossible to doubt as to what the Popes, even as early as the fifth century, believed themselves to be, or would fain be, in relation to the rest of the Church* after having once listened to the language which they themselves hold on the *subject."* (*Ibid.* p. 242.) He acknowledges that "Cyprian looked upon the Roman Church as really the *Cathedra Petri*, and as the representative of the outward unity of the Church." (Vol. i., p. 299.) He again remarks that *"very early indeed* do we observe in the Roman Bishops traces of the assumption that to them as *successors of St. Peter* belonged a paramount authority in ecclesiastical disputes; the *Cathedra Petri* as the source of Apostolic tradition must take precedence of all other *ecclesiæ apostolicæ.* In the Montanist writings of Tertullian (A.D. 150-220) we find indications that the Roman Bishops, *already issued peremptory edicts on ecclesiastical matters,* endeavouring to make themselves considered as the Bishops of Bishops—*episcopus episcoporum*, and *were in the habit of speaking of the authority of their "antecessors."* (Vol. i., p. 298.) Here the allusion is evidently made to the conduct of Pope Victor, A.D. 190; Pope Zephyrinus, A.D. 200, and Pope Stephen, A.D. 250.

M. Ernest Renan, the well-known French savant and sceptic, admits in the *Hibbert Lectures,* delivered in London in 1880, that "the Pope of Rome has made it (Christianity)

the religion of the world" (p. 122); and after mentioning the attempt of Valentinus to establish a Gnostic School in Rome and his excommunication by Pope Hyginus he goes on to say: "*the centre of a future Catholic orthodoxy was plainly here.*" Pius, who succeeded Hyginus, showed the same firmness in defending the purity of the Faith. Cerdo, Marcion, Valentinus, Marcellinus, are removed from the Church by the sentence of Pius. *In the reign of Antonius* (A.D. 138) *the germ of the Papacy already exists in a very definite form.* (p. 148.)

"Rome," he continues, "was the place in which this great idea of Catholicity was worked out. *More and more, every day it became the capital of Christianity,* and took the place of Jerusalem as a religious centre of humanity. *Its Church claimed a precedence over all the others which was generally recognized.* (Iren. III. Tertull. Prescript 21, 36. Cyprian Epist. 52, 56, 67, 71, 73; Firmillian.) *All the doubtful questions which agitated the Christian conscience came to Rome to ask for arbitration if not decision.* Men argued, certainly not in a very logical way, *that as Christ had made Cephas the chief corner stone of his Church, the privilege ought to be inherited by his successors.* . . The Bishop of Rome became the Bishop of bishops, *he who admonished all others.* Rome proclaims her right—a dangerous right—of excommunicating those who did not walk step by step with her. . . *At the end of the second century we can recognize by signs which it is impossible to mistake, the spirit which in* 1870 *will proclaim the Infallibility of the Pope.* . . Irenæus (A.D. 135-220) refutes all heresies by reference to the belief of this Church (of Rome), '*the greatest, the oldest, the most illustrious, which possesses, in virtue of an unbroken succession, the true tradition of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and to which, because of its primacy, all the rest of the Church ought to have recourse.*' (Lib. III. 3, pp. 172-174.) And going farther back,, and speaking of the "last years of the first century," he says: "already the idea of a certain

primacy belonging to his (Pope Clement's, A.D. 91-101) Church was beginning to make its way to the light. *The right of warning other Churches and of composing their differences was conceded to it.* Similar privileges—*so at least it was believed*—had been accorded to Peter by the other disciples." (Luke xxii. 32) (pp. 124-125.)

Remonstrance is not repudiation of authority. — To find isolated passages that might suggest evidence of resistance to the exercise of the Primacy of jurisdiction claimed by the Roman See, Canon Potter is obliged to go back seventeen hundred years. In fixing on Pope St. Victor and St. Irenæus, his choice has been singularly infelicitous. We have already noted the terms in which St. Irenæus recognized the claims of Rome as of "the greatest, the most ancient, and the universally known Church of Rome, founded and established by the two most glorious Apostles, Peter and Paul"; as the Church "with which it is necessary for every Church to agree, because of her more powerful principality or supremacy" (principatus).

Because St. Irenæus wrote to St. Victor a strong but respectful warning not to cut off the Asiatic churches which persisted in maintaining the Jewish observance regarding the time of Easter, therefore he is represented as opposed to the Pope's claims of a Primacy of jurisdiction. The question at issue was obviously a matter of discipline, as Dr. Salmon himself admits, but the Asiatic Christians strongly adhered to their usage through reverence for St. John the Evangelist, to whom, traditionally, they ascribed the practice. On the strength of this respectful remonstrance of St. Irenæus *who himself agreed with the Pope about the observance of Easter,* and had actually, as head of a Synod in Gaul, written to the Asiatic churches, strongly recommending conformity with the Roman custom, an attempt is made to set up St. Irenæus as protesting against

the Primacy of the Roman See. No inference can be more destitute of foundation. The authority of the Pope was never questioned. It was within the right of St. Irenæus, as it would be within the right of any bishop in our own day, to advise, "that a rigorous right is not always to be used."

In dealing with the history of those distant times we must bear in mind that the Church was still in the Catacombs, and the wonder is, not that we have so few, but that we have so many and so palpable evidences of the *exercise* of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff. Can any man approach the subject, without preconceived theories, or without a determination to cling to his prejudices in the face of the most cogent testimony, and not see in the acts of Victor the clearest exercise of the Papal Supremacy?

1st. He collects the evidence of the Christian world, except Asia, on the question of the time for observing Easter.

2nd. He requests the Bishop of Ephesus to summon the Asiatic Bishops to a Council with a view to induce them to relinquish their local custom.

3rd. Some of the Asiatic Bishops, quoting ancient precedent, adhere to their custom, and St. Victor threatens to cut them off from the "common unity" if they persist. Whether he did so or not, is uncertain.

4th. St. Irenæus interposes, *recognising the authority of St. Victor, and pleading that it was not a question of faith but of discipline.*

Now, as Dr. Kendrick well remarks, "the holding of the Councils at St. Victor's solicitation, the compliance of some bishops with his injunction, the plea of ancient precedent strongly urged by others, the remonstrance of Irenæus against precipitate severity, all concur to prove that the

authority of Victor was universally admitted, although the justice or expediency of its exercise was questioned."

St. Irenæus knew the difficulties of the position, and the tenacity with which the Asiatic Churches clung to their local customs. He himself was the disciple of St. Polycarp, who was in turn the disciple of St. John, by whose authority the usage may have been originally sanctioned, or at least tolerated. Fifty years before, Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, had visited Rome, and Anicetus, the reigning Pope, endeavoured to persuade him to conform to the more general usage. But Polycarp pleaded so earnestly on behalf of the custom of the Asiatic Churches, that the Sovereign Pontiff did not press the prohibition.

Rightly then does Professor Harnack, probably the most distinguished German Protestant authority of the day, argue that Pope Victor "ventured by an edict . . . to declare that any church which did not adopt the Roman method [of observing Easter] was excluded as heretical from the communion of the one Church. How could Victor have ventured on such an edict . . . if it was not already established and recognised that it belonged to the Roman Church, as its distinctive prerogative, to determine the conditions of the κοινὴ ἕνωσις where essential doctrines of the faith were in question." (*Dogmengeschicte* I., p. 368.)

Will any person of ordinary understanding question Professor Harnack's view? To bring it home to our minds, we have only to consider what would occur if, in our day, the reigning Pontiff addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his obedience under pain of being cut off from the unity of the Church. The reply would be a vehement denial of the authority of the Pope. All England would ring with the expression of its indignation, and history would record the clear and emphatic repudiation. Until some such repudiation can be produced from the records of the early ages of the Church, it is really trifling

with the question to bring forward, instead, instances of some opposition to recognized authority. If resistance to authority presupposes its non-existence or suffices to displace it, Ireland, for instance, should long since have been free from the dominion of England, Poland from the oppression of Russia, and the Southern States of America from the Federal Union.

Pope Clement (91-100) exercises jurisdiction.—Indeed it is difficult to find stronger or earlier evidence in favour of any doctrine than is given in favour of the Papal Supremacy by Pope St. Clement's letter to the Corinthians. *This letter was written whilst St. John the Evangelist was still on earth,* and its authenticity cannot be questioned. The late Anglican Bishop of Durham said, it was "undoubtedly the first step towards Papal domination," but he was able to rise so high above his prejudices as to call it "a noble remonstrance . . . urgent and almost imperious in tone,"[1] and again[2] he describes it as "strenuous, even peremptory in the authoritative tone it assumes."

From the letter it is clear that Rome had been *appealed* to, for St. Clement, referring to the persecutions under the Emperors Nero and Decian says, these "have made us more slow in our consideration of those things which you inquired of us."

He speaks of "a wicked and detestable sedition of a few obstinate and self-willed men." "It is a shame, my beloved, yea, a very great shame, and unworthy of your Christian profession, to hear that the most firm and ancient Church of the Corinthians should, by one or two persons, be led into sedition against its priests. And this report has come not only to us, but to those also that differ from us, so that the name of the Lord is blasphemed through your folly, and even ye yourselves are brought into danger by it. . . . . Do ye, therefore, who laid

[1] *Rom.* i., 69. [2] *Ign. and Pol* i., 398.

the first foundation of this sedition submit yourselves to your priests and be instructed unto repentance. . . . . Learn to be subjects, laying aside all proud and arrogant boasting of your tongues, for it is better for you to be found little and approved in the *sheepfold of Christ* than to seem to yourselves better than others and be *cast out of the fold.*" He speaks of the tradition they in Rome had received from the Apostles themselves, as to the government and teaching of the Church. He gives the Corinthians this solemn warning: "If any disobey the words spoken by God through us, let them know that they will entangle themselves in transgression and no small danger, but we shall be clear from sin . . . You will cause us joy and exultation if, obeying the things *written by us through the Holy Spirit*, you cut out the lawless passion of your jealousy, according to the intercession we have made for peace and concord in this letter. This have we done that you may know that all our care has been, and is, that you may speedily be at peace" I ask, is it possible to have clearer evidence of the Papal Supremacy in the very first century of the Church's existence?

And the devotion to Rome, which is so marked a characteristic in the life of St. Irenæus,[1] is conspicuous in his reference to St. Clement's letter. "Under this Clement, then," he writes, "there having happened no small dissension among the brethren who were at Corinth, the Church, which is at Rome, wrote a most powerful letter to the Corinthians, gathering them together in peace and repairing their faith, and *announcing the tradition which it had so recently received from the Apostles.*"

In view of the non-Catholic testimony I have quoted, can we wonder that the overwhelming claims of the Roman See to the Primacy of jurisdiction, as well as of honour, captivated the mighty intellect of Cardinal Newman into

[1] *Adv. Hæres* (Lib. iii., c. 3).

the obedience of Catholic faith? After an exhaustive study of the early Fathers, whilst yet a member of the Anglican Church, but imploring the "Kindly Light to lead him on," he contrasts the proofs for the Papal Supremacy that are found in ante-Nicene times with the adducible testimonies in favour of the Real Presence. . . . "With such evidence, the ante-Nicene testimonies which may be cited in favour of the Holy See need not fear a comparison. Faint they may be one by one, but at least we may count seventeen of them, and they are various, and are drawn from many times and countries, and thereby serve to illustrate each other, and form a body of proof. Whatever objections may be made to this or that particular fact, and I do not think any valid ones can be raised; still on the whole I consider that a cumulative argument arises from them in favour of the œcumenical and the doctrinal authority of Rome, stronger than any argument which can be drawn for the same period for the doctrine of the Real Presence." (*Development of Christian Doctrine*, pp. 25-26).

A Church Needs an Objective Rule of Faith.—I am unwilling to dwell on Canon Potter's reference to the Sacrament of the Altar (where his want of accuracy again appears in attributing to me what was said by Lord Halifax) and to the mutilation of It, with which he charges the Catholic Church. Considering the mutilation of the sacraments as to their number, essential qualities, and effects, which took place at the time of the Reformation, any reference to the mutilation of the Sacrament of the Altar does not come very appropriately from an Anglican clergyman. If the Sacraments have been mutilated, if the shadow has been substituted for the substance to such an extent that the beggarly elements *(egena elementa)* of the Old Law had a higher meaning and a fuller grace than is recognised in the Sacraments of the New Dispensation by very many Anglicans, the loss and the profanation, and

the shame must be laid at the door, not of the Catholic, but of the Reformed Churches.

I shall not add to the length of my lecture by answering Canon Potter, from whom better things might be expected, regarding the mutilation of the Eucharist, because if he is acquainted with the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, and with the practice of the Church in pre-Reformation times in England, no answer is needed. If he requires information on these points I would refer him to the admirable work of Fr. Bridgett, *The History of the Eucharist in Great Britain* (two vols.), where he will find every statement supported by the most reliable evidence.

It would be interesting to know what Canon Potter understands by a sacrament, and more particularly by the Sacrament of the Altar, and how far his clerical brethren would accept his definition of either.

But on this, as on many other points in dispute between the Churches, a Catholic controversialist labours under the grave disadvantage that while his own faith is clearly defined, the belief of his adversary may be so uncertain or so elastic as to accept or to reject almost, if not absolutely, every doctrine commonly regarded as included in his creeds. The Church of England embraces within her pale men who differ as widely as the Bishop of Lincoln and the Bishop of Liverpool on the doctrine of the Eucharist, or as Canon Liddon and Canon Fremantle on the Divinity of Christ, or as Dr. Pusey and Dr. Farrar on the doctrine of Everlasting Punishment, or as Mr. Gore and Dr. Hatch on Episcopacy, or as Dr. Christopher Wordsworth and Mr. Haweis on the Inspiration of Scripture. "Of these two pairs of conflicting teachings," says a distinguished convert, "one may be orthodox, but it is utterly impossible that both can be. One may be true, but the other must be false, must be heresy; if heresy be *contra fidem, contra dogmata, contra veritatem.* Yet the Church of England

tolerates both classes of teachers, is in communion with both, includes and continues to include both within its fold without sign of censure, or expostulation, or even of alarm."

But to constitute a Church in any true sense of the word, surely some unity of faith is required in its members. Hence, what Anglicans should labour to accomplish is, not to establish the catholicity, but to defend the very existence of their Church as a Church.

In conclusion, as Canon Potter desires an answer to his question, I beg to assure him that I am as much opposed to persecution as he can possibly be, and that I am quite willing to give him my opinion regarding persecution, whether viewed in the abstract or in the concrete, in the past or in the present. There is no Irishman in whose veins runs the blood of persecuted ancestors who must not feel with the queen who was once a fugitive:

Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco.

Canon Potter confines his attention to the past, and undertakes to speak for all his co-religionists as to their present detestation of persecution, both in theory and practice.

When he says, "we of the Church of England," he speaks truly and sincerely for himself, but he is too good a logician to extend the particular to the universal. Unfortunately, we may find that though the theory has been abandoned, the practice in many instances still survives.

I shall avail myself of a suitable opportunity for dealing with this subject in the not distant future.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

ANGLICANS ENJOY LEGAL, MATERIAL VERBAL CONTINUITY; THEY CANNOT CLAIM CONTINUITY IN DOCTRINE, WORSHIP, GOVERNMENT.

(Lecture III.)

The deepest spiritual lesson that we derive from the great feast of Pentecost, which we celebrate to-day, is the ineffable love of the three persons of the Blessed Trinity for the Church founded by Christ on earth.

It cannot therefore be deemed inappropriate to address you to-day in defence of that Church, even though the ordinary form of a sermon be departed from. Neither should anyone think that there is nothing new to be said on the subject of the address. There is a great deal to be said that is new to most persons. The truth is, it is only now the real history of the revolt from the Catholic Church in the 16th century is being written. So much is this the case, that neither the sources of information, nor even the names of the diligent enquirers who are laboriously investigating these sources and gradually giving to the world the results of their labours, are known to many who are supposed to be familiar with English ecclesiastical history.

New Line of Defence—Random Shots.—I think I might reasonably complain of the tone of Canon Potter's rejoinder if I did not make ample allowance for the difficulties of his position. On last Sunday evening, under cover of his noisiest artillery, he was in full retreat not only

from the outposts but from the first and second lines of his defence. He was driven back by the testimony, not of Catholic authorities, but what is most aggravating, by the united testimony of bishops, clergymen, and laymen, of his own Church, and by "Rationalists" like Mr. Lecky, who at least may be regarded as impartial witnesses in such a controversy. Canon Potter may affect to disregard the authority of such a writer as "one Dr. Child," and to minimise the force of the Rev. Mr. Pocock's testimony, on the ground that "not one in ten thousand has ever heard" of them. He may try to get rid of Bishop Perowne's authoritative statements by saying that he "seems to have fallen asleep, and forgotten the Ordinal," though he himself declared in the Birmingham Church Congress that "he had read all the great divines of the Church of England with an especial view to this question." But I beg to assure Canon Potter that if he set up such pleas in England, where these men are known to every scholar, and recognised as of the highest authority in their respective spheres, he would be simply laughed out of court. I believe I am within the truth in saying that no Anglican clergymen of our day has so thoroughly investigated the archives of the Reformation period as Mr. Pocock has done.

A similar want of knowledge reveals itself in Canon Potter's reference to Jansenists and Jesuits, Molinist and Quietist. The Catholic Church claiming, as she alone claims, to speak with the voice of unerring truth, cut off the Jansenists from her communion, and the Quietists, by her ever-living and energizing authority, she reduced to obedience. The Jesuits and Molinists are now, as they always were, amongst the strongest and most orthodox defenders of her doctrine. It is needless to say that Molina, from whom the Molinists take their name, was himself a most distinguished and devoted Jesuit, and that he and those who have adopted his system of reconciling

the efficacy of grace with the freedom of the human will, have always been most loyal members of the Catholic Church. As a matter of fact, the system of Molina is the one most favourably regarded in Catholic ecclesiastical colleges.

But the truth seems to be that the learned Canon has been reading some cheap controversial works lately, and has not taken the trouble to consider the meaning, or want of meaning, of the crude statements he found in them. Having abandoned his former lines of defence, Canon Potter has now fallen back on his last bulwarks —namely, the Temporalities of the Church of England, the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal, and the Canons of Canterbury. But in his retreat, as often happens, he has overlooked many things, he has confused many things, and he has lost much of the war material on which he had previously relied. In his retreat, too, he has fired some random shots, more to keep up an appearance of resistance than to inflict injury on the enemy.

Before engaging him at close quarters in his new position, let us observe how widely these random shots have missed their mark.

And first of all, I willingly make him a present of all the fun he can extract from "The Prig." It is clear that "The Prig's" arrows, light as was the shaft, and keen the barb, went straight home, and cannot be easily extracted.

Another of these random shots is found in the following sentence: "I have shown before, following exact and learned historians,"—what a pity it is that the learned Canon has forgotten to give any names, except that of the veracious Dr. Littledale—"that this claim of the See of Rome to universal jurisdiction was never acknowledged in the Western Church. I have shown that Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, in Asia Minor, Irenæus in Gaul, and

Theodore of Canterbury, expressly rebuked or successfully resisted it."

Beyond the bald assertion which he here repeats, Canon Potter has given no proof to invalidate the claims of the Roman Pontiff to a Primacy of honour and jurisdiction over the entire Church. In my last lecture I submitted a mass of historical evidence from exclusively non-Catholic authorities referring to the very earliest ages of the Church, in favour of the universally admitted Primacy of the Pope in the East and West. I dealt specially with the two—Polycrates, Bishop of Ephesus, and St. Irenæus of Lyons—whose authority was adduced by Canon Potter as opposed to the Primacy of the Holy See, and whose names too are again introduced as if a single word had not been said in reply.

St. Wilfrid appeals to Rome against Theodore.—Theodore, whose name, as far as I have seen, is now introduced for the first time, was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury (668-690) by Pope Vitalian, lived and died in the communion of the Catholic Church, and was a zealous and devoted defender of the Pope's Primacy. When, as Metropolitan of Canterbury, he had erected three new sees in the Kingdom of Northumbria, and had thus dismembered St. Wilfrid's diocese, which had previously embraced the whole of that vast territory, St. Wilfrid, having taken council with his fellow bishops, appealed to Rome. The King and Archbishop admitted the appeal, and sent agents to Rome to justify the course adopted by the latter. Rome decided in favour of Wilfrid, but he was slow to enforce his rights. His enemies at Court accused him of having obtained the sentence in his favour by gifts and other unworthy means. On his return, owing to his disfavour at Court, he was imprisoned and despoiled of all he possessed. After a few months he was set free, but owing to the dangerous opposition which he encountered,

he quitted Northumbria, and took refuge in Sussex, where, as Bede narrates, "for five years he exercised the office of the Episcopate, both by word and by deed, deservedly respected by all." "Before his death," says Dr. Lingard, (The Anglo-Saxon Church) "Theodore, as he had been the first to inflict, was also the first to repair the injury. Before his death he condemned the injustice of his former conduct, solicited a reconciliation, and wrote in favour of the exiled bishop to the kings of Mercia and Northumbria. Of these letters, one is still extant. In it the Primate urges the *obedience due to the Pontiff;* bears testimony to the merit of Wilfrid, his innocence, his patience, and his zeal; and entreats the king to grant the last request to his friend and father ready to sink into the grave." (Eddius c. 42.) "Idcirco ego Theodorus, humilis episcopus, decrepita ætate, hoc tuæ Beatitudini suggero, quia *Apostolica* hoc, sicut scis, commendat *auctoritas*." Ep. Theod. apud. Wilkins, p. 64; Ed. c. 42, p. 710.

Thus, as in other instances of supposed resistance to the Holy See, cited by Canon Potter, nothing could more clearly prove the recognition of the spiritual authority of Rome than the relations between Theodore and St. Wilfrid, and St. Wilfrid's successor, Brithwald.

Dr. Lingard concludes his exhaustive statement of the controversy as follows: "Thus ended this long and tedious controversy. It has been often stated that the great object of Wilfrid was to establish in Northumbria the authority of Rome; but it must be evident to every reader that he found the authority of Rome already established, and had recourse to it only to protect himself from oppression. The result proved the utility of this supreme jurisdiction claimed by the Pontiff, for we read no more, from the time of Wilfrid till the reign of Edward the Confessor, of any arbitrary deposition of bishops at the will either of king or of metropolitan." (p. 145, see Note H.)

Pope St. Gregory (590-604).—I, in all sincerity, gave Canon Potter credit for possessing a large store of historical knowledge, but he seems bent on discrediting my good opinion of him. I am doubtful whether I should at all notice his allegation as to Pope St. Gregory's repudiation of the title of *Universal Bishop*. No one with the slightest claim to scholarship would trot out, as the Canon has done, such an exploded fallacy, which only brings discredit upon the controversialist who resorts to it. I have already dealt fully with this subject, and I quote now from my published lecture. The Anglican contention is that "the Pontiff censured and reprobated the title of *Universal Bishop* assumed by John of Constantinople. Except on the principle that drowning men grasp at straws, it would be difficult to understand how the repudiation of a title in *one* sense, could be held to involve the repudiation of it, in a totally *different* sense. A recent Catholic writer asks, with pardonable surprise, whether it is possible that anyone with a claim to scholarship still puts forward this transparent fallacy. If so, he asks such a one to explain the *conduct* of Pope Gregory[1] himself in his relations with the Saxon, the Gallic, and the universal Church; his *letters* to Augustine directing the erection of archiepiscopal and episcopal sees; his *refusal* to give Augustine any authority over the Gallic bishops—'Over the Gallic bishops we give you no authority';[2] his *appointment* of Augustine over *all* the Bishops of the Britons: 'But we commit all the Bishops of the Britons to your fraternity, that the unlearned may be taught, the weak strengthened through persuasion, the perverse corrected by authority'; his *grant* of the pallium, the symbol of jurisdiction, to Augustine and to his successors, but above all, his *reason* for not sanctioning the

1 As to St. Gregory's disinclination to yield any of his rights as Sovereign Pontiff, consult, amongst other Protestant writers, Canon Bright (*Early English Church History*, pp. 61-63); Neander (*General Church Hist.*, Vol. v., p. 150).

2 *Resp.* S. Greg., n. 7; Bede, i., 27; Haddan and Stubbs, viii., p. 22.

title of *Universal Bishop*, namely, because as Gregory expressly states in his letters, it seemed to suppose that there was but *one* bishop: 'triste valde est, ut patienter feratur, quatenus *despectis omnibus,* prædictus frater et co-episcopus meus *solus conetur appellari* episcopus.'[1] 'Si unus Patriarcha *universalis* dicitur, Patriarcharum nomen cæteris derogatur.' And in another Epistle,[2] *"Si unus universalis* est, restat, ut vos Episcopi non sitis.' "

"This is the very Pontiff who says that 'to Peter was committed the care of the whole Church by the Lord,' and that he, as Roman Pontiff, directs his care to all churches (universis Ecclesiis curam impendere), and that every bishop is subject to him, nescio quis ei episcopus subjectus non sit."[3]

It was in the exercise of this plenary jurisdiction that Gregory solemnly warned John—Patriarch as he was of the imperial See of Constantinople—in these decisive terms: "Also, if you should refuse to amend, I forbade him to celebrate Mass with your fraternity, in order that I might first strike your holiness with shame, but with the intention that if this wicked and impious pride cannot be cured by shame, I may proceed to severe measures according to the Canons." (Ep., B. v., cp. 18, 38). Was it not regarding this very See of Constantinople that St. Gregory wrote thus: "Concerning the Church of Constantinople, who doubts that it is subject to the Apostolic See?" I put it to Canon Potter, was it possible for St. Gregory to express more clearly his meaning of the words *Universal Bishop* than he did in the following declaration: "To all who know the Gospel it is evident that the care of the whole Church was committed by the voice of the Lord to the holy Apostle Peter, chief of all the Apostles. For of him is said . . . lo, he has received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, the power of binding and loosing is

[1] *Ad Const.* iv., *Epist.* xxxiv.; l. iv., *Epist.* xxxvi., *ad Eulog.*

[2] l. vii., *Epist.* 69, *ad Euseb.* [3] *Epist.* xxxii., and l. ix.

given to him, the care of the whole Church and the Primacy is committed to him, and yet he is not called Universal Apostle." What now becomes of Canon Potter's dilemma?

I am sure he must have forgotten the candid admission of a great Anglican authority—Mr. Palmer, who, in his treatise *On the Church* in reply to Bossuet's exposure, thinks he "may safely allow" that the argument from Pope Gregory "may not be convincing"—in fact, may be "*unsound*."

No claim to Apostolic Succession in 1850.—And now before the final attack, I wish to notice one more of the Canon's missing shots. The reference to the Italian Mission in England has lost its tinsel by too frequent use and exposure. Some more solid contribution to the continuity theory might be expected from a Churchman of Canon Potter's calibre. There are sore memories connected with the re-establishment of the Catholic Hierarchy in England in 1850, which I would expect the Canon to be one of the last to recall. He boasts of the toleration of Church and people which, twenty years after its enactment, graciously permitted an Act of Parliament known as *The Ecclesiastical Titles Act* to be repealed. But the Canon forgets the foul torrent of obloquy with which the Anglican Church of the day, from the Archbishop of Canterbury down to the most obscure minister, deluged the land. The Anglican pulpits rang with wild denunciations of everything the Catholic Church holds most sacred. It was the excitement produced by those invectives that placed Cardinal Wiseman's life in imminent peril, and consigned to the felons' dock England's most illustrious son, John Henry Newman. From such toleration kind Heaven forfend us! And all the time there was no more Papal aggression on the part of Pius IX. in re-establishing the Catholic Hierarchy in 1850, than there had been on the

part of St. Gregory in 597, when he sent St. Augustine to plant the first Italian Mission in Canterbury.

With as much reason might Englishmen complain of Papal aggression when Gregory XVI., or Pious IX., or Leo XIII., established new sees throughout Australasia.

In 1850 not a single Anglican bishop, in speech or resolution, based his claims to the episcopacy on the Catholic doctrine of Apostolical Succession, but on the Royal Supremacy, and by a significant coincidence, Queen Victoria, the spiritual head of the Anglican Church, attached her signature to the *Ecclesiastical Titles Act* on *the Feast of St. Peter in Chains.*

Pre-Reformation endowments.—I now come to consider the only matters of moment contained in Canon Potter's last utterance—namely the *argument* for Continuity from the possession, on the part of the Anglican Church, of the temporalities of the pre-Reformation Church of England and the *complaint* that instead of relying on the letter of the Formularies of the Anglican Church, the Book of Common Prayer, Ordinal, Articles, &c., I have only adopted the interpretation of them given to the world by such representative men as Dr. Perowne, the Rev. Mr. Pocock, Dr. Child, and others whom I have cited.

As these Formularies are open to so many and such contradictory meanings, it seemed to me that no more satisfactory course was open than to rely on the interpretations of modern lay and clerical representative Anglicans of different schools of thought. But as Canon Potter insists on it I shall go back to the beginning and see what light history throws on their meaning.

I am sincerely glad that we have now some clear, definite matter to discuss, and I undertake to satisfy any reasonable mind that neither the argument nor the complaint of Canon Potter is well founded.

There is only one regret that I entertain, namely, that in going back to the origin of these Formularies, and in revealing the character of their authors and the meaning and spirit which they infused into them, I may give pain, no matter how regretfully, to many whom I would not willingly embarrass or offend.

First, then regarding the temporalities of the Anglican Church, Canon Potter puts his case in this way: "She holds property now, which was given to the Anglican Church in the days of Ethelbert of Kent,—nearly 500 years before the Norman Conquest. . . If she is not the same Church, the property must have been transferred to her either lawfully or unlawfully. I suppose that is clear. Where is the evidence of the transfer? There was a great deal of property taken from the Church in those days and transferred to other parties. And of such transfers plenty of evidence remains. But where is the evidence of any transfer of property to a new church invented in the sixteenth century? Nowhere."

I have given the argument in Canon Potter's own words, as I am anxious to do it full justice. It is not a new argument. I have met with it often before. It is an argument which, with a worldly-minded man who wishes to have his title deeds carefully preserved for his own and his children's benefit, has a certain amount of selfish attractiveness. But as applied to the continuity of the Anglican Church, which must depend on the continuity, not of lands, but of doctrine, worship and government, it has absolutely no point or force.

But first in regard to those old endowments, I may notice that many of them were given for the fulfilment of an obligation which the Anglican Church, so far from recognizing actually anathematizes.

In books dealing with the ancient church endowments of England we constantly meet with entries such as these:

—"Et ut missa pro anima mea, et uxoris meæ, et pro animabus patris et matris meæ, et antecessorum meorum, in prædicta Ecclesia, ter in unaquaque septimana celebretur," or "that mass may be celebrated three times a week for the repose of my soul, and the soul of my wife, and of the souls of my father and mother, and of my friends who have gone before me." (Chartulary of the Priory of Boxgrave, in Sussex.)

The word *chantry* is of frequent repetition in the ecclesiastical history of England, and chantry, it is unnecessary to explain, means a foundation or endowment for the daily or frequent celebration of the sacrifice of the Mass for the living and the dead.

William of Wickham (1324-1404), Bishop of Winchester, is admittedly a majestic name in English history. The great cathedral of Winchester still perpetuates his memory. But he did not look to the material building alone, he provided for the celebration of three perpetual daily Masses to be offered in the chapel which he had chosen for his burial place. He also provided that the choir boys should go every evening to this chapel, sing the "*Salve Regina*," or the "*Ave Regina*," and recite the *De Profundis* for his soul. (Lowth's *Life of Wickham, Appendix* xvi.) But as Fr. Bridgett in his *History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain* reminds us: "The Cathedral of Winchester still exists; but alas! the chapel where Wickham lies is a show place. Mass is not said there in the morning, nor the Antiphon of our Lady sung in the evening; and if a Catholic visit the spot, the Lamentations of Jeremias are the only prayers that rise to his lips."

These, and such as these, are largely the endowments to which Canon Potter refers, and on which he bases the continuity of the present with the former Church of England.

I confess that I cannot solve this puzzle. How can a church which accepted these endowments for the specific

purpose mentioned by the founders, and which loyally fulfilled her part of the contract, be the same church as that which authoritatively teaches that Masses for the living and the dead are *blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits*, and which, while enjoying the endowments, repudiates the obligations attached to them?

The Church lands which were taken from the Catholic bishops at the Reformation were subsequently appropriated to other purposes. One part went to replenish the exhausted coffers of a rapacious king or queen. Another part went to bribe the greedy nobles as the price of their adhesion to the principles of the Reformation. These nobles, bent on their own and their families' aggrandisement, took care to secure the church lands by having legal conveyances duly made to them. The remaining portion of the church lands was left attached to the English sees for church purposes. This portion did not become the personal property of the intruded bishops, but was held by them, for their lives only, or more correctly speaking, during their good behaviour—*quamdiu se bene gesserint.*

In these cases as the lands were allowed to remain permanently attached to the sees, no legal transfer was needed. Each archbishop or bishop enjoyed the use of them on his appointment to his see. The legal appointment, therefore, of an Anglican bishop gave him a legal right to the enjoyment of the temporalities of his see during his life.

It was quite different with the nobles. They acquired, or at least sought to acquire, personal property in the church lands which fell to their share. They desired to transmit these lands to their children, and to their children's children. And accordingly a legal transfer or title deeds were absolutely necessary for their security.

Continuity proved from endowments.—Canon Potter thinks that he has found, in the recent debate in the Imperial Parliament on the Welsh Church Disestablishment

Bill, a confirmation of his temporalities continuity argument. But a little learning is a dangerous thing, and a too cursory perusal of a newspaper report is apt to lead one into serious misapprehensions. The Canon quotes Mr. Asquith as controverting the statement of Lord Rosebery, that "if the right of indefeasible and ancient property rests anywhere in these endowments, it rests not with the Reformers, but with the Roman Catholics," and as denying that any Act of Parliament formally "transferred the endowments of the Church of Rome to the Church of England." But the Canon forgets that Mr. Asquith contradicts his own continuity theory by proposing to leave to the disestablished Church only the private endowments created since 1703. Now if there be any force in the continuity theory, the future disestablished Church would have a much stronger, because an older claim to private endowments bestowed in primitive and mediæval times. Again, the Canon has quite overlooked the important fact, that one of the strongest contentions of the Government of which Lord Rosebery is the head, completely upsets the continuity theory. Thus:

Mr. G. Russell, though anxious to support his chief, the Home Secretary, said: "The break at the Reformation, which we all admit, was in my view rather a *doctrinal* than a structural one. I mean, it appertained to the *doctrine* of the Church of England rather than to the *framework* of her organization; I believe the present Archbishop of Canterbury may claim to be the direct descendant of Augustine and Cranmer," not, of course, as Mr. Russell freely admits, because he teaches the same faith, and holds the same doctrines, as his Catholic predecessors, but because he occupies the same see.

Mr. Russell explained that the Government did not feel concerned to defend any particular year as being theoretically the correct one, and then used these remarkable words: "The essential thing is this—The Church

will be allowed to retain all that has been given to her by private donors since she has been *theologically* and *spiritually* what she is now. Surely no candid critic can deny that the theological change made by the Reformation was a significant and profound one. Surely the Thirty-Nine Articles embodied an entirely different system of theology from that which prevailed in the pre-Reformation Church; and I cannot convince myself that the persons who made gifts to the Church in mediæval times, would have bequeathed their land had they known that as a body the Church was about to rebel against the See of Peter."

Mr. Balfour, the leader of her Majesty's Opposition, did not rest the claim of the Anglican body to the old endowments on such a foundation as the continuity theory. He took the lower but safer line, in which he had been anticipated by Mr. Matthews, of resting the claim on a prescription of 300 years. "Has not," he said, "the existing Church derived some rights from the long use of this property? I say that since the Reformation period the Church has had undoubted possession of this money, and has made no change whatever in the formularies by which it is governed. Why are 300 years to be too little for the Church of England, when 25 years are good enough for a Nonconformist body? An Act was passed in 1844 enacting that any Nonconformist body which could show undisputed enjoyment of an endowment for 25 years should hold it for ever without dispute, and the very men in whose behalf that Act was passed, who came to this House as suppliants, and requested that an act of justice should be done, now urge that 300 years of undoubted possession are not sufficient to guarantee the Church of England in Wales against spoliation."

But the Chancellor of the Exchequer, in a few common-sense sentences, pulverised the continuity claims. With keenest irony Sir William Harcourt observed, "Some

chapters in church history are now entirely omitted. There is one event which, in former days, was considered of some importance, which has entirely disappeared. It is the event which used to be known as the Protestant Reformation. On reading the defence of the Church Defence Association, you would imagine that Henry VIII. never existed, that Edward VI. was a minor, that Mary Tudor of blessed memory never lived, and that Elizabeth never reigned. All these personages, as far as Church and State are concerned, have disappeared from the scene. Nothing material happened to the Church and State in the sixteenth century, or nothing that mattered particularly. Everything is just as it was before, and the Church of to-day is exactly the Church of the period before the Reformation, in doctrine, in discipline, and in the whole relation with the State. *It is like the axe which had a new head and a new handle, but was always the same axe.*"

A continuity there was certainly between the two, but it was not a continuity in those things in which the life and essence of the Church are found. It was a continuity of the endowments of Catholic times, which the State had seized, of the buildings used for public worship, of the titles of the diocesan sees, and of the prelates who ruled in them. It was a *legal* continuity, inasmuch as it was recognised by the State. It was a *material* continuity, inasmuch as it retained the lands given for Catholic purposes. It was a *nominal* continuity, except in as far as the fundamental articles of the Christian religion, and the shadow of the ancient ritual, were retained.

It was, in a word, continuity neither of faith nor of charity. Schism breaks the bond of charity. Heresy breaks the bond of faith. When these bonds are broken the spiritual life of a church is extinct. It may, of course, be regained permanently, or only for a time, as happened in England during Mary's reign, when on Nov. 30th, 1554, both Houses of Parliament received Absolution

from Cardinal Pole, the Papal Legate, and England was reconciled to the unity of the Church, and the communion of the Holy See. It might be lost and regained, not once but several times in the same country, provided that the conditions of forfeiture and recovery are present. In the quotation which I gave in my last address, Dr. Child was careful to call attention to this reconciliation under Mary, when he says that, with the exception of "a short interval between the reconciliation under Mary and Elizabeth's first Parliament, the Church of England has been severed from, and excommunicated by the great body of the Catholic Church." Canon Potter has therefore, by ignoring the plain statement of Dr. Child, discovered a difficulty in the action of Cardinal Pole, where in truth there is no difficulty at all.

The Church of Warham and Pole.—Let us grant then that there is *a* continuity, but it is the continuity, as some one has said, of a stepmother, taking a mother's place; or, as another writes, of the cuckoo's brood in the eagle's nest. It all depends on what is meant by the word. No one denies that Thomas Cranmer was called Archbishop of Canterbury as William Warham was; or Mathew Parker as Reginald Pole. No one denies that it pleased the Sovereign and the Parliament of England to treat Cranmer and Parker, in many respects, as Warham and Pole were treated before them. And there was once in England a body calling itself *Ecclesia Anglicana,* which obeyed the Pope, and believed in the Sacrifice of the Mass, and in Transubstantiation; and afterwards there was a body, that did not obey the Pope, and rejected Mass and Transubstantiation, and called these sacred things hard names, and this body was also called *Ecclesia Anglicana.* Are they the same? The difference was so great that while all Christendom was in intimate communion with the one, it would have nothing to do with the other. The difference was such that members of this

later *Ecclesia Anglicana* put men to death for believing and practising what that former *Ecclesia Anglicana* believed and practised. The difference was essential, radical, substantial. The same *name* was used. Thus there was a sort of apparent continuity; but the *thing* was not the same, and there was no real continuity. The sovereign of England is still "Defender of the Faith." The archbishops of Canterbury retain the *pallium* in their armorial bearings—a perpetual memento of the *palliums* sent from Rome to Canterbury from the days of St. Augustine to those of Pole.

King George the Third was still styled "King of France." The Lord Chancellor, though a layman, is still "Keeper of the Queen's Conscience." But in these, just as in the case of the Anglican Church, the continuity is simply a verbal one.[1]

And Canon Potter suggests a most decisive proof of the purely verbal character of this continuity. He commits himself to this representation of history, "You have an unbroken succession of Archbishops of Canterbury all through the disputed period. Warham died and Cranmer succeeded him; Cranmer was burnt and Pole succeeded him; Pole died and Parker succeeded him. Each was consecrated according to the Nicene Canon by three episcopal consecrators at least. . . . Each was the successor of St. Augustine except on one theory," which, as he explains, requires "the leave of the Pope" for the consecration of a bishop. Canon Potter has told us that unqualified submission to the Roman Pontiff is the *barrier* that separates the Anglican Church from the Catholic, or, as he would put it, the Roman Church. We shall see how far the words I have quoted from him will bear examination in the light of his own statement, and the historic evidence I shall now adduce.

[1] See *The Month*, March, 1891.

Of the four Archbishops mentioned by Canon Potter, Warham and Pole represented the *old;* Cranmer and Parker the *new* religion. Archbishop Warham died in 1532. On his deathbed he made this protest,[1] "In the name of God, Amen. We, William, by Divine Providence, Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England, Legate of the Apostolic See, hereby publicly and expressly do protest for ourselves, and for our holy Metropolitan Church of Canterbury, that to any statute passed, or hereafter to be passed, in this present Parliament, began on the 3rd day of November, 1529, and continued until this present time, in so far as such statute or statutes be in derogation of the Pope of Rome, or the Apostolic See, or be to the hurt, prejudice, or limitation of the powers of the said Church, or shall tend to the subverting, or enervating, derogatory from, or diminishing the laws, customs, privileges of the Metropolitan Church of Canterbury; we neither will, nor intend, nor with clear conscience are we able to consent to the same; but by these writings we do dissent from, refuse, and contradict them.

"I have performed my duty to the king, to the realm, and to the Church of Christ; and now, full of hope, I am ready to appear before the Supreme Judge to account for my stewardship."

The venerable prelate had good reason to put on record his loyalty to the Roman See, for he saw the dark cloud that was thickening over the ancient Church of England. He knew that high promotion was awaiting Anne Boleyn's chaplain, and it must have been with a heavy heart that he gave this prophetic advice[2] to his nephew and god-son, Sir William Warham: "If after his death any should succeed *in that See* called Thomas, he should in no wise serve him or seek his favour or acquaintance, for there shall, saith he, one of that name shortly

[1] Thorndale, *The Last Days of Bishop Warham.*

[2] *Pretended Divorce of Henry VIII. and Catherine*, Pocock, p. 5.

enjoy this See, that shall, as much by his vicious living *as wicked heresies*, dishonour, waste, and destroy the same, *and the whole Church of England*, as ever the blessed bishop and martyr, St. Thomas, did before *beautify, bless, adorn, and honour the same*."

Reginald Pole's loyalty to the Roman See is told in his titles of Cardinal and Papal Legate, and on his opposition to the innovations under Henry VIII. there is no need to dwell. When the tyrant could not reach the son, he wreaked his vengeance on the aged mother, and the venerable Countess of Salisbury, after Henry's own children the nearest to him in blood, was put to death for the crime of having corresponded with her own son, and of having received some Papal dispensations. Cardinal Pole in Mary's reign absolved both Houses of Parliament, and reconciled England to the communion of the Roman See.

The Church of Cranmer and Parker.—Let us now turn to the two representatives of the *new* religion, Cranmer and Parker, and see how far they were in doctrinal and corporate union with Warham and Pole.

In an article in the *Saturday Review*, July 25th, 1868, which is commonly attributed to Mr. Pocock, a lurid light is thrown upon Cranmer's dealings with the Sovereign Pontiff. If Mr. Pocock did not write the article, he thoroughly endorses the estimate the writer forms of Henry's Primate. For Cranmer's dishonourable connection with the Divorce of Henry from his lawful and virtuous wife, Catherine of Arragon, I refer Canon Potter to the articles in the same *Review*, July 18th, 1868, entitled "John Poynet," March 10th, 1866, on "Mary Boleyn," and also to Pocock's *Records of the Reformation*. And in this July article he will find some further damaging evidence on the same unsavoury subject. In his *Troubles of the Prayer Book of 1549*, Mr. Pocock,[1] makes passing reference to "the

[1] Preface, p. v.

compliant temper of the Archbishop, who was content to celebrate the office of the Mass at the very time when he believed it to be idolatrous and blasphemous; (and who) having passed through the phase of Lutheranism, settled down into the phase of Zwinglianism, which is represented in the second Prayer Book of 1552." But it is with his oath of allegiance to the Holy See I am now concerned, and Mr. Pocock does not hesitate to write thus:

"Of course, it would be possible to defend the breaking of an oath after it had been made, by the altered circumstances of the change of view, of the party who takes the oath. . . . Unfortunately in the case of the oath taken by Cranmer at his consecration there is no loophole of this kind. It was what, in a court of justice in the present day, would be called perjury. It was neither more nor less than this, that he privately professed before certain witnesses that he would not be bound by the oath, which, in his name and with his entire acquiescence, was made by his deputy at Rome to the Pope, who was in utter ignorance of the whole transaction, which did not indeed take place till after the oath had been tendered at Rome. The Pope's Bull, dated February 22nd. 1533, suspends both him and his consecrators from all ecclesiastical dignity in case he does not personally take the oath of obedience to himself. Of course Cranmer would have much preferred to dispense with the oath altogether, and no doubt his three consecrators would have made no factious opposition to such a proceeding if the King would for a moment have countenanced such a departure from the ordinary routine. But on March 30, the day of his consecration, he publicly took the oath, and privately protested beforehand that he would not be bound by its provisions. It has been disputed whether this protest was repeated after the consecration, but this point is unimportant to the charge of perjury which consists in obtaining the Bull from Rome under false pretences."

To show how history is written, and what conclusions prejudice can draw from the clearest evidence, Mr. Pocock contrasts the judgment of the Anglican bishop, Burnet, with that of the Catholic priest, Lingard. "On this point—the violation of his oath to the Holy See—we conclude with quoting a single sentence from Bishop Burnet, and another from Dr. Lingard. The former says: 'If he did not wholly save his integrity, *yet it is plain he intended no cheat, but to act fairly and above board.*' The Roman Catholic historian's view of the matter is expressed in the words: 'Oaths cease to offer any security if their meaning may be qualified by previous protestations made without the knowledge of the party who is principally interested.'" And it is plain that Mr. Pocock, or whoever is the writer in the *Saturday Review*, thoroughly endorses Dr. Lingard's opinion. After dealing with the many phases in Cranmer's career, he sums up his life: "Unless the facts we have alleged can be disproved, his life was the life of a cowardly, time-serving hypocrite, a perjured person, and a traitor."

But perhaps Canon Potter will not accept this testimony, genuine historian though Pocock is, so I shall call his friend Dr. Littledale, as a witness. He will tell us[1] that Cranmer was "*the most infamous personage in English history, compared with whom John Plantagenet and Henry Tudor have light shades in their characters;*" and, again, he will witness that "*Robespierre, Danton, Marat . . . merit quite as much respect as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, and Jewell,*" and that these men "*were utterly unredeemed villains.*" "*I admit,*" says Dr. Littledale, "*my parallel with the Jacobin leaders was somewhat harsh and unjust to them.* But Robespierre . . . Danton, Marat, &c., betrayed no trust, were not sharers in the particular iniquity they overthrew, crouched to no tyrant, perjured themselves to no man."

[1] *Innovations*, pp. 36.—15. Letter to the *Guardian*, May 20th, 1868.

Many pictures of Cranmer have been given to the world, each picture differing from the one immediately preceding, and these variations, as the Rev. Dr. Lubbock candidly admits, "are not due so much to the bias of the painter, as to the fact that Cranmer's character did change in many of its features at different periods of his history."[1]

Canon Dixon emphasizes one characteristic of Warham's successor, which proves him to have been the very ideal Archbishop of Henry VIII. in his supreme conflict with the English Church. "The virtues and the reputation of Cranmer," writes Canon Dixon, "must not blind us to the tragedy which was acted under his Primacy; nor cause us to forget that he was the slave—first, of Henry and Cromwell, afterwards of Somerset, Paget, and Northumberland; that under him the Church of England *fell from wealth to poverty*; that he offered no resistance to the enormous sacrilege of this and the following reign, from which the Archbishop's *own hands were not altogether clean;* and *that nothing was more convenient to the spoilers of the Church than that he should have been the highest of her bishops.*"[2]

Nor indeed is Parker's character a very inviting one. This is the testimony Froude bears to his integrity: "He left behind him enormous wealth, which had been accumulated, as is proved from a statement in the handwriting of his successor, by the same unscrupulous practices which had brought about the first revolt against the Church. He had been corrupt in the distribution of his patronage, and he had sold his interest with others. Every year he made profits by admitting children to the cure of souls for money. He used a graduated scale, in which the price for inducting an infant into a benefice varied with the age, children under fourteen not being inadmissible if the adequate fees were forthcoming."—*Eng. Hist.*, Vol. x., p. 410.

1 *Studies on the Hist. Book of Common Prayer.*

2 *Hist. Church Eng. from the Abolition of the Roman Jurisdiction*, Vol. i., p. 154.

It is needless to add that he had no appointment from, and no connection with Rome, and that he was the mere creature of Elizabeth, whose praises he never wearied of singing. His abject servility to the Court found frequent, but perhaps nowhere so conspicuous expression as in his eulogy of the so-called marriage between Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn, and of "the Sovereign Lady Elizabeth, a virgin consecrated to God the offspring of those holy nuptials."[1]

[1] See his *Life of Cranmer* (*De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*, p. 492, Ed. *Drake*).

CHAPTER XXXIV.

HOW THE FATHERS OF THE ANGLICAN CHURCH UNDERSTOOD ORDINATION, APOSTOLIC SUCCESSION AND CONTINUITY.

Catholic and Anglican Rule of Faith.—Having disposed of Canon Potter's Temporalities argument, I proceed to examine the complaint, which he advances in the following terms: He says,—"If I wanted to know what the Church of Rome thought about herself where would I seek for information? Of course in her own authoritative texts—the creed of Pope Pius, the Catechism of the Council of Trent, and the successive definitions of doctrine made by the Papal See."

Yes, the Canon would be quite safe in gathering the teaching of the Catholic Church from her authoritative texts and definitions. For the Church abides by her definitions and her creeds, and would cut off from her communion any of her members, however exalted or humble, who would pertinaciously reject any doctrine which they contain. But when the Canon complains that I gather the doctrine of the Anglican Church from other sources than "the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal, and the Articles, and the Canons of Canterbury," he forgets the essential difference there is between the Catholic and Anglican standards of belief. I regret to have to inform him that I have many a time gone to these sources of information, but only to marvel at the endless variety of belief and practice which they have produced among Anglicans. Every student of English history knows that when Henry

VIII. ascended the throne one form of belief found universal acceptance. After 300 years of separation from the Centre of Unity we find that no fewer than 279[1] sects have been registered in Great Britain. How many of these sects are there who do not take refuge under the shelter of the Book of Common Prayer, or of the Ordinal, or of the Articles, or of the Canons of Canterbury?

However, as Canon Potter insists on an appeal to these authorities, I am reluctantly compelled to go back to the origin of those standards of Anglican belief, and to consider how widely different was the meaning which their authors attached to them from that which Canon Potter deduces from them.

Canon Potter refers me to the Preface of the Anglican Ordinal, published in 1552, in which these words are found: "It is evident unto men diligently reading the Holy Scripture and ancient authors that from the Apostles' time there have been these orders of ministers in Christ's Church, bishops, priests and deacons." And then he adds, that the document goes on to provide for the making, ordaining, and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons, and enacts that no one shall hold such office unless he be so made, ordained or consecrated. As Canon Potter attaches so much importance to the Preface and text of the Ordinal, and complains so demonstratively of my overlooking them, I will now devote to them somewhat lengthened consideration. It did not need the statement of the Preface to assure us that in pre-Reformation times, back to the Apostolic age, the three orders of bishops, priests, and deacons had been inviolably preserved in the Church. But whether this holds true of the Anglican Church in post-Reformation times, we must gather not from the mere letter of the Preface or that of the Ordinal, but, as in the case of her other formularies,

[1] *Statesman's Year Book*, 1895.

from the authoritative interpretation of her most representative bishops and writers, whose office was surely to explain as well as to guard her doctrine.

Cranmer and Barlow on Orders.—And, fortunately, we have the most indisputable evidence of the meaning attached to the words by those who were mainly responsible for the compilation of the Ordinal. Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, the chief author of the Anglican Ordinal, *absolutely denied the necessity of episcopal consecration, and maintained that, both for priests and bishops, simple appointment, or election, was sufficient.*

Questioned by Henry VIII. on this very subject (*Question* 9), Cranmer answered, "All the said officers, (bishops, parsons, vicars, and such other priests as be appointed by his Highness to that ministration) be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place, by the laws of Kings and Princes. In the admission of these officers, be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for a good order and seemly fashion: for, if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed, and there is no more promise of God's grace given in the committing of the Ecclesiastical Office, than it is in the committing of the Civil Office."

Further questioned.—(*Question* 11).—Whether a bishop hath authority to make a priest by the Scripture or no? And whether any other but only a bishop may make a priest? Cranmer replied:—

"A bishop may make a priest by Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed to them, and the people also by their election."

(*Question* 12). Whether in the New Testament be required any consecration of a bishop and priest, or only appointing to the office be sufficient?

Cranmer answered—"In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest, needeth no consecration by the Scriptures, *for election or appointment thereunto is sufficient.*"[1]

And he meant what he said. For when Edward VI. came to the throne, Cranmer, as Mr. Brewer[2] tells us, "made an offer resigning his bishopric as if it had been extinguished by the death of the Sovereign," intimating thereby that all spiritual functions were just as absolutely dependent on the will of the king as any temporal commission could be.

And next we have the evidence of Bishop Barlow. As this man plays a most prominent part in the history of the Reformation, I must refer you to Mr. Pocock's character of him.[3] Of all the bishops who were created from 1533 to the end of Edward the Sixth's reign, Barlow is entitled to the palm for abject servility. He was engaged by Anne Boleyn to bribe the French Doctors to pronounce for Henry's divorce from his lawful wife Catherine of Arragon. "The king, Anne Boleyn, and Cromwell," writes Mr. Pocock, "were quite sure of their man, who had sold himself to them, body and soul, to do their pleasure."

Barlow, then, as in duty bound, saw in the Sovereign the fountain-head of all spiritual authority. This is his statement—"If the King's grace, being supreme head of the Church of England, did choose, denominate, and elect any layman (being learned) to be a bishop, that he so chosen (without mention being made of any orders) should be as good a bishop as he is, or the best in England." (*Hunt's Religious Thought*, Vol. i., p. 43.)

[1] *Burnet Hist. Ref.*, Vol. iv., p. 468, ed. Pocock. The MS. is preserved in the Lambeth Library, Stillingfleet, D. 1108, fol. 69. This is logical Protestantism, and common-sense Protestants admit its truth and justice. But some Anglicans claim to be Catholics because, as they would fain believe, they have valid orders. Catholics claim to have valid orders because they are in the true Church, which must possess all she requires for her spiritual life.

[2] *English Studies*, p. 329. [3] *Saturday Review*, Nov. 28th, 1868.

Cox, whose answers may be seen in the Lambeth MSS., 1108, fol. 1118, is as outspoken as Cranmer.

Sandys, afterwards Archbishop of York, absolutely denies the existence of any priesthood in the New Dispensation, except a spiritual one.

In these testimonies we have the mind of the compilers of the Ordinal, and their views were consistently held by Anglican bishops for more than half a century. From 1552 to the reign of Charles I. there was not an Anglican bishop to raise his voice against the violent suppression of the Christian priesthood.

We begin with Parker, Elizabeth's first Archbishop of Canterbury. He deemed election and appointment sufficient to confer the priesthood or episcopate without ordination or consecration; so that a bishop-elect can exercise the functions of a bishop validly, and thus that holy order is not essential to the validity of sacraments, but only a matter of ecclesiastical regulation and propriety. This is the inevitable conclusion from Jewell's letter to Parker regarding Lancaster, who though only Archbishop-elect of Armagh, had already ordained a number of clergymen.[1]

Hooker and other Anglican Fathers on Orders. — Hammond, Commissary to the Deanery of Arches, an official of Whitgift, Elizabethan Archbishop of Canterbury, and therefore a most excellent witness of the law and theology of the age, gives this testimony: "The Bishops of our realm do not (as far as I have ever yet heard), nor may not, claim to themselves any other authority than is given them by the statute of Henry VIII., recited in the first year of her Majesty's reign, or by other statutes of this land; neither is it reasonable that they should make other claims, *for if it had pleased her Majesty, with the wisdom of this realm, to have used no bishops at all, we could*

[1] See *Jewell's Works*, Vol. iii., pt. ii., p. 1274., Ed. Park, Soc.

not have complained justly of any defect in our Church; or if it had liked them to limit the authority of Bishops to a shorter term, they might not have said they had any wrong."

Hooker felt that a claim to *unbroken* Apostolical succession would be fatal to the Anglican Church, so he declared, "We are not simply *without exception* to urge a lineal descent from the Apostles by continued succession of bishops in every effectual ordination." He admitted the power of the Church to take away the episcopal government, for the reason that it existed "by force of custom and not by Divine appointment." And on the question of Orders he expressly said: "There may be some time very just and sufficient reason *to allow ordination made without a bishop."* This might happen, he added, "when the Church must needs have some ordained, and neither hath nor can have possibly a bishop to ordain." How little Hooker really believed in the necessity of episcopal ordination is evident from his action on his bed of death. He sent for his friend, Saravia, who had never received episcopal ordination, and from this man's unconsecrated hands he received those sacramental rites which Canon Potter, I presume, would admit Saravia had no power to confer. I instance Hooker because his name is held in great esteem by High Churchmen.

Bancroft,[1] Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "Where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by presbyters *must be esteemed lawful, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawful vocation in most of the Reformed Churches."*

Whitaker, head of St. John's College, Cambridge, 1595, writes, "Providing their elections be lawful, we do not concern ourselves about the ordination of our bishops. *Where ordination cannot be had the same persons that have authority to name bishops, have also authority to ordain them."*

[1] Spotiswoode's *Hist. Church of Scotland*, Vol. iii., p. 29.

Fulke, head of Pembroke College, Cambridge, 1589, is most outspoken addressing Catholics; he says, "You are highly deceived (if you think) we esteem your offices of bishops, priests, and deacons, better than laymen. . . . With all our hearts we abhor, detest, and spit at your . . . anti-Christian Orders."

The statement of Fulke has great weight. As Canon Estcourt reminds us,[1] "he was the official controversialist of the time, always kept in harness. If a Popish tract was picked up in the purlieus of the Court, Fulke was pitched upon as a suitable person to reply. He was the most prolific controversial writer of the day," and there is no mincing in his words.

Laud is pre-eminently the High Church champion—for he it was who, as Mr. Pocock assures us, first tried to infuse a Catholic spirit into the Anglican Body, but Laud cannot be said, in any true sense, to have believed in the necessity of episcopal orders. He agreed with Bishop Montagu that in a case of necessity a priest can ordain. In the *History of his Troubles*[2] he wrote "In Sweden they retain both the thing and the name; and the governors of their churches are, and are called, bishops, and among the other Lutherans the thing is maintained, though not the name. For, instead of bishops they are called superintendents, and instead of archbishops, general superintendents, and yet, even here too, these words differ more in sound than in sense."

The comparative silence of Catholic controversialists regarding episcopal succession during Elizabeth's reign is occasionally quoted as a proof that Catholics admitted the validity of that succession. But the silence tells quite the other way. Elizabeth had a very efficient method of her own for hushing up troublesome controversialists. Her gaolers were quite competent to close the mouths of Popish

[1] *Anglican Ordinations*, p. 130. [2] P. 141.

theologians. Fortunately, however, there is enough of Catholic testimony on record to tell us what the people of the old religion thought of the new process of making bishops.

We read how when Horne, Elizabeth's Bishop of Winchester, tendered the Oath of Supremacy to Bonner in the Marshalsea, that prelate at once refused to recognise him, on the ground that Horne "was not elected, consecrated or provided, &c."[1] Horne, bear in mind, had been consecrated by Parker. Bonner, in point of fact, practically challenged the legal position of the new Hierarchy, and his objection was allowed, for he was not further pressed to take the oath. Bonner's plea, we are told, "so astonished a great number of the best learned that yet they know not what answer to give him; and where it was determined he should have suffered, he is remitted to the place from whence he came, and no more said unto him."[2] Pius V. appointed a process to be taken, and among the questions administered to the witnesses was the following: "Whether by Elizabeth's authority any schismatics were constituted bishops and rectors, not being priests?" And we have the replies, in general terms, of Goldwell, deposed Bishop of St. Asaph, Henshaw, formerly Rector of Lincoln College, and Daniel, formerly Dean of Hereford, to the effect, that heretics, *and some of them not priests,* were appointed by Elizabeth to succeed the deposed Catholic Bishops.

"Unordered Apostates."—Nicholas Morton asserts that he knows some bishops to be mere laymen, and among them mentions Bullingham, Bishop of Lincoln.

William Allott declares that he is well acquainted with Bullingham, and knows that he is not a priest, and Thomas Kirton also names Bullingham as not being a priest, and

[1] *Harleian*, 423.

[2] State Paper Office, Foreign, Scotland, x. 66.

seems to imply, though not quite clearly, that Jewell was not a priest either.

Allen, in his Defence of English Catholics in 1584, calls the new clergy "unordered apostates," and Bristow, in his Motives in 1574, describes them as "but very laymen, unsent, uncalled, unconsecrated, and therefore executing their pretended office without benefit or spiritual comfort of any man . . . holding therefore amongst us, when they repent and come again, none other place but the place of laymen."

Harding writes to Jewell—"A bishop you are not, I am right sure; neither can all the kings and queens in the world, nor all the Parliaments of England, by their own only power and authority, make you a lawful and true bishop. . . . In very deed this much I confess, that, in case you were a bishop, though an unworthy bishop, yea, a wicked bishop, yet, for the dignity of that vocation and *for the order's sake*, I should, I would, reverence you accordingly."

The Catholic petition to James I. makes this unequivocal statement—"Neither is the Protestant Minister or Bishop coming to our Catholike fraternity (as many come of the first sort) reputed other than for mere laymen without orders."[1]

And, assuredly, there were the strongest grounds for these statements. "The disposing of ecclesiastical preferment to secular men," says Collier, referring to the age of Edward VI., "may possibly seem somewhat odd, but it was not uncommon at that time." Nor is it possible to make a stronger case for the Catholic controversialists than Elizabeth, herself, made for them. Can there be clearer proof of her own doubt, about the condition of affairs, than this provision she makes in the letters patent for Parker's appointment to the Archbishopric of Canter-

1 See Estcourt, *Anglican Ordinations*, pp. 134-7.

bury? "Supplying, nevertheless," she says, "by our supreme royal authority, by our own desire, and our certain knowledge, whatever is, or shall be, wanting, either in the things done by you under this our mandate, or in the condition, state, or faculty of you, or any of you, for carrying out things aforesaid, with respect to the things which by the statutes of this realm, or by the ecclesiastical laws in part are required or necessary, the emergency of the time, and the necessity of circumstances demanding this course."[1] And as time went on, Elizabeth's difficulties became the greater. In 1563 we find her issuing this sweeping dispensation—"That all acts and things heretofore had, made or done by any person or persons in or about any *consecration,* confirmation, or investing of any person or persons elected to the office or dignity of any archbishop or bishop within this realm, or within any other the queen's majesty's dominions or countries, by virtue of the queen's majesty's letters patent or commission, since the beginning of her Majesty's reign be and shall be, *by the authority of this present parliament,* declared, judged, and deemed, at and from every of the several times of the doing thereof, good and perfect to all respects and purposes; *any matter or thing that can or may be objected to the contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding.*"[2]

Anglicans, at least those of the High Church School, are fond of sneering at the claims of the Presbyterian and other Nonconformist bodies to valid Orders. At the Birmingham Church Congress, referred to in the last lecture, the Anglican Bishop of Edinburgh declared that if Dr. Perowne's proposal were carried out, "it would split the Church in two." Dr. Perowne's proposal amounted to this: that the Anglican Church should not urge her strict requirements about Orders, for some time at any rate, in the hope of bringing into her communion, a great

[1] *Strype's Parker*, p. 61. [2] 8 Eliz., c. i.

multitude of Dissenters. Mr. Gore, surely a representative High Churchmen, emphasises the protest of the Anglican Bishop of Edinburgh. He asserted:

"We cannot admit Nonconformist ministers as 'validly ordained ministers of the Word and Sacraments.' If there are some Anglicans who, with nothing but amiable motives, would desire to do this, I would ask them to consider are they seriously prepared, on their own principles, to contemplate a step which—whatever would be gained by it—must inevitably cut them off from Communion with the whole of the vast proportion of Anglican Churchmen in Britain, America, and the colonies taken together, who by no stretch of the imagination can be conceived as likely to accept the ministry of persons whom they believe to be not so rightly ordained as to admit of their celebrating a valid—*i.e.*, secure—Eucharist? Could the gain of such a measure, in the way of possible reunion, appreciably weigh against the certain loss in the way of disunion and destruction of what has already constituted the Anglican's glory?"

But the leading reformers were of a different opinion from Mr. Gore. To begin with the testimony of Grindal, the immediate successor of Parker in the Archbishopric of Canterbury,—whom Elizabeth, as head of the Anglican Church, temporarily suspended without trial. He authorised a Scotch Presbyterian minister "to preach and administer the Sacraments in any part of the province of Canterbury."

Aubrey,[1] Vicar-General of Canterbury during Grindal's suspension, licensed one John Morrison, a Scotchman, to celebrate Divine service, to administer Sacraments, and to preach anywhere in the province of Canterbury.

Andrewes is a name for High Churchmen to conjure with. Yet Andrewes administered the Anglican Sacrament to Casaubon, a Swiss Calvinist. When King James

[1] *Life and Acts of Grindal*, App., n. 17.

resolved to establish prelacy in Scotland, Andrewes was one of the three Anglican bishops who, without first ordaining, consecrated three Presbyterian ministers for the newly made dioceses of Glasgow, Brechin, and Galloway.

Bishop Cosin was a thorough High Churchman. He had been chaplain to Overall, Bishop of Norwich, whose name is revered by High Churchmen, and he was a most prominent member of the Laudian party, whose troubles he shared. He tells us that Overall was wont to say that "we must take heed that we do not, for want of episcopacy . . . run down the Reformed Churches and say they have neither ministers nor sacraments." This is Cosin's statement as regards himself: "If any minister so ordained (by the Presbyterian form) in these French churches came to incorporate himself in ours, and to receive a public charge or cure of souls among us in the Church of England, *as I have known some of them to have done of late, and can instance in many others before my time,* our bishops did not re-ordain him, before they admitted him to his charge, as they would have done if his former ordination in France had been void. Nor did our laws require more of him than to declare his public consent to the religion received amongst us, and to subscribe the articles established." (Letter to Cordel).

Archbishops of Canterbury (1533-1663) on Orders.—Keble is an authority whom no High Churchman will repudiate, and Keble writes thus: "Nearly up to the time when he [Richard Hooker] wrote, *numbers had been admitted to the Ministry of the Church of England, with no better than Presbyterian ordination,* and it appears by Travers' 'Supplication to the Council,' that such was the construction put upon the statute of the 13th of Elizabeth, permitting those who had received orders in any other form than that of the English service-book, on giving certain securities, to exercise their calling in Eng-

land. If it were really the intention of [the framers and makers of] that act to authorize other than episcopal ordination, it is but one proof more of the low accommodating notions concerning the Church which then prevailed."

Macaulay brings out into full relief the undeniable fact that from Cranmer in 1533 to Bramhall in 1663, no Anglican Archbishop of Canterbury, and no Anglican divine of any eminence, taught the absolute indispensable necessity of valid orders for a legitimate priesthood, or the doctrine of the Apostolic succession. This is what Macaulay writes:

"The founders of the Anglican Church had retained episcopacy as an ancient, a decent, and a convenient ecclesiastical polity, but had not declared that form of church government to be of divine institution. We have already seen how low an estimate Cranmer had formed of the office of a bishop. In the reign of Elizabeth, Jewell, Cooper, Whitgift, and other eminent doctors, defended prelacy as innocent, as useful, as what the state might lawfully establish, as what, when established by the State, was entitled to the respect of every citizen. But they never denied that a Christian community without a bishop might be a pure church. On the contrary, they regarded the Protestants of the Continent as of the same household of faith with themselves. Englishmen in England were indeed bound to acknowledge the authority of the bishop, as they were bound to acknowledge the authority of the sheriff and of the coroner: but the obligation was purely local. An English churchman, nay, even an English prelate, if he went to Holland, conformed without scruple to the established religion of Holland. Abroad, the ambassadors of Elizabeth and James went in state to the very worship which Elizabeth and James persecuted at home, and carefully abstained from decorating their private chapels after the Anglican fashion, lest scandal should be given to weaker brethren. . . In the year 1603 the Convocation solemnly recognized

the Church of Scotland, a church in which episcopal control and episcopal ordination were then unknown, as a branch of the holy Catholic Church of Christ. It was even held that Presbyterian ministers were entitled to place and voice in œcumenical councils. When the States General of the United Provinces convoked at Dort a synod of doctors not episcopally ordained, an English Bishop and an English Dean, commissioned by the head of the English Church, sate with those doctors, preached to them, and voted with them on the gravest questions of theology.[1]

"But a new race of divines was already rising in the Church of England. In their view, the episcopal office was essential to the welfare of Christian society, and to the efficacy of some of the most solemn ordinances of religion." (Macaulay, *History of England*, Vol. I., pp. 75-77.)

Apostolic Succession repudiated.—I could go on calling witness after witness, piling testimony upon testimony, but I would only weary you with the monotony of the evidence. The simple truth is that Apostolical Succession was treated as a jest by High Church and Low Church, till in the middle of the seventeenth century Dissenters began to dispute the Anglican pretensions to supremacy, and then there was a sudden rush to the defence of Orders that, for two generations, had been a mockery and a scorn. But the teaching of the early Reformers could not be easily got rid of. It had been leavening the minds of Anglican divines. And as a consequence we have Apostolical Succession denied by the most prominent bishops of the Anglican Church in the nineteenth century, as it had been denied in the early days of the Reformation period.

[1] Joseph Hall, then Dean of Worcester, and afterwards Bishop of Norwich, was one of the commissioners. In his life of himself he says: "My unworthiness was named for one of the assistants of that honourable, grave, and reverend meeting." To High Churchmen this humility will seem not a little out of place.

The eloquent Anglican Bishop Heber[1] put his belief on record, "were I to return to Germany," he said, "I would again, as before, humbly and thankfully avail myself of the preaching and sacramental ordinance of the Lutheran Evangelical Church.'

Finally, in the year 1871, the Anglican Archbishop of York and the Anglican Bishop of Winchester publicly ministered in a Presbyterian Church, thus confirming the declaration of Bishop Hall that there is no difference in any essential matter betwixt the Church of England and her sisters of the Reformation.

Dr. Hawkins, head of Oriel College, Oxford, preached in 1842, at the consecration of the Bishop of Winchester, and this sermon was *printed at command* of the then Archbishop of Canterbury. "The Church of England," says Dr. Hawkins, "carefully abstains from asserting that the Apostolical order which she preserved is essential to the being of a church. . . . *Her statements concerning 'the church,' 'ministering in the congregation,' and 'the unworthiness of ministers,' are so framed and cautiously guarded, that they apply to any church and the ministry of any church—nay, might even apply to congregations of Separatists who had conscientious grounds for their separation.* And this we are wont to ascribe, perhaps, to the great charity and moderation of the Church of England. Yet, would it really have deserved these excellent names had the great and good men, to whom we owe her articles and her polity, been, indeed, convinced that her Orders were essential to Christianity, and episcopacy necessary to the very efficacy of the blessed sacraments? Rather let us say that *they did not declare this doctrine, because they did not believe it to be true* . . . This appears to be the true reason why the necessity of any Apostolical Succession cannot be maintained."

[1] *Ind. Journal, Correspondence*, Vol. ii., p. 249.

Dr. Elliot, Dean of Bristol, tells us "the 25th Article *repudiates it as a fiction altogether* that God has . . . annexed peculiar grace and authority to the imposition of hands successively from the Apostles, or to any other arbitrary form of ordination whatever." (Sermons, *Subjects of the Day*, p. 105.)

Apostolical Succession forsooth! Elizabeth well knew what her bishops thought of it, and she appraised them at the value they put upon themselves. In her angry moods she used to call them "hedge-bishops," and spoke of them as men whom she had "frocked," and whom, if she cared, she "would unfrock." Froude, who was never yet charged with partiality towards Catholics, tells us that "while ruling the clergy with a rod of iron, and refusing as sternly as her father to tolerate their pretensions to independence, she desired to force upon them a special and semi-mysterious character; to dress them up as counterfeits of the Catholic hierarchy; and half in deference, half in contempt, compel them to assume the name and character of a priesthood which she and they, in their heart of hearts, knew to be an illusion and a dream."

Her letter to the Bishop of Ely is on record. "Proud Prelate," she wrote, "You know well what you were afore I made you what you now are. If you do not immediately comply with my requests I will unfrock you, by God."

"The bishops," writes Mr. Froude, "with whom she had filled the sees at her accession, were chosen necessarily from the party who had suffered under her sister. They were Calvinists or Lutherans, with no special reverence for the office which they had undertaken; and she treated them in return with studied contempt. She called them Doctors, as the highest title to which she considered them to have any real right; if they disputed her pleasure she threatened to unfrock them; if they showed themselves officious in punishing Catholics, she brought them up with

a sharp reprimand; and if their Protestantism was conspicuously earnest, they were deposed and imprisoned."[1]

Anomalous position of Anglican Bishops. — "The position of bishops in the Church of England has been from the first anomalous. The Episcopate was violently separated from the Papacy, to which it would have preferred to remain attached, and, to secure its obedience, it was made dependent on the Crown. The method of episcopal appointments, instituted by Henry VIII. as a temporary expedient, and abolished under Edward as an unreality, was re-established by Elizabeth, not certainly because she believed that the invocation of the Holy Ghost was required for the completeness of an election which her own choice had already determined, not because the bishops obtained any gifts or grace in their consecration which she herself respected, but because the shadowy form of an election, with the religious ceremony following it, gave them the semblance of spiritual independence, the semblance without the substance, which qualified them to be the instruments of the system which she desired to enforce. They were tempted to presume on their phantom dignity, till the sword of a second Cromwell taught them the true value of their Apostolic descent; and we have a right to regret that the original theory of Cranmer was departed from—that being officers of the Crown, as much appointed by the Sovereign as the Lord Chancellor, the bishops should not have worn openly their real character and received their appointments immediately by letters patent without further ceremony."[2]

Canon Potter says that not one in ten thousand has heard of Mr. Pocock. Well, he will hardly repeat this of Mr. Froude, who makes the same accusation against the Elizabethan Anglican Bishops in almost the same words. "The Bishops themselves," says the latter, "lived as if they

[1] Froude's *History of England*, p. 543.

[2] *Ibid.*, Vol. vi., pp. 552, 553. London: 1870.

knew their day to be a short one, and made the most of their opportunities while they lasted. Scandalous dilapidations, destruction of woods, waste of the property of the sees by beneficial leases, each incumbent enriching himself and his family at the expense of his successors; this is the substantial history of the Anglican hierarchy, with a few honourable exceptions, for the first twenty years of its existence."

The contrast between Elizabeth's episcopal intruders, and the imprisoned or exiled Catholic bishops of her reign, draws the following eloquent testimony from Mr. Froude: "A Catholic bishop holds his office by a tenure, untouched by the accidents of time. Dynasties may change, nations may lose their liberties, the firm fabric of society itself may be swept away in the torrent of revolution, but the Catholic prelate remains at his post; but when he dies another takes his place; and when the waters sink again into their beds, the quiet figure is seen standing where it stood before, the person perhaps changed, the thing itself rooted like a rock on the adamantine basements of the world. The Anglican hierarchy, far unlike its rival, was the child of compulsion and compromise; it drew its life from Elizabeth's throne, and, had Elizabeth fallen, it would have crumbled into sand. The Church of England was a limb lopped off from the Catholic trunk; it was cut away from the stream by which its vascular system had been fed: and the life of it, as an independent and corporate existence, was gone for ever. But it had been taken up and grafted on the State. If not what it had been, it could retain the form of what it had been, the form which made it respectable, without the power which made it dangerous. The image, in its outward aspect, could be made to correspond with the parent tree; *and to sustain the illusion it was necessary to provide bishops who could appear to have inherited their powers by the approved method, as successors of the Apostles.*"

The Sacraments and the Book of Common Prayer. —Canon Potter also refers me to the Book of Common Prayer.

I read there, in "The Ministration of Public Baptism of Infants to be used in the Church," this doctrine—"None can enter into the Kingdom of God except he be regenerated and born anew of Water and the Holy Ghost." And again—"It is certain by God's Word that children which are baptised, dying before they commit actual sin, are undoubtedly saved." This seems quite conclusive about Baptismal Regeneration, but Canon Potter must explain away the Gorham judgment, by which the Queen, the Spiritual Head of Anglicanism, acting on the advice of her Privy Council in the year of Grace 1850, declared that this doctrine *may be held or may be rejected* by orthodox Anglicans.

Again, I find in "The Ordering of Priests," the Bishop says—"Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the Imposition of our hands. Whose sins thou dost forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins thou dost retain, they are retained."

And in "The Order for the Visitation of the Sick," I read this direction: "Here shall the sick person be moved to make a special confession of his sins, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter. After which confession, the priest shall absolve him (if he humbly and heartily desire it) after this sort. Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to His Church to absolve all sinners who truly repent and believe in Him, of His great mercy forgive thee thine offences. And by His authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen."

No doubt I find this power claimed by a host of Anglican divines who teach the necessity, or rather the

utility of some kind of *confession*, private and made to a clergyman. Cranmer[1] says: "When God's ministers give you absolution, then you shall so esteem as if Christ Himself in His own person did speak and minister to you. . . . He hath given the keys of the kingdom of Heaven and the authority to forgive sins to the ministers of His Church; let him that is a sinner go to one of them, let him acknowledge and confess his sin, and pray him he will give him absolution."

Parker in his Articles of Visitation, 1567, regards it as a heresy to deny that "mortal or voluntary sins, committed after Baptism, be not remissible in Penance." And these words of the Fathers of the Reformation are repeated in the writings of Bishop Andrewes, Bishop Baily, Bishop Downame, Bishop Montagu, Bishop Hall, Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Bishop Cosin, Bishop Horne, Bishop Sparrow, Dr. Barrow, Dr. Hole, Dr. Fiddes, Dr. Becon, Dr. Crakanthorp, and thus on to the leaders of the Oxford movement. And since that time we have the doctrine of Confession commonly taught in many High Church manuals of devotion such as *The English Catholics' Vade Mecum*, and *The Catholic Religion*, &c.

So much for the teaching of the Book of Common Prayer, and of those Anglican divines who accept it either fully or partially. But on the other hand, the tradition of the *Sacrament of Penance* has really died out in the Anglican Church, and what language can describe the foul invective that rings from Anglican pulpit, platform and press, against this divine institution, and its administration by the Catholic Church?

Again, as Canon Potter had referred to the mutilated Sacrament of the Altar, I was anxious to know what he meant by the Sacrament of the Altar. He is, however, too cautious to commit himself beyond a bare reference to the words of the Church Catechism, in which, as he

[1] *Catechism*, 1548; Tr. *Ang. Fathers*, i., p. 22.

says, the Sacrament is called by the Scriptural and Catholic name of the "Supper of the Lord." But here, once more, the same diversity of belief and practice is, unfortunately, too much in evidence amongst Anglicans, for whilst some firmly believe in the Real Presence of our Blessed Lord in the adorable Sacrament, others just as firmly believe in His real absence.

Contradictory views on the H. Eucharist.—Perhaps there is no member of the Anglican Hierarchy who is less in sympathy with the Catholic Church than Dr. Ryle of Liverpool.[1] It is not easy to brush aside his words, for he views the subject from every standpoint. Here is his testimony regarding Anglican belief in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper:

(*a*) "One section of our clergy, and probably the majority, maintains that the Lord's Supper is a *sacrifice*. Another, and probably the minority, maintains, with equal firmness, that it is not, and should only be called a *sacrament*.

(*b*) "One maintains that the Communion table is an *altar*, and should be always treated as such. Another maintains that it is only the *Holy Table*.

(*c*) "One maintains that the minister at the Lord's Supper is a *sacrificing priest*. Another maintains that he is only an *officiating presbyter*, though called a priest, and that there is no authority for sacerdotalism in the New Testament or the Prayer Book."

(*d*) "One maintains that the Lord's Supper does good, more or less, to all who receive it, and that as a general rule all persons should be urged to become Communicants. The other maintains that it only does good *to believing and worthy* communicants, and to those who are destitute of lively faith does no good at all, but rather harm.

1 Visitation Charge, November, 1893.

(*e*) "One maintains that the Lord's Supper should be received *fasting*, and after *confession* to a clergyman. The other regards both these additions to the Sacrament with deep aversion, as *not warranted* by Scripture or the Prayer Book."

(*f*) "One maintains that there is a *real objective presence* of Christ's body and blood under the forms of the consecrated bread and wine. The other maintains that there is *no real presence* whatever, except in the hearts of believing communicants.

"Now I shall not for a moment attempt to argue these disputed points, or to say on this occasion, who is right and who is wrong, whatever my own private opinions may be. I only place before you plain facts, which nobody can deny. When a clergyman on one side of a street or road administers the Lord's Supper in one way, and his neighbour (belonging to the same Established Church) a few hundred yards off in another way, there is a *terrible lack of unity*."

The faith of the one finds loving expression in the writings of such men as Bishop Beveridge,[1] whose words find echo in every genuine Catholic heart—"How can I by faith behold my Saviour coming unto me," he cries, "and offering to me His own Body and Blood, and not fall down and worship Him?"

And is there anything a Catholic heart can desiderate in these statements of the Anglican Bishop Forbes?[2] — "Christ in the Eucharist, is to be adored with divine worship, inasmuch as His living and glorified Body is present therein."

And again: "Those rigid Protestants who deny that we should adore Christ in the Eucharist, or say that we should only adore Him internally and mentally, not with any external sign of adoration, such as bending on the knee, or

[1] *Necessity of Frequent Communion*, p. 107.

[2] *Consid. Modest.*, pp.438-440.

some other bodily movement, are guilty of a monstrous error. Such persons are commonly heterodox on the doctrine of Christ's presence in the Sacrament altogether. To condemn as unlawful that external adoration, which *all Christians, from the very time of the Apostles,* have paid in receiving the Eucharist, is the very extreme of rashness and presumption."

With all my heart I rejoice that I can name many other representative Anglicans, such as Bishop Jeremy Taylor, Dr. Thorndike, and Dean Jackson, who offer the tribute of their warmest affection to the hidden God of the Eucharist. But, oh, there is a dark side to the picture! From other representative Anglicans proceeds cursing instead of blessing. I will not dwell, however, upon the horrid blasphemies that ring from many a Protestant pulpit and are embedded in many an Anglican theology, against this sweetest pledge of the Redeemer's love.

Again in "The Form of Solemnization of Marriage," as given in the Book of Common Prayer, we read, "*Then shall the priest join their right hands together, and say,* those whom God hath joined together let no man put asunder." This, no doubt, is very clear teaching of the indissolubility of the marriage bond. But Anglicans themselves are blushing for the difference between the Church's preaching and practice. In a remarkable article in the *Guardian,* the recognised organ of Anglican public opinion, we read —"It must also be said, with all due respect, but with deep regret, that our Bishops ought long ago to have formed and acted upon a consistent and uniform policy as regards this issue of licenses [for re-marriage of divorced persons] and other difficulties arising under the legislation of 1857. . . . There is too much reason in the language of the Report [of the York Convocation] when it asks whether the Church of England does not 'connive at, condone, and even encourage both the divorce and the adulterous entry into a second union.'"

And the Home papers, just to hand, tell us the amount of importance the Anglican Church, as represented by the Bishop of London, attaches to the Prayer Book, and the Rubrics. The exhortation preceding the fifth rubric in the service for Matrimony runs as follows:—"If any man can show any just cause why they may not be joined together, let him now speak, or else hereafter forever hold his peace." Immediately before a marriage ceremony in the Church of St. Mark, North Audley Street, London, April 26th, a High Church clergyman protested, on the ground that "one of the parties has his canonical wife living, and that therefore his marriage with any other person is contrary to the Law of God, *and to the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England.*" But the marriage ceremony was gone through all the same. The officiating clergyman declared he was there by the bishop's mandate, and, as is clear from a letter he, himself, addressed to the *Times*, he was in perfect accord with his bishop on the subject of the re-marrying of those divorced.

The final test of Anglican Continuity.—And now we are come to the supreme crisis in the life of the Catholic Church in England. In 1558 Elizabeth ascended the throne. She was crowned according to the Catholic ritual, but there was little doubt what course the daughter of Anne Boleyn would pursue. She had been scarce ten weeks on the throne when she opened her Parliament in person, and her ministers brought forward the acts of *Supremacy and Uniformity*.

By the one she abrogated the jurisdiction of the Pope in England, and gave to the Crown the ecclesiastical jurisdiction assumed by Henry VIII. and Edward VI. By the other she authorized the Reformed Prayer Book of Edward VI. (1552), with some slight changes to be used in Divine Service, and the administration of Sacraments, instead of the Catholic Liturgy.

When the crisis came, the Hierarchy had been greatly weakened by deaths amongst its members. Of the twenty-six dioceses ten were vacant. But it is the glory of the English Church that her bishops, in and out of Parliament, were found faithful to their trust. In Parliament such of them as had seats voted to a man against these measures.

Heath, Archbishop of York, spoke for his brethren. He boldly declared: "If by this relinquishing of the See of Rome there were none other matter than a withdrawing of our obedience from the Pope's person, Paul, the fourth of that name, which hath declared himself to be a very austere, stern father to us, ever since his first entrance into Peter's chair, then the cause were not of such great importance, as it is in very deed, when, by the relinquishing and forsaking of the See of Rome, we must forsake and flee from these four things: *1st*, all general Councils; *2nd*, all canonical and ecclesiastical laws of the Church of Christ; *3rd*, the judgment of all other Christian princes; and *4th*, we must forsake and flee the unity of the Christian Church, and by leaping out of St. Peter's ship, hazard ourselves to be overwhelmed and drowned in the waters of schisms, sects, and divisions."

Out of Parliament the Bishops assembled in their meeting of Convocation. Never did men play a nobler part. They assuredly rose to the occasion. Scorning every danger, they placed on record this declaration of their faith, which, placed alongside the innovations of the time-serving Reformers, utterly confutes the modern pretensions of Anglicanism to a continuity of doctrine and discipline with the ancient English Church—which Augustine "planted at the bidding of the acknowledged Father of Western Christendom."

To say that the Church which under penalties of forfeiture, deprivation and death, enforced the one declaration

of faith, is spiritually descended from the Church which has ever faithfully clung to the other, is an extravagant paradox.

DECLARATION OF FAITH MADE IN CONVOCATION BY THE ENGLISH CATHOLIC BISHOPS, 1559.

1. "That in the Sacrament of the Altar by virtue of the word of Christ duly spoken by the priest, is really present under the species of bread and wine, the natural body of Christ conceived of the Virgin Mary; and His natural Blood."

2. "That after the consecration there does not remain the substance of bread or wine, nor any other substance, save the substance of God and man."

3. "That in the Mass is offered up the true Body of Christ and His true Blood, a propitiatory sacrifice for the living and the dead."

4. "That to Blessed Peter and to his lawful successors in the Apostolic See, as Vicars of Christ, has been given the supreme power of feeding and ruling the Church of Christ upon earth, and of confirming their brethren."

5. "That the authority to discuss and decide those things which pertain to faith, the Sacraments, and ecclesiastical discipline hath hitherto belonged and ought to belong to the pastors of the Church whom and not laymen the Holy Ghost has placed in the Church for this purpose."

Wilkins (iv., 179).

ARTICLES OF ANGLICAN BELIEF AS APPROVED BY PARLIAMENT IN 1559, AND RATIFIED AFTERWARDS BY ANGLICAN CONVOCATION.

1. "The Body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner. And the mean, whereby the Body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper is Faith."

2. "Transubstantiation (or the change of the substance of Bread and Wine) in the Supper of the Lord, cannot be proved by Holy Writ; but it is repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, overthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath given occasion to many superstitions."

3. "Wherefore the sacrifices of Masses, in the which it was commonly said, that the Priest did offer Christ for the quick and the dead, to have remission of pain or guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

4. "The Bishop of *Rome* hath no jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*."

5. "The Queen's Majesty hath the chief power in this Realm of *England*, and other her Dominions, unto whom the chief Government of all Estates of this realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign Jurisdiction."

Book of Common Prayer, Articles xxviii., xxxi., xxxvii.

Kitchen, of Llandaff, was the only Catholic bishop in Elizabeth's reign who in any way yielded. He was an old, weak man, yet there are strong reasons for denying that he ever took the oath of Supremacy. The other bishops were deprived of their sees, and imprisoned for the rest of their lives. It is the habit to represent their imprisonment as a gentle restraint. But Father Bridgett, in his *History of the Catholic Bishops in Elizabeth's Reign*, goes to the original documents—as is his invariable custom—and proves that their imprisonment was a most rigorous one.

Thus gloriously ended the ancient Hierarchy of England. The true story of the Convocation of 1534 is at length being told us by Protestant writers, and we now know the tricks by which Henry's bishops were led into an acceptance of what they must have, at first, considered the merest nominal Supremacy. But their error was nobly atoned for by their successors, whose heroism can be appreciated only by those who have a knowledge of the Tudor times, and are aware how completely the spirit of freedom had fled the land. The old bishops went to life-long prison or exile, and, if necessary, would have gone to death in defence of the religion of St. Augustine. The new bishops made Elizabeth's birthday a red letter day in the land, and the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who, like Cranmer, had been chaplain to Elizabeth's mother, actually substitutes, to the glorification of the Queen, the words that ages of enduring love had consecrated to the honour of God's own Blessed Mother. In Canterbury Cathedral, as in St. Paul's, *Ave Maria* gave place to *Ave Eliza*.

Canon Potter says that the Supremacy of the Pope is the great difficulty in the efforts towards a re-union of Christendom. Catholics accept this doctrine on the authority of Holy Scripture, and on the unanimous testimony of the early Fathers. The Canon had to go

back 1700 years to find anything in the semblance of objection to it. Perhaps he would give us some proof, whether from Scripture or the Fathers, in support of that extraordinary article of Anglican faith, viz., the spiritual supremacy of Elizabeth Tudor!—or of the Privy Council of Queen Victoria, for these men, who may be of no religion whatever, advise her Majesty in the exercise of her spiritual supremacy?

I have now done my humble duty in defending the Catholic Church from an attack, as undignified as it was unprovoked.

If in this defence it should appear to any one that I have in any way exceeded that careful moderation which charity requires, I would ask him to remember the provocation that was given, and the difficulty of defending an institution rudely assailed, without giving some offence to those who are prejudiced against it.

But now that my work is done, I can heartily join in Canon Potter's prayer that God may grant to all to see the truth, and seeing, to love and embrace it.

And on this great Pentecostal Feast may we not all join our voices with the voice of the Father of Christendom, and ask that the English people, so rich in historic associations, so distinguished for many natural virtues, so zealous for justice and truth, so attached to the See of Peter for more than 1000 years, so devoted to the Virgin Mother as to earn for England the title of "Mary's Dowry," may once more walk in the old ways; so that their great Empire, like the Empire of the Romans of old, may be used by God as a fitting instrument for the conversion and sanctification of the nations.

CHAPTER XXXV.

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH NEVER ADMITTED THE VALIDITY OF ANGLICAN ORDERS.

Since the delivery of my third Lecture, the controversy has been further enriched by a rejoinder from Canon Potter, and a letter addressed to the *Argus* from Dr. Leeper. I shall deal with Dr. Leeper's letter first. He makes three points: 1st, he quotes Professor Freeman in favour of the continuity of the Anglican Church. 2nd, He gives an extract from Bishop Stubbs declaring that "Archbishop Parker's own work on the history of the Church of England suffices to prove the importance which he attaches to succession." 3rd, Dr. Leeper writes, that "Dr. Child's claim to be heard as a controversialist may be judged of from the fact that he quotes as proceeding from Whitgift a document which was really drawn up by Whitgift's enemies, as has been recently shown conclusively."

First, then, as to Professor Freeman's testimony. Dr. Leeper says, that I can scarcely dismiss him as I did Dr. Littledale as a "discredited controversialist."

Freeman on legal and historical continuity.—But on Professor Freeman's own authority I can dismiss him as a controversialist in any sense. He himself was careful to warn his readers more than once, that as a historian he did not deal at all with the question now at issue, namely, the *spiritual succession* of the Anglican Church under Elizabeth. He viewed the succession of the Anglican Church from a *legal* and *historical* point of view only. His words are very definite. "The question," he

writes, "whether Elizabeth or Parker or any one else did rightly or wisely in doing what they did is quite another matter and a matter which we gladly leave to theologians. The question of the *spiritual* succession is for them: it is the *outward* succession and *outward* continuity between the church before Parker and the church after him, which is a matter of *law* and *history*, and with that alone we have to deal."[1]

It is unnecessary to point out that the difference between the one continuity and the other is, both theoretically and practically, a real and substantial one. For instance, those who did believe in the necessity of Apostolical Succession were scrupulously careful to observe every rite by which that succession is continued. There was danger, on the other hand, that those who did not recognize its necessity, would not, particularly in times of great political or religious confusion, adhere strictly to what is absolutely required for its maintenance.

The substantial changes made in the Ordinal in 1662, compared with the Ordinal of 1549, the dispensations given in the Queen's commission for the consecration of Parker—dispensations so large that in the opinion of a very eminent jurist, "there can be no question but that even the want of consecration in the consecrators would, in those times, have been held to have been cured by the language of the commission,"[2] and the similar dispensations granted in the Act of Parliament passed at the instance of Parker in 1565 to silence those who still questioned the status of the Parliamentary bishops—all go to show that the danger to which I have referred was a practical one.

As I had already fully and freely granted an *outward* and *legal* continuity, Professor Freeman's authority fails Dr. Leeper exactly where, if available, it would be of use

[1] *Historical Essays*, 4th Series, p. 307.

[2] Mr. J. R. Hope Scott, 2. c., quoted by Estcourt, p. 91.

in the present controversy, namely, at the Anglican claim to a *spiritual* continuity with the old English Church.

Indeed, as far as Professor Freeman ventures on an opinion, it is adverse to the claims of the Anglican Church to Apostolical Succession. "We may be pretty sure," he observes, "that whatever the Queen thought in her own mind, *her prelates* and statesmen did not look on what divines call the Apostolical Succession as something absolutely essential to the being of a Christian community. The position which they took with regard to the Reformed Churches on the Continent, the occasional admission of men who had only Presbyterian ordination to offices in the English Church, makes this pretty plain."[1]

Henry VIII. transubstantiated into Pope.—But even if we confine our attention to Professor Freeman as a historian, his testimony will not serve the continuity theory much. For, while expressly disclaiming "the knowledge of a specialist on this particular period" of church history, he attributes that distinction to the Rev. Dr. Brewer.[2] But Mr. Brewer is very plain on the radical change in the constitution of the church which the Reformation introduced.

"Whose genius was it," he asks, "that upset the traditions of fifteen centuries, and devised an organisation without parallel in ancient or modern times? Who first conceived the bold idea—not of a parity of power between the spiritual and temporal jurisdictions, not Warburton's figment of an *imperium in imperio*, not modern Anglicanism watching to steal a feather out of the tail of the imperial eagle—but a transfer of the whole authority of the Church from a spiritual to a temporal ruler? Who was it that, with one stroke of the pen, to use the phrase of Bishop Andrewes, 'transubstantiated Henry VIII. into the Pope,'

[1] *Historical Essays*, p. 302.

[2] See *Contemp. Review*, Vol. xxxi., p. 834.

and converted the Church from an independent rival to a ready and submissive dependent on the State? With all the papers and documents before him needful for the satisfaction of such an enquiry, we should have been glad if Mr. Froude had availed himself of his precious opportunities, if he had told us by what steps the authors of such a policy arrived at this result—how they emancipated themselves from the long prejudices of ages—how they ventured, not only in the teeth of Roman Catholic traditions, but of that new ecclesiastical liberty then awakening in the breasts of Continental reformers, to set up an ecclesiastical headship which was neither old nor new, foreign nor Anglican, Catholic nor Puritan. Whose ingenious brain conceived, who shaped into practical form, this alliance between Church and State, wherein both should seem to be equal, but one in reality was extinguished? Was it the natural consequence of English constitutional tendencies? Was it the inevitable result of English Protestantism? Did it find acceptance with the mass of the people from its own intrinsic excellence, or was it forced upon them as a State necessity by the subtle ingenuity of Cromwell, or the iron resolution of Henry VIII? Every man who cares to read the history of those times feels at once that this is *the* question, this is the keystone of the Reformation."[1]

Having described what the Royal Supremacy was in theory, Mr. Brewer now exhibits it to us in its practical working: "If the Pope was the Bishop of Bishops, so was he. If the Pope could of himself determine the controversies of faith, so did he. Whether the doctrine of Purgatory or the Sacrament of Penance or the Worship of Saints, were or were not to constitute part of the creed and the teachings of the Church of England, depended on the King alone. It is true he did not administer the sacrament and ordain priests and bishops, but if any man had questioned

[1] *English Studies*, pp. 301-2.

his power to do so, he would have incurred the penalty of high treason." [1]

This is Mr. Brewer's testimony: If, therefore, Dr. Leeper contends for a *spiritual* and not merely for a *legal* or *historical* continuity, I do not believe he will receive much help from either Professor Freeman or from him whom the professor acknowledges as *the* historian of the Reformation period.

Secondly: The very same failure to appreciate the precise point in question is found in Dr. Leeper's reference to Bishop Stubbs. It is no reply to what I have stated, to cite Parker on *the importance which he attached to succession.* What I stated was that Parker did hold "that holy order is *not essential to the validity of sacraments,* but only a matter of ecclesiastical regulation and propriety."

The quotation from Bishop Stubbs, therefore, is simply beside the mark. Indeed Parker, in his correspondence with the Chief Secretary (Cecil) put the question bluntly: "Whether her Majesty and you will have *any* archbishops or bishops, or how you will have them ordered." [2]

Thirdly: As to Dr. Child's attributing to Whitgift a document which was drawn up by his enemies; first of all, there is no authority for designating Hammond, the author of the document, as his enemy. He was Whitgift's own official and removable at Whitgift's pleasure. Again, Dr. Child was the first to admit the natural mistake, when pointed out by the Rev. M. T. Firminger, who himself fell into a very similar mistake in his treatment of the *Travers* incident. In using Strype's collection of original documents, as Dr. Child himself tells us, he was misled by the marginal reference, "MSS. Whitgift," coupled with the fact that the sentiments expressed in the document are very much—especially in their extreme *Erastianism*—what might

[1] *English Studies*, p. 329.

[2] *Parker's Correspondence;* Letter to Burghley, p. 451.

have been expected from Whitgift. The Rev. Mr. Firminger afterwards apologised to Dr. Child for doubting his good faith in the matter, and admitted that he believed that the views of Whitgift were transitory. Indeed, if we accept the testimony of Perry's *History of the Church of England*, Whitgift never recognised the necessity of succession.

"There is a wide difference between the school of Whitgift and Hooker and that of Bilson, Hall, and Laud. At first all that was contended for was that Episcopacy was permissible and not against the Scriptures, that it was a Church government, ancient and allowable. This was contended by Jewell, Whitgift, Cooper, and others; but these divines did not venture to urge its exclusive claim, or to connect the succession with the validity of the Sacraments."[1]

The framers of the Anglican ordinal and formularies.—I now turn to Canon Potter's last performance. I had hoped that he would have made a stand in defence of his final stronghold, the Articles, the Book of Common Prayer, and the Ordinal. I was really anxious to know what a representative Anglican clergyman would say as to the meaning and authoritative teaching of the Anglican Formularies. But after one despairing effort to represent the Ordinal as substantially divine, because containing texts of Sacred Scripture, and after a few more aimless shots, the good Canon has thrown down his arms, metaphorically fled the country, and taken refuge in the precincts of Exeter Hall.

I confess that I never anticipated that Canon Potter would descend to the stereotyped style of no-Popery oratory. Dr. Littledale has been quoted with much confidence by Dr. Potter and his friends, and Dr. Littledale, in his attacks on the Catholic Church, could be suffi-

[1] Vol. i., p. 19.

ciently scurrilous to satisfy the most depraved Protestant taste. But when the same Dr. Littledale is quoted in dispraise of the English Reformers, it is quite another thing. It is Littledale, and not I, who flings Cranmer in the face of the English Church.

Let it be distinctly understood that whatever references I have made to the Anglican bishops who were concerned in framing the Formularies, or giving an exposition of the doctrine of the Anglican Church, I have made because Canon Potter himself suggested some of these names as the connecting links between the old and Reformed Church of England. These men are represented as reformers. But if they had been raised up by God, as is continually claimed for them, to wash the face of the old English Church, or as Canon Potter puts it, to rub the rust and mud off the old axe, they should have come to the operation with clean hands. And if they did not come with clean hands, this fact in itself would be a strong and substantial argument which might be legitimately urged against the authority of their mission, and the lawfulness of their undertaking. It is a pitiful resort, and a recognised refuge for defeated controversialists, to substitute for argument vulgar abuse of the Roman See.

Canon Potter must know that in the founders or reformers of religion, who claim to be the accredited agents of heaven, we demand such sanctity as may not, indeed, be found in a few and exceptional rulers of a Church that for nineteen hundred years had been exposed to the world's storms.

Canon Potter, then, without any necessity, and apparently with the desire of appealing to the prejudices of the public, has gone out of his way to raise false and unbecoming issues. However, I do not think that he has done so of his own motion. His mind is, I still believe, of too refined and too manly a cast, to resort to this style of controversy.

He has, in all probability, merely used the matter supplied to him by some of his numerous correspondents. But these should remember that history, which, in the words of De Maistre, had for the last three hundred years been in conspiracy against the Catholic Church, is now being re-written from authentic sources. If Catholic controversialists were so inclined, they would have but to go to the State papers and other authentic documents, to find an abundant supply of most damaging evidence against the Reformers, and this evidence, let it be remembered, would be from the Reformers themselves or from their friends.

But Catholics, though they grieve for the occasional scandals that must have occurred during the history of nineteen centuries, and throughout the world-wide extent of the Church, answer with Cardinal Newman, that "if grievous sin is found in holy places, the Church cannot hinder it while man is man; prove that she encourages it; prove that she does not repress it, prove that her action, be it greater or less, is not as far as it goes beneficial;—then and not till then will you have established a point against her."[1]

The great master of the English tongue has given a sketch, as touching as it is eloquent, of the sad surroundings of the Church in those lawless days, to which Canon Potter has gone for proof of her frailty.

"It was an age," says Cardinal Newman, "when the passionate wilfulness of the feudal baron was vigorous still; when civilization, powerless as yet to redress the grievances of society at large, gave to princes and nobles as much to possess as before and less to suffer; increased their pomp, and diminished their duties and their risks; became the cloak of vices which it did not extirpate, made revenge certain by teaching it to be treacherous, and unbelief venerable by proving it to be ancient. . . . This

[1] *Present Position of Catholics in England*, p. 131.

was the time of the revival of what is called classical learning; that is, the learning of ancient Greece and Rome. Constantinople had lately been taken by the Turks, who still hold it; its scholars, with their traditions and their manuscripts, escaped to Italy, and they found a home at Florence.

"The artists, poets, and philosophers, who flourished under the smile of the great Florentine family, and their disciples through Italy, if they were not allowed to decorate Holy Church at their will and pleasure, at least could do as they would with the world; and fallen as it is, they made it still, by the splendour of their genius a very paradise of delight. They flung a grace over sin, and a dignity over unbelief. Life was to them one long revel. . . . They indulged in licentious wit, they wrote immodest verses, they lightly used the words of Scripture. . . . The excesses of paganism were used with the refinements supplied by classical associations. If even in the very opening of the Gospel, when faith was keenest and the heart purest, there was a Judas among the Apostles, and a Nicholas among the deacons, and a Simon Magus among the neophytes, we need not wonder, much as we may lament, that in the degenerate age I am speaking of, lapses should occur, far more numerous than those early ones, if not so great in enormity of crime. . . . Good and evil, sacred prerogatives and sinful hearts, were brought into close contact marvellously and awfully. The Sovereign Pontiffs were familiarly dealt with, and then slandered behind their backs by the profligate artists whom they had benefited. Holy men grew up and won their crowns, out of families on which history has set its note of shame.

"Two saints, contemporaries of St. Philip, will occur to you, my dear Fathers, as instances of this portent: St. Francis Borgia, third Father-General of the Society of

Jesus, bears a name, shameful in the history of Rome; St. Mary Magdalene of the Pazzi came of a Florentine stock, infamous for a deed of combined sacrilege, bloodshed, and treachery, perhaps without parallel. . . . These times were such as the Church has never seen before nor since, and such as the world must last long for her to see again; nor peculiar only in themselves, but involving a singular and most severe trial of the faith and love of her children. It was a time of sifting and peril, and of 'the fall and resurrection of many in Israel.' . . .

"The Church, though full of divine gifts, the Immaculate Spouse, the Oracle of Truth, the Voice of the Holy Ghost, infallible in matters of faith and morals, whether in the Chair of her Supreme Pontiff or in the Unity of her Episcopate, nevertheless was at this time so environed, so implicated with sin and lawlessness as to appear in the eyes of the world to be what she was not."[1]

In all the vicissitudes of the Church's life, no names stand out in the page of history so conspicuously as the names of the Roman Pontiffs. For venerable antiquity, for piety, for learning, for the maintenance of the right and resistance to the wrong, for upholding the dignity of woman, the indissolubility of marriage, and the sanctity of the home; for promoting the conversion of the nations, the abolition of slavery, and the defence of the poor and oppressed; for the patronage of literature and the fine arts; in a word, for everything that elevates and purifies mankind, what royal line can be compared with that which links in unbroken succession the name of Leo, now happily reigning, with that of Peter, Prince of the Apostles, the first occupant of the Papal throne?

Julius III. and Cardinal Pole on Anglican Orders.—But, coming to legitimate matter for discussion; with a view to show that Anglican Orders had been recognised

[1] *The Mission of St. Philip Neri.*

by the Catholic Church, Canon Potter says, "Pope Julius III. (in Mary's reign), addressed a brief to Cardinal Pole, directing him to restore the English bishops who might submit to Rome, to the use of the gift of consecration already bestowed upon them."

Now these are the facts. Pope Julius III. sent two bulls to Cardinal Pole dealing with the question of Anglican Orders, the one bearing date August 5th, 1553, the other, March 8th, 1554. We must first take into account the circumstances of the English Church at the time. It had been separated from the Holy See for twenty years only. Some of its bishops and priests, therefore, must have been consecrated and ordained legitimately, before the separation took place. These would be regarded as consecrated or ordained *rite et legitime*. Supposing they had identified themselves in any way with the schism, they needed only absolution and confirmation in their respective offices.

A second class there was of those who were consecrated or ordained during the thirteen years of Henry's usurped supremacy. These would be set down as *male ordinati*, and as needing a special dispensation.

A third class was formed of those who were consecrated or ordained during the first three years, or, perhaps, more correctly, the first two years, of Edward the Sixth's reign, when the Calvinistic element largely predominated. These would be regarded as *male et minus rite ordinati aut consecrati*.

Finally, a fourth class was constituted of those who were ordained or consecrated according to what is known as the Edwardine Ordinal, which was compiled in 1549. These were known as the *nunquam ordinati aut consecrati*.

From these distinctions it is clear that the Pontiff considered that the validity or invalidity of each consecration was a subject that required investigation, and Cardinal

Pole, who would be in England and know all the circumstances, was the most likely person to make a due examination. *There is not a single instance of a bishop consecrated by the Edwardine Ordinal continued in office or "restored to the use of the gift of consecration" by Cardinal Pole.*

Speaking of the commission granted by Cardinal Pole to the dean and chapter of Canterbury for reconciling the clergy of that province, Collier says: "The instrument extends to the absolving of all persons who repent their miscarriages, and desire to be restored from all heresies, schism, apostasies, from all excommunications, suspensions, and other ecclesiastical censures: and more particularly the clergy who had received orders from any schismatical, or heretical bishops, officiated in virtue of that character, and complied with any unallowed ceremonies, and forms of prayer, are absolved, *provided the form and intention of the church was not omitted in their ordination.*" These concluding words supply the solution of Canon Potter's difficulty.

Canon Potter, next quoting from Hooks' *Archbishops of Canterbury* (Life of Pole), says: "There we learn that one Stony (Scory?) had been consecrated a bishop by the English ordinal, and that Bonner, in Queen Mary's time, restored him to the exercise of his office without any consecration."

But the answer to this statement is a very simple one. Bonner's faculties only enabled him to reconcile priests and not bishops. The words of the Commission to Bonner are as follows:—"Touching such persons as were heretofore promoted to any Orders after the new sort and fashion of Orders *considering that they were not ordered in very deed*, the bishop of the diocese . . may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then, and according to his discretion *admit* them to minister."[1]

[1] Wilkins' *Concilia*, iv., 89.

Bonner then had no power to restore Scory as a bishop, and no jurisdiction over him, even if the latter claimed to be recognised as a bishop. Besides, Day was the validly consecrated Bishop of Chichester, and was then in possession, and Bonner would have been bringing his own title at London into question if he admitted Scory's claim. For Ridley was the Bishop of London by Edward's appointment, as Scory was the Bishop of Chichester by the same. Bonner, no doubt, in his testimonial letter to him, speaks of him as "our beloved *confrater*, John, lately Bishop of Chichester." Scory was a validly ordained priest, and the letter merely permits him to say Mass within the diocese of London. Hence this letter, even admitting its authenticity which many for good reasons deny, rather tells against the admission of Scory's episcopal character.

Anglicans re-ordained.—Canon Potter again tells us "that not until 1704, when the English Ordinal had been 150 years in use, is there any record of such reconsecration."

Here we have the suggestion that Anglican bishops were reconciled to the Catholic Church and allowed to exercise their episcopal functions without reconsecration.

During the period referred to, some Anglican bishops, no doubt, are said to have been reconciled at the hour of death, as, for instance, Goodman of Gloucester,[1] but their cases do not come within the Canon's statement.

As a matter of fact, we have no record of any such case, as he suggests, occurring during the period he mentions. In 1703, Gordon, Anglican Bishop of Glasgow, was received into the Church, and his case was brought before the Sacred Congregation (17th April, 1704) when the Sovereign Pontiff, Clement XI., decreed that he should receive Confirmation, and should receive anew (*ex integro*), both minor and sacred orders, including the priesthood.

[1] Green's *Short Hist. Eng. People*, p. 496.

During those 150 years a large number of Anglican clergymen had been received into the Church. We have a long list dating from 1570 to 1702, and including such names as Edmund Campian, Cuthbert Mayne, Thomas Blewett, Richard Sympson, John Lowe, William Rainolds, John Vivian, Thomas Huberly, John Adams, John Chapman, Everard Hanse, Stephen Roushem, John Sugar, Francis Walsingham, Humphrey Leach, John Goodman, Hugh Cressy, Stephen Goffe, John Massey, John Placidus Adelham, James Clifton, &c. *Without a single exception these men were re-ordained*, whether at Rome, Paris, Prague, &c., before they were allowed to minister in the Catholic Church. Many of those just named received the martyr's crown in their efforts to bring back their country to its olden faith.

Canon Potter speaks as if one English Ordinal had been in continuous use during the 150 years preceding 1704. He seems to forget the radical change made in the Ordinal when in 1662—but all too late—it was attempted to catholicise it.

As to the opinion of the Abbé Duchesne on Anglican Orders, I do not grudge Canon Potter any consolation he can derive from that source. I pass over the Canon's inconsistency in seizing with avidity on the testimony of an individual Catholic authority, and, at the same time, rejecting the united testimony of the Fathers of the English Reformation, and of the leading representatives, clerical and lay, of modern Anglicanism, on the ground that they are only private individuals and speak without any authority. I beg to assure the Canon that I knew Abbé Duchesne's *brochure* before the present controversy arose. But the Abbé's theory, well-meaning though it be, weighs but lightly against *the invariable practice of the Catholic Church, in absolutely re-ordaining Anglican clerical converts.*

And it must not be forgotten that the Catholic laity of England, by very instinct, have unanimously pronounced against the validity of Anglican Orders. Well-instructed Catholics know that the Church gives faculties to any priest, even though schismatical or heretical, to absolve a dying person when a duly approved priest cannot be had. Yet there is not on record a single instance where an English Catholic asked for absolution from an Anglican clergyman at the hour of death.

The validity of Anglican Orders, it should be remembered, is a question, not of dogmatic truth, but of historical fact, so that till the Holy See pronounces judgment, Catholics are perfectly free to adopt whichever opinion seems better founded. Those who have devoted years of patient investigation to the subject, and have examined every available document tending to throw light on it, have invariably decided against the validity of Anglican Orders. Who would think of quoting the French Abbé Duchesne's *brochure* against, for instance, the classical and widely known treatise of Estcourt.[1] This writer had opportunities of acquiring information which no foreign student could have. Whilst an Anglican, he knew all the Protestant traditions, and doubtless was influenced by the Protestant prejudices in favour of his own Orders. Subsequently, as a Catholic, he was able to look at the question from the other side. The public archives of England and the Continent were carefully examined by him, and he had the further advantage of access to private libraries that contained many rare books and manuscripts

[1] *Anglican Ordination.* The validity of Anglican Orders was an open question when these lectures were delivered. The question is now closed for Catholics. After a thorough inquiry into all the evidence by a Papal Commission, Pope Leo XIII., in the Encyclical "Apostolicæ Curæ" (1896), definitely declared the invalidity of Anglican Orders by reason of defect of form and *intention*. The first Anglicans openly and professedly repudiated the notion of a sacrificial priesthood, and drew up the Edwardine Ordinal, differing from that of the Church, to suit their own purposes (1549). This Ordinal was confirmed by Parliament under Elizabeth. Not until 1662 did Convocation attempt to remedy it—a century and more too late to save Anglican Orders. Apostolic Succession was thus lost.

bearing on the subject. Canon Potter, perhaps, will allow me to introduce him to Fr. Gasquet's recent work on the Edwardine Ordinal, or the more recent exhaustive articles in the *Tablet* on the subject of Anglican Orders. When he has read these, he will be able to appreciate the value of the Abbé Duchesne's opinion against the almost unanimous verdict of Catholic writers.

The anxiety of Anglican clergymen to secure the recognition of their Orders by any Catholic authority, public or private, is sufficiently significant; and tells of the abiding doubts and fears that haunt the Anglican mind.

My concern, however, with the question of Anglican Orders, is only as it affects the Anglican claim to Apostolic Succession. But as Canon Potter has thought well to introduce the question, I repeat the words of Cardinal Newman: "If there is a true succession, there is a true Eucharist; if there is not a true Eucharist, there is no true succession. Now, what is the presumption here? I think it is Mr. Alexander Knox who says or suggests that if so great a gift be given, it must have a rite. I add, if it has a rite, it must have a *custos* of the rite. Who is the *custos* of the Anglican Eucharist? The Anglican clergy? Could I, without distressing or offending an Anglican, describe what sort of custodes they have been, and are to their Eucharist? "O bone custos," in the words of the poet, "cui commendavi Filium Meum!" Is it not charitable towards the bulk of the Anglican clergy to hope, to believe, that so great a treasure has not been given to their keeping? And would our Lord leave Himself for centuries in such hands? Inasmuch, then, as "the Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ" in the Anglican communion is without protective ritual and jealous guardianship, there seems to me a strong presumption that neither the real gift nor its appointed guardians are to be found in that communion." (Letter to Father Coleridge, Aug. 5th, 1868.)

Do Doctors differ in Rome on essentials of Faith?—Canon Potter's remaining difficulties are so threadbare and so foreign to the subject of our discussion, that I fear, in noticing them, I may be furthering an adroit effort to divert public attention from the real issue. The supposed difficulties are introduced in the following words: "Even about the Infallibility of the Pope there are contradictory private opinions in the Church of Rome." And after enumerating the alleged contradictions, the Canon winds up with this rhetorical flourish. "What now becomes of the supposed harmony of doctrine in the Roman Church? There is a direct conflict between Archbishop Carr and the Abbé Duchesne, between Keenan's Catechism and the *Pastor Æternus*, between Father Ryder and the Editor of the *Tablet*, between the Council of Constance and Pope Pius IX. Doctors differ in Rome, you see, as well as in England."

Yes, doctors do differ in Rome as well as in England, but regarding essentially different subjects. In Rome there is absolutely no difference regarding the defined doctrine of the Church; in England, as we have already seen, there is not a single article of the creeds on which members of the Anglican Church do not differ most widely from each other. We have it on the authority of Dr. Pusey, that it is regarded as an anachronism, that clergymen should think themselves bound to cease to minister in the Church of England even though they cease to believe in the Incarnation of our Blessed Lord. The Inspiration of Scripture, the number and efficacy of the Sacraments, the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, these, and other central doctrines such as these, are, as we have seen before, absolutely received, and absolutely rejected, by men whose communion with the Anglican Church is unquestioned.

It is little wonder, therefore, that the present Anglican Bishop of Liverpool, after cataloguing the doctrinal

divisions which rend the Anglican Church, should give this solemn warning. "Here is a great problem, and I know not how it is to be solved. I only ask you to ponder on the solemn words of our Lord Jesus Christ. 'Every kingdom divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided against itself is brought to desolation, and a house divided aginst itself shall not stand.' (Matt. xii., 25.)

"One thing is very certain, if we cannot lessen our unhappy divisions, there is only one conclusion before us. That conclusion is the disruption and complete break-up of the Established Church of England."[1]

In the Catholic Church, on the other hand, owing to its infallible Centre of Unity, the same faith, the same worship, and the same government are found throughout the wide extent of Christendom. But Canon Potter thinks he can point to several instances of a want of "harmony of doctrine in the Roman Church." Let us examine his proofs. First: "There is a direct conflict between Archbishop Carr and the Abbé Duchesne." How palpably inconclusive this argument is, appears at once from what I have said regarding the Abbé Duchesne, and the free opinion which he holds regarding the validity of Anglican Orders.

But, secondly, the Canon urges, at least there is a contradiction "between Keenan's Catechism and the Bull, *Pastor Æternus*."

Not the slightest. There can be no contradiction where the affirmation and negation do not regard the same object in the same circumstances. Keenan published his catechism before the definition of the Papal Infallibility, and, therefore, he was justified in saying at that time, "It is no article of Catholic Faith." Protestants had first assumed the definition, and then interpreted it

[1] Visitation Charge, Nov., 1893.

maliciously, to the prejudice of the social and civil rights of Catholics. Hence we have Keenan's reference to the "Protestant invention."

But as this belongs to a class of objections that are urged by non-Catholic controversialists simply from a want of knowledge of Catholic theology, and of the technical terms in which its teaching on particular points is precisely expressed, and with which every Catholic student is quite familiar, I may for the benefit of the general reader state that there are two classes of cases in which doctrines are said to be defined by the Pope or by a General Council. One regards doctrines which, though contained in the deposit of faith received from the Apostles, are not put forward in a clear manner in the general *magisterium* or teaching office of the Church, and which therefore may be disputed for centuries amongst Catholics themselves, as were, for instance, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, and the Infallibility of the Pope, &c.

The second class regards doctrines clearly revealed and contained in the deposit of faith, and believed as dogmas of faith, although never explicitly defined in any formal decree of Pope or Council. Such were the great truths regarding the Divinity of Christ, His Real Presence in the Blessed Eucharist, the Infallibility of the Church, the forgiveness of sins in Baptism, and in the Sacrament of Penance, &c.

The denial of a doctrine of the first class before its formal definition does not constitute a sin of heresy, simply because it does not involve error pertinaciously held, and manifestly repugnant to the faith, which is of the essence of heresy. Moreover, the denial of such a doctrine before the definition of the Church, may be, in case of individuals, free from all moral fault.

But it is not so with a doctrine of the second class. For doctrines that are clearly revealed, and universally accepted by the Church, are taught by the universal *magisterium* of the Church, and if afterwards formally defined by Pope or Council, are defined not properly *for the instruction of the orthodox*, as in the former case, but *to crush and destroy error with the overwhelming authority of a supreme and formal judgment.* Hence the Arians, Nestorians, and the Eutychians were generally looked on by the Catholics as heretics, even before any infallible sentence had been pronounced against them. This plain and obvious distinction between these two classes of truths will, if kept before the mind, be sufficient to solve very many of the difficulties raised by superficial non-Catholic controversialists.

Thirdly: Canon Potter introduces a difference between Father Ryder and the editor of the *Tablet*, as disproving the absence of "harmony of doctrine in the Roman Church." Beyond what Canon Potter states so vaguely, I have no knowledge of the controversy to which he refers. As he gives no reference to the particular issue of the *Tablet*, it is impossible for me to supply an answer to an indeterminate question. But of one thing I can assure the Canon, that the difference of opinion is surely in regard to a matter on which Catholics are free to take opposite sides.

The Pope and General Councils.—Fourthly: Another argument is stated by Canon Potter in these terms:—"The highest authorities in the Roman Church are the Pope and the General Councils. Now, the Council of Constance (1415) and Pope Pius IX. (1870) are in direct conflict on this very point. The Council declares that 'all men of every rank and dignity, even the Pope, are bound to obey it, in matters pertaining to the faith.' And the Pope decrees that 'those who affirm that it is allowable to appeal

from the judgments of the Roman Pontiffs to a General Council, as to an authority higher than the Pope, are wandering from the straight pathway of truth.' What now becomes of the supposed harmony of doctrine in the Roman Church?"

Here Canon Potter seeks to point out a contradiction between a General Council and a Pope. But the Canon's way of proposing a difficulty is, as experience has taught me, very slipshod. Dealing with such a dialectical plaintiff, the proper course to pursue would be to claim a nonsuit from the court. Instead of proving what he alleges, as every plaintiff is bound to do, he tries to throw the burden, both of proof and of trouble, on the defendant. What he should have done was to prove, first, that the Council of Constance, when it passed these decrees, was a General Council. Next, he should prove that even if the Council were, in the sense indicated, a General one, these decrees regarding the relations of the Pope to the Council were confirmed by the head of the Council—the Roman Pontiff —as otherwise they would not have any binding authority. Finally, that these decrees so confirmed were intended by the Council to be of universal application, and not confined to the extraordinary case of a doubtful Pope. Until these premises are proved, no conclusion can be drawn which deserves any recognition or refutation.

The last difficulty proposed by Canon Potter against the infallibility of the Pope is stated in this loose way: "Pope Honorius was condemned for heresy by a General Council, and his condemnation is recorded in the Roman breviaries up to 1520."

I should be sorry to think that Canon Potter has undertaken to attack a doctrine which he does not understand, or to appeal to a historical fact which he has not mastered. But I must confess that from the general

character of the objections which he urges this suspicion forces itself upon me.

What does Canon Potter mean by saying that Honorius was condemned for heresy? Does he mean that Honorius taught heresy *ex cathedra*?[1] Then no assertion could be more devoid of foundation. Or does he mean that Honorius was himself imbued with the stain of heresy? Even were this true, as assuredly it is not, it would in no way affect the infallibility of the Pope. All that Catholics believe in connection with the infallibility of the supreme ruler and teacher of the Church is, that no Pope is permitted by the Holy Spirit to *teach* heresy or error when officially addressing the Universal Church on matters of faith or necessary morals.

The ambiguity in this, as in other statements made by Canon Potter, arises apparently from his want of knowledge of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The very most that can be said against Honorius, who holds a distinguished place in the august line of the Sovereign Pontiffs, is, that though he neither taught heresy, nor was himself ensnared by it, he was condemned by the Sixth General Council for not combating and suppressing the heresy of the Monothelites.

I now bring these observations to a close, with a feeling that the time devoted to them has not been spent in vain, with a conviction that Truth is great and will prevail, and with a hope that if it be my lot to engage in any future controversy, I may meet with an adversary who will not misrepresent my statements, and then, even after attention has been called to the fact, proceed to answer the misrepresentation as if it were my genuine utterance; who will not ignore the answers which I have given to his

[1] The Pope is said to teach *ex cathedrâ* when, and only when, he, using his office, as pastor and doctor of all Christians, in virtue of his Apostolic office, defines a doctrine of faith or morals to be held by the whole church.

assertions, and repeat the assertions as if unanswered; who will not, himself, leave every argument of mine without so much as a serious attempt at an answer; who will adhere to the rules of logic, and to the laws of chivalry, with at least a little more fidelity and courtesy than my present opponent has done.

In a historical controversy reference to authorities is absolutely necessary. I have been careful to cite the very words of the authors, almost exclusively non-Catholic, to whom I have referred. I have had good reason to complain of the absence of such references on the other side.

APPENDIX.

The Established Church and the Anti-Popery Cry.—My statement regarding the excitement during the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill agitation having been controverted in the public press, I think it well to append my replies, as these form part of the whole controversy. The other letters that are appended deal with a particular phase of the controversy. Dr. Thornton, in a not too courteous manner, rejected the statements of Cardinal Vaughan as to the number of conversions from Anglicanism to Catholicism in England. These letters, to which no reply has yet been given, relieve me from the necessity of going into numerical details.

A reverend correspondent of the *Argus*, who declares himself "a devotee" of "the saintly Newman," seems singularly unfamiliar with his writings, at least, with his works as a Catholic, and especially his *Present Position of Catholics in England*, which many critics consider his best book, and which, as we have seen, brought heavy persecution on the illustrious Oratorian. Had he read this work he would not have committed himself to the statement that the Anglican Church was not responsible for the excitement during the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill agitation. Cardinal Newman testifies that it was directly responsible, and the memorable passage[1] in which he records his testimony, will be read as long as the English language is spoken. It is too long for quotation in full.

"The Establishment," Newman declares,[2] "is the keeper-in-ordinary of those national types and blocks, from which Popery is ever to be printed off; of the traditional view of every Catholic doctrine, the traditional account of every ecclesiastical event, the traditional lives of Popes and Bishops, abbots and monks, saints and confessors, the traditional fictions, sophisms, calumnies, mockeries, sarcasms, and invectives with which Catholics are to be assailed. . . . It agrees to differ with its children on a thousand points, one is sacred—that her Majesty the Queen is 'the Mother and Mistress of all churches'; on one dogma it may securely rest without any mistake, that 'the Bishop of Rome hath no jurisdiction in this realm.' Here is sunshine amid darkness, sense amid the confusion, an intelligible strain amid a Babel of sounds; whatever befalls, here is sure footing. It is 'No peace with Rome,' 'Down with the Pope,' and 'The Church in danger.' Never has the establishment failed in the use of these important and effective watchwords; many are its shortcomings, but it is without reproach in the execution of its special charge. Heresy, and scepticism, and infidelity, and fanaticism may challenge it in vain; but fling upon the gale the faintest whisper of Catholicism, and it recognizes by instinct the presence of its connatural foe."

Newman and the reverend correspondent of the *Argus* are at issue on another important point, for whilst the latter looks upon

[1] *Present Position of Catholics in England*, p. 73. [2] *Ibid.*, p 72.

the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill excitement as a mere storm in a tea-pot, the great Cardinal, whom no one will accuse of exaggeration, gives specific evidence of the actual violence done.

"I appeal," he says,[1] "to the last 5th of November, when jeers against the Blessed Sacrament and its rites were chalked up in the Metropolis with impunity, under the very shadow of the Court, and before the eyes of the Home Office and the Police. I appeal to the mock processions to ridicule, and bonfires to burn, what we hold most venerable and sacred, not only Pope, and Cardinal, and priest, but the very Mother of our Lord, and the Crucifix itself. . . I appeal to the buckram nuns of Warwickshire, Nottingham, and Clapham, to the dungeons of Edgbaston, and the sin-table of St. Gudule. I appeal to the outrageous language perpetrated in a place I will not name, where one speaker went the length of saying, what the reporters suppressed for fear of consequences, that a dear friend and brother of mine, for whose purity and honour I would die, mentioning him by name, went about the country, as the words came to the ears of those present, seducing young women. . . I appeal to the cowardly issue of a cowardly agitation, to the blows dealt in the streets of this very town upon the persons of the innocent, the tender, and the helpless; not to any insult or infliction which has come upon us, for it is our portion, and we have no thought of complaining, but to the ladies and the school-girls, who, at various times, up to the day I am recording it, because they are Catholics, have been the victims of these newspaper sarcasms and these platform blasphemies. I appeal to the stones striking sharply upon the one, and the teeth knocked out of the mouths of the other."

The Newman trial will remain for all time a dark spot on the judicial history of England, and Anglicans have little reason to thank those who bring it into public light.

In the second edition of the *Present Position of Catholics in England*, there is a setting of matchless pathos and undying hope inserted in the page where the so-called libel on Achilli had been. DE ILLIS QUÆ SEQUEBANTUR POSTERORUM JUDICIUM SIT. This was the renowned Cardinal's appeal to History, and History has long since vindicated him.

Finlason's report of the trial in the Queen *v.* Newman ends with the verdict of the jury, and in saying that Dr. Newman obtained leave for a new trial, I find that I was misled by this statement of Mr. Jennings.[2] "Later on in the year the Court of Queen's Bench granted a rule for a new trial on the ground that the verdict was against evidence, but no further action was taken, and on January 29th, 1853, Dr. Newman came up for judgment."

To the Editor of the Argus.

Sir,—I surely cannot be expected to supply to all inquirers information which, by a little trouble, they could procure for themselves. But, as the report of the case to which I referred is rare in this country, I have no objection to inform the Rev. W. Stacey Chapman that in saying "it was the excitement produced by those invectives that . . . consigned to the felon's dock John Henry

[1] *Present Position of Catholics in England*, pp. 195-6.

[2] *Cardinal Newman; The Story of His Life*, p. 82-3.

Newman," I alluded to the case of Regina *v.* Newman, which was a trial of Dr. Newman for a misdemeanour in the shape of an alleged criminal libel upon Dr. G. G. Achilli.

I have, as I write, the full report of the trial before me. I find that Chief Justice Campbell presided, and that the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General appeared for the prosecution, and Sir A. E. Cockburn and Mr. Serjeant Wilkins appeared for the defence. Every impartial reader of the evidence will admit that Dr. Newman substantiated every statement he had made. Nevertheless, the judge charged directly against the prisoner, and the verdict of guilty was received "with vigorous cheers, which no one attempted to suppress." The judge, in discharging the jury, thanked them amidst "loud cheers" and "renewed cheers."

So grossly indecent were the whole proceedings that the *Times*, not usually over-friendly to Catholics, did not hesitate to write:

"It is a great thing, no doubt, that in Protestant England the principle embodied in the national faith should triumph over its Roman Catholic adversaries, but it is still a greater thing that justice should be administered with purity and impartiality—that the landmarks of the law should not be transgressed—and that no feelings but those of the calmest and highest morality should sway the decisions or intrude into the proceedings of our courts. . . . The principle on which this case was decided would put an end to all proof by human testimony. Who can hope to be believed when such a mass of evidence has been flung aside as worthless? We consider that a great blow has been given to the administration of justice in this country, and Roman Catholics will henceforth have only too good reason for asserting that there is no justice for them in cases tending to arouse the Protestant feelings of judges and juries. . . . We have every respect for the high judicial character and attainments of Lord Campbell, and it is therefore with great regret we find him, in a case of so much delicacy and excitement, drawing attention to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act, 'thanking God that we have no Inquisition in this country'; and after he had been sufficiently applauded, renewing the remark that it may be applauded again, and assuring the audience with grotesque solemnity that by admitting this document he did so without the slightest degree of danger to the Protestant religion of this country—a discovery which was received by the enthusiastic audience with a third round of cheers.

"We now take our leave of this painful subject, trusting we may not soon again be called upon to comment on proceedings so indecorous in their nature, so unsatisfactory in their result—so little calculated to increase the respect of the people for the administration of justice, or the estimation by foreign nations of the English name and character."

Dr. Newman applied for and obtained a new trial on the ground that the verdict was against the weight of evidence.

Owing to the prevailing excitement, Dr. Newman saw no advantage in carrying the proceedings further. The *Chronicle* (London) wrote:—

"If the defendant should ever be called up to receive sentence, the Court of the Queen's Bench will no doubt intimate by its judgment his entire innocence of any proceeding which could give the prosecutor a reasonable ground of complaint. It is greatly

to be regretted that Lord Campbell should have been tempted to degrade his high position for the sake of an ill-timed and indecorous burst of applause. Various opinions were expressed in Court respecting the prosecutor and the defendant, but all the instructed part of the audience was of one mind as to the conduct of the presiding judge."

The defendant was called up to receive sentence, which was pronounced by Mr. Justice Coleridge, 29th January, 1853, in these terms—"The sentence of the Court is that you pay her Majesty a fine of £100, and that you be imprisoned in the first class of misdemeanants in the Queen's prison until the fine is paid."

The costs of the defence, amounting to £12,000, were defrayed by the Catholic world. In the dedication of his *Idea of a University*, Dr. Newman thanked his world-wide circle of friends as he alone could thank them.

Yours, etc.,

✠THOMAS J. CARR,

Archbishop of Melbourne.

4th June.

To the Editor of the Argus.

Sir,—I have read the Rev. W. Stacey Chapman's letter, and it has failed to convince me of the incorrectness of my statement or of the insufficiency of the grounds on which I based it.

First as to the statement. I am not a lawyer, but I know enough of law to satisfy me that the distinction between a misdemeanour—of which Cardinal Newman was convicted—and a felony is purely technical. Capital punishment and forfeiture of property are no longer necessarily incidental to a felony, and some misdemeanours are in fact punishable by longer terms of imprisonment than some felonies.

Hence, writing as I was in popular, and not in technical, language, I maintain that the expression, "felon's dock," was perfectly applicable to the case of Dr. Newman.

This will be seen at once if we substitute any one of the four synonyms for "felon" which we find in some of the best modern dictionaries. They are "criminal," "convict," "malefactor," and "culprit."

Secondly, as to the justification. I repeat that it was the excitement produced, chiefly by the invectives of the Anglican bishops and clergymen, that consigned Cardinal Newman to the felon's dock. "The foul torrent of obloquy with which the Anglican Church deluged the land" is, as the Rev. Mr. Chapman says, an expression not wanting in energy. But if he will turn to the Notes appended to Cardinal Newman's *Sermons on Various Occasions* he will find, I think, ample justification for its strength.

He will find there the petition of all the Anglican bishops, except two, to the Queen praying her Majesty "to discountenance by all constitutional means the claims and usurpations of the Church of Rome," and protesting against "this attempt to subject our people to a spiritual tyranny from which they were freed at the Reformation." He will find that the two dissentient bishops expressed themselves in no less embittered language. He will

read there an extract from Lord John Russell's letter to the Bishop of Durham, in which he says:

"I agree with you in considering the late aggression of the Pope upon our Protestantism as insolent and insidious, and I feel as indignant as you can on the subject."

He will find there an Anglican clergyman from his pulpit express his idea of toleration in the following words:

"I would make it a capital offence to administer the confession (to hear confessions) in this country. Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to the other. Capital punishment would alone satisfy me. Death alone would prevent the evils. That is my sober conviction."

The *Morning Chronicle* denounced both the atrocious sentiment, and the withdrawal of it as being inconsistent with the antecedents of the speaker, and with his declarations made in Exeter-hall a few days after its delivery. Another Anglican clergyman is there represented as giving the nature of the Protestant measure that should be introduced:

"They must have one to deprive the Popish bishops of their titles, and to give them a place, not in a palace, but in a prison, if they resumed them. They must have an act to send Dr. Wiseman away and to suppress this aggression. . . . The rev. gentleman was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic peals of applause from an audience worked up to a high pitch of excitement."

He may find from other sources of information such as *The Roman Catholic Question*, by Gilbert, or from Mr. Allies' *Per Crucem ad Lucem*, that the English bishops individually in their several charges and addresses, spared no invective or epithet calculated to inflame the prejudices of their people. He may find, too, from the work of Mr. Justin McCarthy, which he quotes, that between Michaelmas and Christmas about 7,000 meetings were held to denounce the Papal aggression, and that the Pope, Cardinal Wiseman, and the English Catholic Bishops were frequently burnt in effigy in London and in other large centres in England.

That there was, then, intense excitement, and that there was a torrent of obloquy poured over the land, is undeniable. But we are told by the Rev. Mr. Chapman that this excitement occurred in 1850, and the prosecution of Dr. Newman in 1851, and that with the latter neither the popular excitement nor the Anglican Church had anything to do.

But such is not the case. The Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which was the expression of that violent popular excitement, was introduced and passed during the session of 1851. Dr. Newman in his lectures *On the Present Position of Catholics in England*, merely repeated the statements regarding Dr. Achilli, which had appeared in the *Dublin Review*, June, 1850. These statements had been published nearly eighteen months without any action being taken on the part of Achilli. It was only when the cry of Papal aggression had been dinned into the ears of the English people that Achilli was used as a tool to humble and convict Dr. Newman of a grave misdemeanour. Does the Rev. Mr. Chapman, in referring to Achilli's *libel action*, deny that Dr. Newman was a prisoner, and as such was subject to be consigned to the dock? Is he aware

that in a recent trial for criminal libel the Marquis of Queensberry was placed in the dock? Or that for such an offence, in addition to a fine, imprisonment for a term of two years may be inflicted? In fine, does he forget the prominent part *The Times* ascribed to the Ecclesiastical Titles Act as influencing both judge and jury?

Yours, etc.,

✠ THOMAS J. CARR,

Archbishop of Melbourne.

10th June.

To the Editor of the Age.

Sir,—The Anglican Bishop of Ballarat, in his address to the Church Assembly last Tuesday, 30th April, quoted these words of the Archbishop of York: "Here and there they (the 'Romanists') beguile a few unstable souls; but, on the other hand, there are not a few, far more than is generally known, returning to the faith of their fathers." His lordship made himself responsible for the truth of this statement, for he said that "when testimony is contradictory one looks at the *personnel* of the witness, and we shall naturally attach chief weight to the calm and responsible utterances of the English Primates as to the real state of things at home."

Now I propose to apply a very practical test to Dr. Thornton's faith in the statement of his Grace of York. I challenge him to name twelve clerical converts from Catholicism to Anglicanism for every three hundred clerical converts from Anglicanism to Catholicism that I shall name. If he can name twelve converts I shall contribute £50 to the Palace Fair of which his lordship spoke the other day. But if he fails, then I take leave to propose that he pay £50 to any non-sectarian charities in Melbourne you, Mr. Editor, may suggest.

The only conditions I make are: That the converts to Catholicism have been born and bred in the Anglican Church, and that the converts to Anglicanism have been born and bred in the Catholic Church; that such converts have remained firm in their adopted faith; that their conversions have occurred in England, and since the secession of Cardinal Newman from Anglicanism; that they have been men of stainless character before their conversion; and that their after lives prove the purity of their motives in leaving the churches of their birth.

If I chose lay converts my position would be much stronger, but I prefer clerical converts, for the simple reason that these men have devoted most study to the differences between Anglicanism and Catholicism, and because, as a rule, they have made immeasurably greater sacrifices than others. I keep to the word "Catholicism," but Dr. Thornton cannot plead ignorance of my meaning. There is not a little boy in Ballarat who cannot tell him what I mean. I enclose my card, and as a pledge of my good faith I am quite willing to put the £50 into your keeping, pending Dr. Thornton's acceptance of my proposal.

Yours, etc.,

A CATHOLIC.

2nd May, 1895.

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CARR, THOMAS JOSEPH (Archb.)

AUTHOR

Lectures and Replies

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